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The Scottish Text Society

PITSCOTTIE'S CHRONICLES

"So in this wark that I haue heir asseilzeit
To bring to licht most humblie I exhortt
Ȝow gentill readdaris quhair that I haue feilzeit
In letteris sillabbis pointtis lang or schort
That Ȝe wald of Ȝour gentrice it support
And tak the sentence the best wayes Ȝe may
I sall do bettir will god ane vthir day."

THE
Historie and Cronicles
of Scotland

From the Slauchter of King James the First
To the Ane thousande fyve hundreith
thrie scoir fyftein zeir

WRITTEN AND COLLECTED BY

ROBERT LINDESAY OF PITSCOTTIE

BEING A CONTINUATION OF THE TRANSLATION OF THE CHRONICLES WRITTEN BY
HECTOR BOECE, AND TRANSLATED BY JOHN BELLENDEN

*Now first published from two of the oldest Manuscripts, one bequeathed
by Dr David Laing to the University of Edinburgh, and the
other in the Library of John Scott of Halkhill, C.B.*

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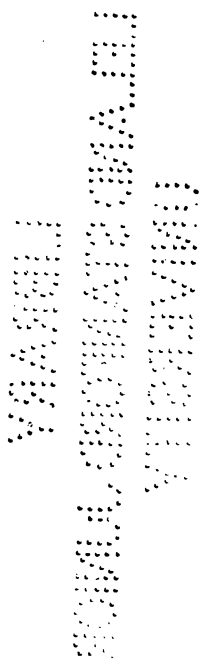
Æ. J. G. MACKAY

SHERIFF OF FIFE AND KINROSS

VOL. I.

Printed for the Society by

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
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TO
JOHN SCOTT OF HALKSHILL, C.B.

WHOSE PATRIOTISM IN COLLECTING VALUABLE SCOTTISH
MANUSCRIPTS, AND COURTESY IN ALLOWING THEIR USE,
ENABLE THE SCOTTISH TEXT SOCIETY TO PUBLISH FOR
THE FIRST TIME A COMPLETE EDITION OF

The Chronicles of Scotland,

WRITTEN AND COLLECTED BY
ROBERT LINDESAY OF PITSCOTTIE.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE Introduction explains what is known of Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie and his work, and it is hoped may add something to the still meagre outlines it is possible to trace of his life and character. The purpose of the Chronicles is at least no longer obscure, and the position of the author as a historian may perhaps be made a little more distinct by the statement in the Introduction of the ascertained, and to a considerable extent newly discovered, facts of his life, as well as by the comparison of his work with earlier and contemporary writers which has been carried out in the Notes.

Here it is only necessary to acknowledge the many obligations of the editor. First and foremost, the fortunate recovery of the missing decade of the Chronicles, from 1565 to 1575, is due to Mr John Scott of Halkshill, C.B., whose purchase, at the sale of part of the Phillipps Collection of MSS., of the only manuscript which, so far as has been discovered, contains this portion of the Chronicles, was made soon after the Scottish Text Society determined on undertaking a new edition. This had long been deemed desirable. It had been projected

by Mr George Chalmers, the author of 'Caledonia,' by the Bannatyne Club, and by the Earl of Crawford, the author of 'The Lives of the Lindsays,' but the project had **never** been carried out. The use of Mr Scott's MS. will **now** add greatly to its value.

The owners and custodians of the other known manuscripts have been very kind in allowing them to be inspected, and in some cases to be at the disposal of the editor for a considerable time for the purpose of collation. The Society is specially indebted in this respect to the University of Edinburgh, the Faculty of Advocates, the Earl of Kinnoull, Mr Wemyss of Wemyss Castle, and the Rev. D. Macgregor of Inverallochy. Although great pains have been taken to ascertain the character and ownership of all extant MSS., it is possible that some have escaped notice.

Should the publication of the present edition lead to the discovery of any which are not referred to in the Introduction, it would be a great favour if their owners would communicate their existence to the editor.

For aid in comparing the MSS., and making the selection of those to be used, the editor has to thank Mr Clark, the Keeper of the Advocates' Library; Mr Dickson, formerly Curator of the Historical Department of the Register House; Dr J. A. H. Murray, the editor of the New English Dictionary; and the late Dr Gregor, Secretary of the Scottish Text Society.

The Rev. J. Anderson, Assistant Curator of the Historical Department of the Register House, not only made the transcript for the text, but also read the whole proof, and gave the editor the benefit of his extensive and accurate knowledge of the details of Scottish history.

Mr Hume Brown, LL.D., was good enough to read part of the Notes in proof, and Mr T. Graves Law, LL.D., the Keeper of the Signet Library, did the same service for a portion of the Introduction. For replies to special queries on particular points, the editor has to thank Miss Macgregor of Macgregor; Professor Copland, the Astronomer Royal; Mr Balfour Paul, the Lyon King; Mr Ballingall, W.S., Perth; Mr Babington, W.S., Edinburgh; Mr John Ross, Solicitor, Dunfermline; Mr Patrick, Clerk of the County Council of Fife; Mr Webster, the Librarian of the University of Edinburgh; Mr J. Maitland Anderson, Librarian of the University of St Andrews; Mr J. H. Stevenson, Advocate, the editor of 'The Scottish Antiquary'; Mr David Lees, the present tenant of the farm of Easter Pitcottie; Mr George Neilson, the author of 'Trial by Combat'; and Mr J. L. Anderson.

A desire has been expressed by the Council of the Society that the text should now be published, and the two volumes at present issued contain the Introduction, the complete Chronicles, and the Notes. The Glossary and Index are passing through the press, and there will be no avoidable delay in placing them in the hands of the members of the Society.

ERRATA TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

- P.
lix, Introduction, l. 9. *For MS. Q read MS. P.*
6, note 2. *For work read word.*
12, note 1, l. 5. *Delete Badius Ascencius ana read Jacobus du Puys.*
19, note 3, l. 2. *For seems read seem.*
28, l. 13. *For Twvin read Twrin for Touraine.*
65, Contents of chap. xiiii. *For gair read thair.*
71, note 4. *For entern read extern.*
82, note 3. *Vallem or Douglas should be a Douglas.*
97, Contents of chap. xxii. *For Pacrates read paccates.*
319, top of page. *James III. should be James V.*

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¹ Prognosticate?

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INTRODUCTION.

I.—ROBERT LINDESAY OF PITSCOTTIE.

IN the parish of Ceres, on a ledge of the brae or rising ground below Pitscottie or Ceres Muir, a continuation of the hill of Tarvit, which the Ceres burn here cuts off from the Blebo Craigs and Hill of Kemback, and to the right of the road south of the Eden from Cupar to St Andrews, three miles from the county town and seven from the ecclesiastical metropolis, stands a modern farmhouse called Easter Pitscottie. The farm has been tenanted for three generations by the family of Lees. The grandfather of Mr David Lees, the present tenant, lived in 1821 in an older house, then taken down as inadequate for a nineteenth-century farmer. This farm, according to a tradition there is no reason to distrust, was the home of Robert Lindesay the Chronicler during the latter half of the sixteenth century. From it, by an old custom where the same surname was frequent, he acquired the name of Pitscottie, to distinguish him from other members of his clan then numerous in Fife, by which he is still commonly known, and will be called in this edition of his Chronicles.

The old house had when demolished an appearance of great antiquity, with crow-stepped gables and high-ridged roof of heavy grey slates. It was not one of the many castles of Fife, only a substantial farmhouse of the period, and was described as 'a countrie house covered with 'strae and reed.' A few of the ridge stones were unearthed some years ago in altering the farm offices. Two old stones have also been found which were supposed to have been part of the building. One of these, however, with the date 1690, belonged not to the farmhouse but to the meal-mill of Pitscottie. The other, which came from the old house and is now built into the wall of the farm engine-house, appears to bear three carved capital letters, which it is tempting to read, as has been done, M.R.L., and to interpret Master Robert Lindesay. But the last letter turns out to be a crack in the stone, a warning to antiquaries not to draw rapid conclusions. There is no evidence that Pitscottie was entitled to be called Master, which meant the eldest son of a peer, or more frequently a Master of Arts. Nor is he likely to have carved his initials on a house of which it will be seen presently he was only tenant. So meagre are the fragments of our knowledge as to the old house of Pitscottie, which probably did not differ from that of other well-to-do farmers in Fife.

Some-
thing,
though
little,
known as
to his life.

Very little, too, is known of the life of its most famous tenant, and materials for a detailed memoir do not exist. Still some further information has been gathered that was not available when the learned chief of his family told what was then known in a single page of the 'Lives of the Lindesays.'¹ If we cannot figure the Chronicler himself except so far as disclosed by his work, we can at

¹ Lives of the Lindesays, i. p. 208.

least discern his position in life, the circle in which he moved, and the circumstances which led to his work being written but not published by the author, hitherto somewhat of a mystery.

Neither the precise date of the birth nor of the death of Pitscottie have been ascertained, but he must have been born about 1532, and he died probably soon after 1578, certainly before 1592. He was a sixteenth-century Scotsman, resident in Fife, of a good family, and moderate means, a contemporary of the whole Reformation movement in Scotland, which began in his early manhood and triumphed before his death. He belonged to the generation prior to the Union of the Crowns, when Scotland was still a separate kingdom with independent institutions and a speech Pitscottie used, something more than a dialect of English though less than an original language. Politically Scotland was divided into a French or Catholic, and an English or Protestant party with which Pitscottie sympathised, though he never played a part in public life. His name rarely appears either in the public or domestic records. He is first mentioned on record on 19th December 1553, when a grant of the escheat of 'all goods movable and immovable of the late Andrew Lindesay, burgess in Edinburgh,' was made by Queen Mary to 'Robert Lindesay in Pitscottie, his heirs and assignees.'¹ He had probably claimed the escheat of a bastard, and it is scarcely likely that he would claim or receive such a gift prior to his majority. So this document supports the conjecture that he was not born later than 1532.

He lived
between
1532 and
1578.

Freebairn in his disappointing dedication of the Chron-

¹ Privy Seal Register.

Grandson
of Patrick,
fourth
Lord
Lindesay
of the
Byres.

icles to John, Earl of Crawford and Lindesay, and Lord Lindesay of the Byres, the only preface to his edition of that work, in 1728, says, 'I thought I could not in justice to the memory of my author, who had the honour to be a cadet of your family, address his work so properly to any patron as to his own chief,' and this is the solitary fragment he contributes to the biography of Pitscottie. An old manuscript in the Advocates' Library names amongst the sons of Patrick, fourth Lord Lindesay of the Byres, 'William Lindesay of Pyotstoun, of whom was Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, the historian, and of it also are descended the Lindesays of Wolmerstoun,' now Wormiston, an estate close to the East Neuk of Fife, whose present representative is Lord Lindesay of the Byres and eleventh Earl of Lindsay. As William Lindesay of Pyotstoun, a son of Patrick, fourth Lord Lindesay of the Byres, married Isabella Logan in 1529,¹ Pitscottie the historian, who was a younger son, may likely enough have been born about 1532. He appears to have had two elder

¹ Charter of confirmation by James V. of charter by John, Lord Lindesay of the Byres, to William Lindesay, his uncle, and Isabella Logan, his wife, of the lands of Pyotstoun (Great Seal Register, 20th May 1529). William Lindesay of Pyotstoun and David Lindesay of Kirkforthar are witnesses to a charter in favour of David Lindesay of the Mount (the Lyon King) and Janet Douglas, his wife, by John, Lord Lindesay of the Byres (Great Seal Register, 8th August 1542). On 13th January 1565 David Lindesay of Pyotstoun appears as one of the Fife lairds exempted from the jurisdiction of the Earl of Rothes as Sheriff of Fife (Privy Council Records, i. p. 315; see also pp. 368, 437, 445, 630, and 631). The last entry is in 1568, but he was still living on 10th September 1579, when he became cautioner for John Wedderburn, servant to the Earl of Crawford (Privy Council Records, iii. p. 215). He is described as 'filius et hæres Willelmi Lindesay de Pyotstoun,' 19th October 1555 (Great Seal Register, vol. iv. No. 1006; see also No. 2174, where Pyotstoun is spelt Pyistoun). Douglas in his Baronage has inserted in the genealogy of the family a Patrick Lindesay as a son of William and father of David Lindesay of Pyotstoun, but the above charter of 19th October 1555 proves this to be an error. The MS. in the Advocates' Library is now marked 34. 6. 24.

brothers—David, who succeeded to Pyotstoun, and John,¹ a merchant in Cupar, to whom that estate reverted through failure of his elder brother's issue.

Some of the most graphic stories in the Chronicles relate to his ancestors, and were derived from family tradition: the loan by his great-uncle David, Lord Lindesay of the Byres, of a horse to James III. on the fatal day of Sauchie; the trial of Lord David after the accession of James IV., and acquittal by the dexterous defence of his younger brother Patrick, Pitscottie's grandfather, afterwards fourth Lord Lindesay of the Byres, who for his skill got the Mains of Kirkforthar, which adjoined Pyotstoun, from his grateful brother; and the counsel of the same shrewd adviser to James IV. not to stake life and fortune on the issue of the ill-chosen field of Flodden.

Pitscottie's own contemporary, his cousin Patrick, sixth Lord Lindesay of the Byres from 1563 to 1589, was the Reformer, the staunch friend of John Knox, and the unrelenting adversary of Mary Stuart, whose part in the siege of the Castle of Edinburgh is carefully chronicled by Pitscottie. The Fife seat of Lindesay of the Byres, a title taken from their older estate in Haddingtonshire, was the Castle of Ochterutherstruther, conveniently shortened and known as 'The Struthers,' in the same parish and within a few miles of Pitscottie. At that time one of the greatest of the castles of Fife, it is now one of its most complete ruins, only a few fragments of wall remaining. In it the historian as a youth probably met his remoter kinsman Sir David Lyndesay of the Mount, the Lyon King and poet, who celebrates the hospitality of The

¹ John, second son of William Lindesay of Pyotstoun and grandson of Patrick, Lord Lindesay, being born a younger brother, was bred a merchant and settled in the town of Cupar in Fife (Douglas's Baronage, p. 257).

Struthers in the time of the fourth lord in his poem of 'Squire Meldrum,' the soldier of adventure, who ended his days there, and who acted for a time as depute for Lord Patrick (fourth Lord) when Sheriff of Fife. The Lyon King died about 1553, and is named by Pitscottie as one of his authors. If this is taken literally, he must have begun historical inquiries at an early age, but probably it only means that Pitscottie had access to manuscripts and early editions of the works of the Lyon King. There is an interesting document amongst the Haddington charters¹ dated Ochterutherstruther, 30th May 1550, by John Lord Lindesay and Patrick his son (sixth Lord), to which, amongst other witnesses, there are the names of David Lindesay of Kyrkforthar, William Meldrum of Bynns, a son of Squire Meldrum, and Robert Lindesay, who may have been the future Pitscottie, as the name Robert was by no means common amongst the Lindesays.

Why and
how he
probably
became
farmer of
Pitscottie.

As a younger son of a small laird he would not receive any large portion, and would have to earn his own livelihood. It is a reasonable conjecture that he was provided for between the years 1553 and 1560 by a lease of Easter Pitscottie, at that time held in property by Sir William Scott of Balwerie, through the forfeiture of his vassal Sir John Melville of Raith in 1548, and forming part of the barony of Strathmiglo, to which, along with the neighbouring lands of Dura, it had been annexed in 1509. A charter dated 30th April 1548, confirmed 18th May 1550² by Sir William Scott, transferred the barony, including the whole lands of Pitscottie with the mills, to his son and heir William Scott, reserving his own liferent and the terce of his spouse, Isabella Lindesay, a cousin

¹ Memorials of the Earls of Haddington, ii. p. 261.

² Register of Great Seal, vol. iv. No. 200.

of the historian. The lands of Pitscottie had been granted in ward to John Melville, Laird of Raith, so far back as 1400 by an earlier William Scott of Balwerie,¹ so it can only have been the forfeiture which brought the property into the superior's hands, in which they may have remained during Pitscottie's life ; for although the forfeiture of Sir John Melville was rescinded by Parliament in 1563, it does not appear when the lands actually returned to the possession of his son John. His general service as heir to his father is dated 10th November 1563, and David Lindesay of Pyotstoun, Pitscottie's brother, served on the inquest.² But his special service in the lands of Raith was not obtained till 11th April 1566, when it was opposed, though ineffectually, by John Kinnimonth, an angry creditor. As Wester Pitscottie, a separate farm, belonged to Andrew Kinnimonth of Callange as early as 1589, it is possible that John Kinnimonth made good his debt over that part of the original Pitscottie, which was henceforth severed into two halves, Easter and Wester Pitscottie. The date of John Melville's special service in the lands of Easter Pitscottie has not been found, but he paid off in 1577 a mortgage his father had granted over these lands.³

In or before 1587 at latest Pitscottie must have again been in the possession of the Melvilles, for it was then settled on John Melville the younger, heir-apparent of Raith, by his father, John Melville the elder, and his stepmother Grizel Meldrum.⁴ This lady appears to have

¹ Fraser's 'Melville Book.' Charter by William Scot of Balwerie to John of Melville, Lord of Raith, iii. p. 17. This conveys '*totam terram de Pitscoty.*'

² Retour printed in 'Melville Book,' iii. p. 109 ; and see pp. 112-115 as to John Kinnimonth.

³ Fraser's 'Melville Book,' iii. p. 57 ; and see i. p. 176.

⁴ Agreement, 31st January 1587 ('Melville Book,' iii. p. 128).

farmed the lands, for in the inventory of her testament, 26th December 1598, there is mention of nine oxen and forty-eight yeld sheep upon the ground or lands of Pitscottie.¹ In neither of these documents is there the least reference to Lindesay of Pitscottie as tenant or farmer, from which it seems a fair inference that he must have ceased to be so prior to 1587. As Pitscottie's name has been found on no record as the owner, he can only have been a tenant under Scott of Balwerie. He is first designated Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie on 22nd November 1560, when he sat on an inquest at Cupar which valued the lands of Colliston in Fife.² Two years later he was on another inquest in the same town which served John Campbell of Lundie heir to his father.³ This is the last mention of his name during his life which has been found in the records, but he must have lived for a considerable time after 1562, as his Chronicles are continued down to the end of 1575, about which date their Preface appears to have been written. He was certainly dead before 1592, when his son Christopher married a member of the Scott family, Christian, daughter of James Scott, uncle of William Scott of Abbotshall, a kinsman of the Scotts of Balwerie. A succession of intermarriages between two families was common in Scotland at this period, and even in later times, producing an intimacy of knowledge with reference to particular districts and families and their traditions. In his marriage contract⁴ Christopher is described as lawful heir to the late Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, and he bound himself to in-

reference
to Pitscottie
in the
records.

Marriage
of his son
Christopher
in
1592.

¹ Fraser's 'Melville Book,' iii. p. 142.

² Great Seal Register, iv. p. 313, note.

³ Douglas Charters. Riddell, Peerage and Consistorial Law, i. p. 500.

⁴ Register of Deeds, General Register House, vol. xlv. f. 269 a.

vest 200 merks along with his wife's tocher of 350 in land or annual rent in favour of himself and his spouse in conjunct fee and liferent and their heirs in fee. This marriage contract confirms the conjecture that Pitscottie himself had not been a landowner, for his son had no land to settle, but only a substantial farmer of good family. It seems probable that Pitscottie had died some years before his son's marriage, for his *Chronicles* were not continued after 1st January 1576, and the habit of writing diaries or chronicles, once begun, is not readily discontinued.

A search in the kirkyard of Ceres has failed to discover any trace of his tomb or monument to his memory. The minister of the parish from 1578 to 1599 was Thomas, nephew of George Buchanan the historian,¹ who, one might expect, would have commemorated the chronicler had he died during his incumbency. The tomb of his contemporary chief, Patrick, sixth Lord Lindesay of the Byres, who died in 1589, is still there, neglected by his representatives and crumbling to decay.

The parish in which Pitscottie spent most of his days still retains the peaceful character it then possessed. It lies away from the seats of active business, a natural home of an industrious farmer or reflective chronicler rather than of one engaged in the stir and turmoil of public affairs, so that we cannot be surprised that few traces of Pitscottie's life have come down to our time. Perhaps Ceres is even quieter and more remote from the world in the nineteenth than in the sixteenth century. The hospitality of Struthers has vanished. The more recent splendid mansion of the Hopes at Craighall, and the striking solitary tower of Scotstarvit on the crest of the

Character
of Parish
of Ceres.

¹ Rev. Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, Parish of Ceres.

hill of Tarvit, both erected after Pitscottie's death, have also become tenantless. The hamlet of Pitscottie, on the Ceres burn just before it enters the prettily wooded den of Dura, famed for the fossil fish of its sandstone-beds, still houses only a few labourers.

Personal
references
in Chron-
icles.

All that is further known of the chronicler is matter of inference or conjecture from his single work. Though the Chronicles do not afford so much information as might have been anticipated, for Pitscottie is a reticent author who seldom appears in person except occasionally to point a moral or preach a lay sermon, yet some facts of importance may be gathered from them which have hitherto escaped notice. In the short Preface it is distinctly stated that they were written and collected 'by ane Robert 'Lindesay of Pitscottie,' and it is difficult to understand the doubt of Sir John Graham Dalyell, who says: 'We 'can hardly affirm that it is satisfactorily established who 'was the real author of the Chronicles. The older manuscripts are silent on this head.' It is true the Preface does not occur in the manuscript of the Laing Collection in the University of Edinburgh,¹ probably the oldest extant, but it is found in the Cholmondeley manuscript, now belonging to Mr John Scott,² which is only a few years later in date, contains the only complete text, and is itself a copy of an older manuscript. The former or oldest manuscript being torn at the commencement, there is no proof that it may not have had the Preface, and there is no reason why the ascription to Pitscottie should have been falsely made even in later manuscripts. No doubt in the earlier part of his history he is only a compiler, although he gave his compilation a character of its own.

¹ MS. A.

² MS. I.

But this is exactly what he claims in his Preface, where he names his authors and states that the matter of his history was 'sought gathered written and collected be' Statement in Preface as to his authors.

'ane Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie instructed and learned
 'and laitlie informit be thir authoris as efter followis to
 'wit Patrick lord lyndesay of the byres Schir William
 'Scot of balwirrie knicht Schir Androw Wood of Largow
 'knicht Maister Johne Mair doctour of theologie quha
 'wret his cronickill heirwpone and alsua schir dauid lyn-
 'desay of the mont alias lyoun herauld king of armes with
 'Androw wood of largow principall and familiar servand
 'to King James the fyft Androw fernie of that ilk ane
 'nobill man of recent memorie Schir William bruce of
 'erleshall knicht quha hes wrettin werrie justlie all the
 'deidis sen flowdane feild.' He does not name Hector Boece, from whose Latin the 18th book of the Chronicles is almost literally translated. Probably he thought this was sufficiently indicated by his work being styled 'the
 'historie and cronickillis of Scotland quhilk was left on-
 'wrettin be the last translature to wit maister hector boes
 'and maister Johne ballentyne.' The authors he names are all, with the exception of John Major, Provost of St Salvator's College in St Andrews, whose history was published in 1521, country gentlemen of Fife, Pitscottie's kinsmen or neighbours or their predecessors. It is possible that as a young man he may have met the venerable Provost of St Salvator, who did not die till 1550. Although it is not likely that he had at so early a date come to reside in the farmhouse of Pitscottie, he is described three years after the death of Major as living in Pitscottie.

Patrick, fourth Lord Lindesay of the Byres, was, as we His authors all Fife men.
 have seen, his paternal grandfather. Sir William Scott of

Balwerie, Knight, was superior, and for a time proprietor of the lands of Pitscottie, and also his relation by marriage. Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, Knight, was the gallant sea captain of James IV., who drove the English from the Scottish firths; and his son Andrew Wood of Largo, who is another of his authors, continued his name and fame in the reign of James V. Sir David Lindesay of the Mount, *alias* Lyon Herald King of Arms, was a cousin of Pitscottie, descended from the Lindesays of Garmylton, an older branch of the Lindesays of the Byres. Andrew Fernie of that ilk, 'a nobleman of recent memory,' was owner of an estate near Falkland; and Sir William Bruce of Earlsall built the castle so called after an older hunting seat of the Earls of Fife, on the Tents Muir in the parish of Leuchars, north of the mouth of the Eden.

All his informants being Fife men, though spread, it may be noticed, over the county, it does not appear likely that Pitscottie travelled much or perhaps ever quitted his native soil except on an occasional excursion across the Forth to the capital, or across the Tay to Angus, where many of his clansmen, including their principal noble the Earl of Crawford, had settled; so that a large portion of that shire was called 'The Land of the Lindesays.'

References
to Fife in
the Chron-
icles.

Even if Pitscottie had not given this list it would have been easy to detect that he saw events with Fife eyes. He narrates minor incidents if they happen in the shire, especially in its eastern district or the neighbourhood of Cupar or St Andrews. When he becomes a contemporary, he gives like a farmer the rise or fall in the price of grain, and notes as to the contest for the sheriffship, the teinds of Fife, and the reform of the kirk of Cupar. He mentions that Andrew Bell

kept the sheep of James V. in the Forest of Ettrick as safely as if they had been in Fife. Meteors, or monsters, for which the Scotch of his time had a singular appetite if they appeared in Fife, are specially noted. The number of Fife knights made on special occasions is chronicled. The Forth is called by him 'our Firth.' So too historical events—and during the sixteenth century there were many in Fife or on the opposite coast of Lothian—are told with the minuteness of a near observer. The siege of the Castle of Edinburgh from its commencement to its fall is narrated with so much particularity as to suggest that Pitscottie might have served at Leith, where his chief, Lord Lindesay of the Byres, commanded. But he never gives the remotest hint that he was present, and he probably attended to his farm during the progress of the siege, getting frequent news from friends or relations who were actual combatants.

The Palace of Falkland, a favourite residence of the Scottish sovereign, and the city of St Andrews, with its bishop's castle and colleges, both within an easy ride from Pitscottie, as well as the many havens of the east coast in constant contact with the Continent, made Fife at this period one of the busiest and one of the most intelligent districts of Scotland. The waters which almost surround it kept it comparatively free from English raids, for its seamen and lairds knew how to ward off the descents of English men-of-war and privateers. Sub-division of property, favoured by the introduction of feus, of which the kings set an example near Falkland, had begun, and moderate fortunes promoted both bodily and mental industry. Not only clever younger sons, but even the older lairds, had the generous love of learning which

Character
of Fife
during his
life.

fosters historical studies. Few of the Scottish gentry now write, or it may be feared even read, history, but we find in Pitscottie's immediate neighbourhood a group of landed men who took pride and pleasure in collecting and recording materials of history. No doubt it made some difference that there was important history to record. Their manuscripts have not been preserved, and their contents would have been lost had not the substance been embodied by Pitscottie in his *Chronicles*.

Scottish
history
during his
life.

Scotland was during his life the scene of events which stir the pulse of the student of history,—the melancholy romance of Mary Stuart; the conflicts of the Reformation, as fierce in words as deeds; the wonderful combination of circumstances which was so soon to lead to the fortunate Union of the Crowns. An historical instinct like Pitscottie's naturally went further back, and tried to trace the sequence of events through the earlier history of the Stuart kings,—a succession of tragic scenes only surpassed by the supreme tragedy of Queen Mary. It had been left as yet unwritten by prior chroniclers, and it was of great value to him that he found in the records or traditions of so many Fife families notices of what had happened so far back at least as the reign of James III. Although an unpolished writer and an untrained historian, he had a strong sense both of the value and of the continuity of history.

No proof
that he
studied at
college.

Martine, the secretary of Archbishop Sharpe of St Andrews, calls Pitscottie 'Maister Robert Lindesay,'¹ a title generally implying graduation. But his name is not in the Registers of St Andrews, and it is unlikely he would have graduated elsewhere. He must have known Latin to read Major and to translate Boece, but so much Latin might have been learned at school or from a tutor. Nor

¹ Reliquiæ Divi Andreæ.

is Pitscottie's skill as a translator conspicuous. His version of the posthumous book of Boece, itself not a good specimen of Latinity, is often crabbed. Sometimes he seems not to have clearly understood his author. It was fortunate that he used his own vernacular, and not Latin, like his contemporary Buchanan, for his Chronicles were written not for the scholars and statesmen of Europe, but for his own countrymen of every class. Even in his use of broad Scotch there is a homely rusticity which confirms the view that he had not studied at any college, and was more country gentleman than scholar. He never thought about style, but knew well how to tell a story or describe a character. The New Learning, which came to Scotland about the time of his birth, had touched him in its moral and religious rather than its secular and scholastic bearings. A reformer, not a humanist, he knew the translated Bible, but little of the Greek or Latin classics. He omits a passage of Terence from his translation of Boece, who, like Major, in marked contrast with their continuator, was an accomplished scholar. There had been in Wyntoun a remarkable example of an earlier poetic chronicle in the Scots dialect, written with wonderful skill. But verse is not the appropriate language of history, and Pitscottie first wrote the annals of his country in vernacular prose. It was a sign of a new era.

The first
vernacular
prose his-
torian of
Scotland.

So near a neighbour could scarcely fail to have relations with the university town, whose markets as well as those of Cupar he no doubt attended. One of his St Andrews acquaintances was Robert Stewart, Titular Bishop of Caithness and Commendator of the Priory of St Andrews, an office to which he had been presented by his brother, the Regent Lennox, on the death of the Regent Murray. It was to the bishop that Pitscottie addressed the Dedic-

Verses of
dedication
to Robert
Stewart,
Bishop of
Caithness.

tory or Commendatory Verses prefixed to his Chronicles. The bishop was a great-uncle of James VI., a man of some consequence though fluctuating fortune in his own day. Lord Lindsay, unfortunately misled by the more delicate literary taste of the nineteenth century, expressed the opinion that he 'saw no reason for supposing 'Pitscottie guilty¹ of the dedicatory epistle,' and ridiculed 'the sublime stanza' which describes the death of James II. by the bursting of a gun at the siege of Roxburgh.

'This potent prince this roye of gret renowne
'Was murtherer be ane misfortunit gown.'

Date of
the Chron-
icles.

This language is, however, of the same date as that of the Chronicles, of whose contents the verses give a summary, and they bear to be written by the author. It seems fair to ask what reason there is for ascribing the verses to any one else? Who so likely as their author to send his manuscript before publication—for the verses expressly bear that the Chronicles were not yet published—to the bishop as a patron, and to ask him to forward it to his kinsman the Earl of Athole, whose daughter he married in 1578? Both the Bishop and Athole were Pitscottie's contemporaries, and the verses prove the date of the Chronicles to be between 1st January 1576, when they conclude, and 25th April 1579, when the Earl of Athole died. Pitscottie too, it must be remembered, was a prose chronicler, not a poet, but it was common at this period to write indifferent occasional verses. His contemporary, Kirkcaldy of Grange, was the author of only a single 'rusty rhyme.'² Abakuk Bisset in the beginning of the following century introduced his 'Rolment of Courts,' a dry law treatise, to Prince Charles with a copy

¹ Lives of the Lindsays, p. 209.

² Satirical Poems of the Reformation.

of dedicatory verses. The tone and tendency of the verses prefixed to the manuscript of Pitscottie are identical with those of the Chronicles.

Pitscottie showed himself in both a son of the Scottish Reformation, as his elder kinsman the Lyon King was one of its fathers, and his chief, Lord Lindesay of the Byres, one of its champions. The breach with Rome was now complete. It was no longer a question of reform within the Catholic Church, but of separation from the Papacy. Fife, where Pitscottie passed his life, was a part of Scotland in which the outward causes that produced the Reformed Church had operated more rapidly than in any other district. It might even be called, at least when Knox lived and preached in it, the centre of the Scottish Reformation. The Highlands and the Borders continued longer Catholic. 'The nearer to Rome the 'farther from the Pope,' had its parallel in the neighbourhood of James Beaton the archbishop, and his nephew David the cardinal. Their long successive tenure of the Scottish primacy, from 1522 to 1546, exhibited to Fife the spectacle of the ambitious prelates, miniatures of the ambitious Popes, whose conduct alienated Scotland from Rome. Pitscottie had been born during the life of the cardinal, and if he was as inquisitive a boy as he was a man, the scandalous passages in it, magnified by the gossip of the country-side, yet founded on fact, must have early reached his ears. He can scarcely have failed to read, perhaps before it was published, 'The Tragedy of the Cardinal,' and may likely enough have been on the play-field of Cupar when the 'Satire of the Three Estates' was acted there in 1552. Probably he had not been present at the burning of Wishart at St Andrews on 28th March

1546, of which he has given a narrative in his *Chronicles* without any personal reminiscences ; but, like Knox, he sympathised with Norman Leslie, Kirkcaldy of Grange, and the band of conspirators who slew the cardinal, though his humanity revolted against the ignominious treatment of the corpse. If he did not hear, as he may well have done, some of the sermons Knox preached at St Andrews and in the East of Fife, their teaching sank into his spirit, and he borrows words and phrases from the historian of the Reformation. All classes were still divided on the question of the Church. The leading men of the Commons, especially in the boroughs, were Reformers, and so large a number of the nobility in the Lowlands, especially in Fife and Angus, as gave to their party the name of the Lords of the Congregation. The royal house, some powerful nobles and their followers amongst the Commons, continued Catholics. A third party still wavered or appeared to waver. The two patrons Pitscottie chose for his *Chronicles* were examples, the one of the nobles who had become Protestant, and the other of the Waverers.

Pitscottie's
patrons,
Robert
Stewart,
brother of
Lennox.

Robert Stewart, brother of Lennox, had early embraced the principles of the Reformation. He had been nominated when a youth and only a deacon, Bishop of Caithness in the reign of James V. Having taken part with Lennox in his rising against the Regent Arran in 1545, he fled to England, where he remained eighteen years and became Protestant. On his return home he retained the title of bishop, and in 1570, when his brother became regent, he received the office of Commendator of the Priory of St Andrews, but, according to Pitscottie, 'very little of the benefices of the office was reservit to the said bishop saifand his title and superiority of the same.' As a result of the murder of Lennox in 1571,

and the death of his nephew Charles in 1576, the bishop succeeded to the earldom of Lennox; for though James VI. as son of Darnley had a preferable claim, he waived it, and the bishop sat in Parliament for two years as Earl of Lennox. In 1581, however, an arrangement was made to provide for the king's favourite Esme Stewart, the Bishop's nephew, who was created Duke of Lennox with a grant of the lands of the earldom. The bishop, who resigned both lands and title, received in exchange the title of Earl of March. As he is not designed in Pitscottie's dedicatory verses either Earl of Lennox or Earl of March, but only Commendator of St Andrews, it seems a fair inference that they were written at least prior to March 1578, when a charter of the earldom of Lennox was granted to him, or possibly a year or two earlier when the succession opened by the death of his nephew Charles. This is confirmed by the passage where Pitscottie^e refers to Lady Margaret Douglas, the wife of Lennox, as still living when he wrote¹; as we know, the date of her death was 7th March 1578.

John, fourth Earl of Athole of the Stewart line, was a hereditary Catholic, and generally a supporter of Mary of Guise and of Mary Stuart. He married as his second wife Margaret, daughter of Malcolm, Lord Fleming of Cumbernauld, a family warmly attached to the young queen. He was one of the three lords who declared in 1560, at the crucial point of the Reformation, that 'they would believe as their fathers had believed.' But even before Queen Mary's return to Scotland in 1561 he had shown symptoms of a disposition to assist the Lords of the Congregation, and he took part in the expedition against Huntly in 1562. He was intimate with Lennox,

Position
of John
Stewart,
Earl of
Athole, to
whom
Chronicles
sent.

¹ I. 297, l. 13.

Maitland of Lethington, who married his wife's sister, and to a less extent with Lord James Stewart, the future Regent Murray. After Mary's abdication he joined in a bond to assist in putting the king on the throne, and in April 1569 signed a second bond acknowledging Murray as regent. Yet on 16th April 1570 he signed a petition of 'divers Scottish lords' to Queen Elizabeth praying her to restore Mary to Scotland. This is referred to in the satirical poem against Lethington, 'The Cruikit leads the Blind,' in which Lethington is the crooked politician who leads the blind nobles, and amongst them Athole :—

'Gif ye gar Athol do sic schame,
'As to consent to bring her hame,
'And gif the gyding to Madame,
'They will put downe the King.'

In 'Lord Methven's Tragedy,' a poem by Semple, printed in 1572, he is addressed in terms which show that though mistrusted by the king's party it was thought he might still be won over :—

'Fy on the ! Atholl ! quhat dois thow requyre ?
'May not their murthers mufe thy hart to Ire ?
'Gif thou had mettall, man, to bring the to !
'Thy dowbill faith may not abyde the fyre,
'Swa misbelief sall leif the in the myre.
'Or hes thy wyfe the wite of it ? quhair is scho ?
'Defend the caus, man, quhill the King cum to :
'Gif natural kyndnes kindillis vp thy breist,
'We, beand down, na dout thow salbe neist.'

His opposition to the election of Morton as regent again raised hopes that he might still act along with, though he could scarcely belong to, the party of the Reformers ; but when he failed to prevent Morton's election he withdrew to his seat in the country, where he lived 'in great splendour

‘on his own estate.’ Proceedings were taken against him in 1574 as a Catholic, which he evaded by declaring that ‘he was not fully resolved upon sundry headings of ‘Religion,’ and though he was given only to midsummer ‘to be resolved,’ it is very doubtful whether he ever even outwardly conformed. He continued to live in Athole till the spring of 1578, when he took part with Argyle in depriving Morton of the regency, and was made Chancellor on 28th of March. Next year, after meeting Morton in arms near Stirling, they were apparently reconciled by the influence of Bowes the English Ambassador; but he died at Kincardine on 24th April 1579 after a banquet given by Morton, who was accused by his son and widow, it would appear without ground, of poisoning him.

It must have been while he was still in Athole, and probably before he came south in 1578, that Pitscottie’s verses were written, for he requests the bishop after he has read the manuscript to send it to—

‘Athoill that most hie cuntrie
‘And to that lord hairtlie zow commend.’

The concluding lines of the verses could scarcely have been written after the first downfall of Morton in 1578:—

‘Salute his lordschip with all humillitie
‘Beseikand him of his benegnitie
‘That of thy fame nothing as zit be sprong
‘Into the cuntrie quhill that the king is zoung.

‘Becauss thow mellis with the authoritie
‘At this tyme quha hes it now in hand
‘And als declairis of that clan the veritie
‘Thairfoir I wald thay did nocht vndirstand
‘That thow hes taine sick hie matteris in hand
‘To this guid lord gif thy haill credence
‘Quhan he thinkis tyme thy matter to avance.’

Relation
of the
Bishop to
Athole.

The Bishop of Caithness married a daughter of Athole, Elizabeth Stewart, the widow of Lord Lovat, shortly before her father's death, and this connection must have increased the intimacy already existing between the house of Lennox and the house of Athole. It is clear from the dedicatory verses that it was to confirm the bishop, and through him Athole, in their opposition to Morton, who is referred to as 'the Authoritie,' and the whole Douglas clan, that the manuscript of the Chronicles was sent before its publication to the bishop and the earl, and the time of its publication placed in their discretion. Possibly Pit-scottie may have looked to them to defray the necessary expenses.

Once this clue has been caught it is impossible to maintain the Chronicles have not a partisan character, or seriously to doubt their author was the author of the verses. The copy now for the first time published is continued from 1565 down to 1st January 1576, and so fulfils the promise of Pit-scottie in the Preface. It is very singular that none of the other manuscripts which have been found come down further than 1565.

The pres-
ent edition
first com-
plete text
down to
1575 as
promised
in Preface.

This point will be further considered when the manuscripts are described. It appears certain that we now for the first time have a complete copy of the original work, though probably not Pit-scottie's own copy, but one made from it a little later, before the end of the sixteenth or shortly after the beginning of the seventeenth century. The importance of having a new independent and contemporary narrative of the momentous decade of Scottish history between 1565 and 1575 needs no comment. Unfortunately the pressure of the time, or the circumstance that he was writing of events of the most critical character

in which men still living had taken part, led the Chronicler to adopt the briefer and drier style of the annalist. There are none of the characteristic stories or personal portraits which make the earlier part of his work so picturesque and interesting.

Why were the Chronicles not earlier printed? The condition of the manuscripts now used, and that of several others which have either contents of chapters or marginal notes or both, indicate that publication must have been contemplated. In particular the Cholmondeley MS., now Mr Scott's,¹ may be almost described as prepared for the press. The last lines of the verses already quoted, indeed, commit it to the decision of the Bishop and Athole when the Chronicles should be given to the world. But they also contain a caution that they should not be printed while Morton had still the supreme power, because they 'mell' or meddle 'with the authoritie.' This no doubt explains why they were not printed during Morton's life. There had been a recent illustration that the Press, though the natural ally of the Reformation, was not free so long as he was Regent. Pitscottie himself tells the story. 'In the month of January 1574,' he writes,² 'there was two or thrie doctoris of the colledgis of St Andrews that set ane dialog touching the oppressions of the pure and the down putting of the ministrie, thrie or four kirkis to ane minister, and the heidis of the dialogue was that the regent and the consal had dune wrong in the inputting of thrie or four kirkis to ane minister with uthir things quilk sal be declairit and so they commit this dialog to be prented in Edinburgh for the quhilk cause the regent causit to tak the prenter

Why not
printed till
1724.

Regent
Morton
and the
Press.

¹ MS. I, fully described below, p. lxviii.

² MS. I, p. 162 b.

'[Lekpreuik]¹ and put him in prisoun and summond the
'makar of the same dialog calleit Mr John Davidson and
'quhat wes done ye sall heir heirafter.' In June of the
same year he adds:² 'At this tyme the maist pairt of
'the nobilitie and ministrie was in Edinburgh anent cer-
'tane artickillis and about the suffering of ane day of
'law anent the clairk quha had set furth the dialog as I
'have schewin to you callit "the clairk and the courteour"
'bot the said clairk durst nocht enter and was fugitive
'and the ministrie was disappointit and nothing done
'but continuation till September following.' The result
was that Davidson had to fly to England.³

At such a time no one who valued a quiet life and
wished to avoid the imminent risk of prison or exile
would care to publish a work with statements such as
the following: 'There was mony wreittings cassin in upon
'the regent of his grediness but nocht avowit'; and,
'There was sindrie ministeris that set up dialoggs agains
'the regent and his consaill' when Morton and his council
declared their view in the never-ending conflict for power
between Statesmen and Churchmen to be that 'the king
'and his consall sould be supreme heid of the Kirk under
'God,' and that 'the lords were reavand at the benefices
'out of all the papistis handis to the effect there awin
'profeitt might flourishe and not the glore of God.'

After the execution of Morton in 1581 the immediate
object of publishing the Chronicles did not exist, but the
principal obstacle to the publication was also removed.
The Bishop of Caithness died in 1586, and if the conjec-

¹ Calderwood in his *Larger History* gives the indictment against Lekpreuik.
Appendix to Calderwood's *Wodrow Society* edition, viii. p. 201.

² MS. I, p. 162 a.

³ Calderwood, iii. p. 313.

ture be correct that Pitscottie predeceased him, there may have been no one sufficiently interested to superintend or pay for their publication. James VI., who after his marriage in 1589 assumed the personal government of Scotland, was not likely to relish the outspokenness of the Chronicles as regards Queen Mary or their Presbyterian tendencies. Reflec-
tions on
Queen
Mary.

The striking scene at Buchanan's deathbed will be recollected, when his friends dissuaded him from printing certain passages in his history for fear of the anger of the king, and Buchanan declared that he would brave 'his 'feid and that of all his kin.' Pitscottie had not the strength or boldness of Buchanan. Whatever may have been the reason, it was not till the last Stuart sovereign had died, and the Hanoverian succession had been secured by the defeat of the Rebellion of 1715, that the work of Pitscottie was printed by Freebairn in 1728. In the interval it had been often copied; but it would seem that it was not thought safe, even in the seventeenth century, to copy the part which related to the period between 1565 and 1575.

While the personal character of Pitscottie and the course of his uneventful life must be left almost a blank, the Chronicles themselves leave little doubt as to his character as a describer of past and an observer of contemporary history. He was a graphic and, in the main, an honest chronicler, skilful in selecting salient points or characteristics, able to represent them in a lively fashion, ready, after the manner of his countrymen, to moralise on the past. He was not a historian by profession, or an educated scholar like Boece or Bellenden, Leslie or Buchanan. Probably he gained in naturalness more than he lost in Pitscottie's
character
as a writer
of history.

art. But he had other defects. He had some of the credulity of an earlier age, from which, indeed, few of his countrymen were altogether free, and he had the prejudices of his own time and party. He does not write with the exactness or strict accuracy now demanded of historians. Probably this was not within his reach. His dates, especially prior to 1542, and his genealogies require revision. His opinions will be often contested by modern historians; always by those of an opposite party or with different prejudices. We cannot yet escape in the nineteenth from the conflicts of the sixteenth century.

Nor, though his opportunities of obtaining information were considerable, did he belong to the inner circle of those who were making the history of their time or were intimate with the chief actors. He was an outside observer keenly interested, like every man of intelligence and patriotism, in what was going on; but his narrative is not to be accepted without comparison with other sources, some of them only revealed in recent times. Yet not only in his pithy vernacular but also in his attitude and sentiments he is a genuine Scot of a now distant generation whose character he represents. He also throws important lights on the history of Scotland during nearly the whole period from the death of James II. to the commencement of the personal reign of James VI.,—a period during which we cannot afford to dispense with any light that can be obtained. In the house of history there are many mansions, and a place will always be found there for one from whom every subsequent historian of Scotland has borrowed even when he criticised, and who was called affectionately by Sir Walter Scott, who made better use of his *Chronicles* than any other writer, 'Auld Pitscottie.'

II.—THE MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED EDITIONS
OF PITSCOTTIE.

Sixteen manuscripts of the 'Chronicles of Scotland' by Pitscottie have been examined for the present edition. <sup>Manu-
scripts
examined.</sup> Though every effort has been made to render the examination exhaustive, there is reason to believe that other manuscripts may exist. Two which were in the library of the eighth Lord Belhaven have been lost sight of, and this is confirmed by a reference in MS. Q to Lord Belhaven's folio MS. The agents of the present lord were good enough to make inquiries as to their fate; but the books of the eighth lord were sold, and these manuscripts may have been sold with them. Another MS., believed to have been in the Auchinleck Library, and a MS. called the Kilravock MS., have not been traced. It is likely there were other manuscript copies, for few books of Scottish history were in more request at the close of the sixteenth and during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. It had then the interest of modern or recent history, and it told the antecedents of the reigning dynasty of Great Britain. The value of such a work was known throughout Scotland, and the fact that it had not been printed enhanced its interest. Its vernacular, then familiar to every Scottish reader, its graphic narrative, and well-told stories, made it more popular than the older chronicles of Wynthoun and Fordun, or the Latin histories of Major, Boece, Lesley, and Buchanan, though not so popular as the poems of Blind Harry and Barbour, who had sung the tales of the heroes who won the independence of Scotland. Pitscottie has a character all its own. The period

it covers, from the death of James I. to the regency of Morton, contains most of the romantic and tragic incidents in the history of the Scottish sovereigns of the race of Stuart. It possesses another and different interest as the work of an ardent advocate of the Scottish Reformation, and, as a necessary consequence, of an English in preference to a French alliance. Its language is one of the best specimens of Scottish prose of the seventeenth century.

Causes of
delay in
publica-
tion.

Some of the manuscript copies contain marks of preparation for publication which will be pointed out when they are separately described. But its publication was delayed by a series of untoward circumstances,—the death of Pitscottie, probably, as we have seen, about 1578, and, within a few years, of his patrons the Bishop of Caithness and the Earl of Athole, the troubles of the times, the suppression of the press of Lekpreuik, and, as I have conjectured, the reflections on the Douglas family, one of whose members, James, Earl of Morton, was regent when it was completed, and in one at least of the manuscripts on Mary Stuart, the mother of the reigning Scottish king.

The original manuscript has probably not been recovered.

Only one
complete
copy.

The copies to be presently described were made, some soon after the completion of the work, others, with additions and omissions, at later, possibly some, not carried so far down, at earlier dates. Singularly, only one, and that the most recently recovered copy, which wandered across the Border, fulfils the promise of Pitscottie in his Preface to continue his history ‘sen fyftie-
‘aucht zeir wnto the thrie scoir fyftein zeir.’ All the other manuscripts, with the possible exception of MS. A, which breaks off unfinished in 1564, end on 8th March

1565, the date of a Parliament of Queen Mary of which no record except that of Pitscottie has been preserved. Most of the copies contain an Addition, but it is an 'Addition by another hand,' or rather 'other hands'; for after a few brief jottings of events between 1565 and the death of Elizabeth upon 24th March 1603, including a notice of a Danish embassy to her on 25th February 1598, there is a somewhat minute account abridged from a pamphlet published at the time of the progress of James VI. from Scotland to take possession of the vacant throne, and a narrative of the embassy of the Earl of Rutland to announce to Christian IV., King of Denmark, the christening of Prince Charles, and to deliver to the Danish king the Order of the Garter. The 'Addition' ends with the return of the ambassador to Hampton Court on 8th August 1605. There is no reason to suppose that any of this additional matter was written or added by Pitscottie, who was certainly dead in 1592, probably some years earlier. Yet not only most of the manuscript copies, but the printed edition of Sir John Graham Dalryell in 1814, treated the Addition as if it was the work of Pitscottie himself, or at least copied it without any warning that it was not. Freebairn had known better, and his edition in 1728, and its reprint by Urie of Glasgow in 1749, state on the title-page that the 'Addition' was 'by another hand.' This error of some of the copyists and of Dalryell has now been finally exposed by the recovery of Manuscript I, purchased by Mr John Scott, C.B., of Halkhill, at the sale of the Phillippis library in 1896. Through his courtesy, it has been placed at the disposal of the Scottish Text Society, and largely used in the present edition.

The Addition not written by Pitscottie.

MS. A the
basis of
present
text, sup-
plemented
by MS. I.

Prior to its discovery eight other principal manuscripts had been examined, and after consultation with several gentlemen well qualified to judge on such a point, Manuscript A, in the Laing Collection, now in the Library of the University of Edinburgh, was chosen as the oldest, and, on the whole, though not free from blunders in copying, the best text to follow in this edition.

A considerable portion of the beginning of Manuscript A had unfortunately been torn off, and has been supplied from Manuscript I. Large omissions had also been made in Manuscript A, and probably in the original, of which it is a copy, and these also have been supplied from Manuscript I. The most important of all the additions which Manuscript I supplies is the missing matter from 1565 to 1575, which is printed for the first time, so that we now have the whole Chronicles as promised in the Preface from the death of James I., when the original edition of the Chronicles by Hector Boece terminated, down 'to the fyftein hundred thrie scoir and fyftein zeir.'

The Chronicle of the reign of James II., however, as has long been known, is merely a translation from the posthumous edition of Boece's Chronicles by a Piedmontese monk, John Ferrerius, some time resident at Kinloss, published at Paris in 1574.

The decade, of which we now have an independent narrative by a contemporary, contains the murder of Darnley, the Bothwell marriage, the engagements of Carberry and Langside, the flight of Mary Stuart to England, the regencies of Murray, Lennox, Mar, and part of that of Morton, the death of John Knox, and the siege of the Castle of Edinburgh, the execution of

Grange, and the death of Lethington. Few discoveries of more importance in the original MS. materials of Scottish history have been made in recent years. Yet expectation must not be raised too high. The discovery is not what that of a lost decade of Livy would be. The new matter will not by itself solve any of the critical points in the central crisis of the Scottish annals. Vindicators of Mary Stuart will still continue to defend her from the charges of complicity in a murder of more than ordinary atrocity and adultery of a more than common shamelessness. Her adversaries will still believe her capable of almost any crime. There will still be admirers and detractors of Knox and of Murray, of Kirkcaldy of Grange and Maitland of Lethington. Pitscottie, though a close observer of the events he narrates, took no prominent part in the great drama, and he wrote as a partisan of the Reformation. Impartiality was then an impossible virtue, nor is it easy now when three centuries of controversy have made darker what was dark enough before. Still an independent record of this time cannot be neglected by any reader or writer who may attempt to sift the facts and ascertain the truth as to the character of Mary and the transition from mediæval to modern Scottish history.

The existence of this part of the Chronicles in only a single manuscript raises a minor problem already alluded to which concerns the present survey of the known manuscripts of Pitscottie. Why are all the other manuscripts incomplete or mutilated? Did Pitscottie circulate his Chronicles in two forms, at first without and afterwards with the last decade from 1565 to 1575? Or were the scribes who made copies afraid to copy the story of these years as he had written it, even in the reign of James

Why all
the MSS.
except
MS. I in-
complete.

VI.? I incline, as has already been stated, to the latter opinion. It would be difficult otherwise to account for the express promise of the Preface, and it will be found, when the manuscripts are carefully examined, that not only in this period, but in several others of an earlier date, omissions have been made which we are now able to restore from Manuscript I. Examples of these may be found in the account of the conduct in her widowhood of Mary of Gueldres, which is evidently drawn as a reflection on the behaviour of the widowed Mary Stuart; the narrative of the events which placed Henry VII. on the English throne, with the part, hitherto unknown, which Sir Alexander Bruce of Earlshall played at the battle of Bosworth Field as Captain of the Scottish Horse, and the comic incident of Macgregor's theft of the crown of England, the truth of which may, however, be doubted.

Before describing in detail the manuscripts examined, and explaining the reasons why they have or have not been adopted for use in this edition, it is expedient to state on what principles the present text has been edited.

The deficiencies of MS. A supplied from MS. I.

Taking Manuscript A as the oldest, and on the whole best text so far as it is extant, its deficiencies have been supplied from Manuscript I, pointing out when each has been used. Obvious blunders of the scribes of either manuscript have been corrected, but some readings have been left, as is explained in the notes, which may or may not be blunders; for it is possible that they are only instances of the strange modes of spelling prevalent at this period in Scottish manuscripts, when the older Scottish literary dialect was being replaced by a modern English, not yet itself completely settled in its present forms of spelling and grammar. In the

portion printed from Manuscripts A and I, the probably second oldest independent Manuscript B, also in the ^{MS. B} Edinburgh University Library, has been collated and ^{collated.} any important differences noted. It was at one time thought that it might be expedient to collate also the undoubtedly old Wemyss Castle Manuscript H, and J the Innerpeffray manuscript; but on examination the differences between these manuscripts and Manuscripts A and B were found to be insufficient to justify the extra labour in collation. Indeed the collation which has been made may perhaps be thought to have been carried too far and into trivial details. For apart from the important and large additions which have been supplied from MS. I, the collation of the MSS. does not result in much difference in the sense. But as the present edition is published by the Scottish Text Society, it was thought proper to show even minute differences in spelling, grammar, and phraseology. For the same reason almost the only liberty taken with the text printed has been in some cases to break up long into shorter sentences.

The chief variations from the printed Freebairn's edition of 1728 and Dalyell's of 1814 have been pointed out. The methods of these editors were very different. Freebairn <sup>Free-
bairn's
edition.</sup> printed an honest and straightforward modernised version of Manuscript D, or a copy from the same original. So we have in his edition an important index of the change in the Scotch vernacular between the last half of the sixteenth century, when the older MSS. were written, just before the union of the crowns, and the commencement of the eighteenth century, just after the union of the Parliaments. There is little in the grammatical forms,

and not very much in the words used in Freebairn's edition, which any English reader cannot easily follow.

Dalyell's
edition.

Dalyell attempted to restore the original text from what he deemed the best manuscripts. Credit is due to him for the attempt. But he did so in an uncritical manner, and at a time when the modifications and mutations of language had not begun to be carefully studied. He does not give any clear explanation of what manuscripts he used, but he had not access to more than a small number of those now examined. He says in his Preface: 'Several manuscripts have been employed in preparing these volumes, all of unequal date and exhibiting considerable discrepancies in style and matter. Two, to judge from external circumstances, belong nearly to the same period, the earlier part of the seventeenth century; a third, which is divided into chapters and terminates with the year 1598, is somewhat more recent; and a fourth, intimately corresponding with it, is scarce above a century old. Probably manuscripts of greater antiquity may still be extant, as a fragment has occurred which, according to the specimens annexed, is not posterior to the age of Mary. The two older manuscripts (*i.e.*, of the earlier part of the seventeenth century), though defective in some incidents found in the rest, are more copious on the whole; they narrowly coincide in substance, and are besides distinguished by that simplicity which in coeval writings makes an approach to originality. . . . Both these manuscripts contain the introductory description which is not seen in the others; but the poetical address prefixed to the first printed edition appears only in a single instance.'

Accordingly he prints the 'Introductory Description

‘ of Ingland Scotland Waillis and Cornewall,’ and he does not print the Introductory or Dedicatory Verses to the Bishop of Caithness.

As to the Description of Great Britain, although it may have been written by a Scotchman, there is no reason to suppose he was Lindesay of Pitscottie. It is not contained in the two best manuscripts (A and I), and it would have been quite inappropriate to introduce it in the continuation of Boece's Chronicles which Pitscottie's work bears to be, as Boece himself had already given a much fuller and better description of Scotland. Pitscottie's own Chronicles are also concerned with Scotland only, with the exception of a few digressions into English or Continental history, so that the account of England, Wales, and Cornwall, and the treatment of Wales and Cornwall as the third and fourth parts of the island of Britain, would be inappropriate as an introduction to a Scottish Chronicle.

The Description of Great Britain printed by Dalyell not written by Pitscottie.

This Description contains some curious remarks, possibly from the point of view of a Scottish Highlander, or at all events a Celtic writer, which would account for the importance he attaches to the Celtic districts of England. It probably was inserted by one of the copyists of Pitscottie on some blank leaves at the commencement of the volume in which he transcribed Pitscottie's own Chronicle, and was called by him or one of his followers an Introduction to Pitscottie's Chronicles, and so continued to be frequently copied, until it was at last printed by Dalyell as if it had been part of the work of Pitscottie. I have had no hesitation in following the example of Freebairn and omitting it.

On the other hand, I have already shown that the

The verses to the Bishop of Caithness not printed by Dalyell written by Pitscottie. verses to the Bishop of Caithness which Dalyell omits, and Lord Lindsay thought unworthy of Pitscottie, are his genuine work, and indeed very intimately connected with the history of his manuscript and its purpose. They are therefore printed in this edition. Their insertion in a manuscript copy may indeed be regarded as a mark of the acumen and diligence of the copyist.

The four MSS. Dalyell probably used. The remarks of Dalyell as to the four manuscripts he had seen deserve notice, and may probably enable us to detect those he used. As an advocate he had access to the two Manuscripts E and F in the Advocates' Library. They are in Ruddiman's Catalogue of 1742, and F is probably the one to which he refers as 'a third, which is 'divided into chapters and terminates with the year 1598 'and is somewhat more recent,' for F ends in 1598, and is undoubtedly a more recent manuscript than A and B in the University Library, the Wemyss Castle Manuscript H, and the Innerpeffray Manuscript J. It is also divided into chapters in Book xviii., though not further, and Dalyell was not sufficiently careful an editor to note when the division into chapters stopped. Manuscript I continues the division into chapters down to Queen Mary's reign, but there is no reason to suppose Dalyell was aware of its existence.

From a letter to him by George Chalmers, the author of the 'Caledonia,' which has been left loose in Manuscript C in the University Library, formerly belonging to Chalmers, there seems little doubt that Chalmers had communicated this manuscript to Dalyell. In this letter, dated 4th June 1809, he says: 'I have for some time been 'engaged in preparing an edition of Pitscottie, in the 'course of which three different manuscripts have fallen

'into my hands, all of unequal date. The oldest belongs
'to the earliest part of the seventeenth century, the second
'to the reign of Charles I., and the last to the last year
'of the same century, so far as I can guess from the
'different hands in which they are written. The two
'former profess to be a continuation of Bellenden's Boece
'in the same way as that you mention. They differ
'extremely from the printed copy, but more in expres-
'sion than the sense. Indeed that copy is full of
'interpolations by some of the latest transcribers.'

By 'the oldest manuscript' in this letter, which may be one of the two referred to in Dalyell's Preface as of the earlier part of the seventeenth century, it is probable that the University Manuscript B is meant. It is at least certain that Dalyell used this or a similar manuscript, for the Table of Contents, which is printed at p. 627 of his edition, is identical with the one in Manuscript B.

It is possible that he also had the use of MS. A, which at the time he wrote belonged probably to the father of Mr David Laing, and may be alluded to as 'a fragment,' because it is incomplete both at the beginning and the end.

Dalyell neither adopted the oldest text nor did he leave the text which he adopted unmodernised. The variations between his first paragraph and that of Manuscript I will show this as well as any other passage.

I reads 'murdrest,' Dalyell has 'slaine.'

I 'condinglie,' Dalyell 'condignlie.'

I 'punischit,' Dalyell 'punished.'

I 'na aw,' Dalyell 'no awe.'

I 'surffetting,' Dalyell 'furthsetting.'

I 'greit,' Dalyell 'great.'

I 'but doubt,' Dalyell 'without doubt.'

In all these cases I has the older form. Of course there are others where they agree in using the same old forms.

Dalyell's text is, in fact, an amalgam of several manuscripts adapted, when the editor thought proper, to modern usage.

It is not wonderful that the late Lord Lindsay, afterwards Earl of Crawford, projected a new edition, and made some preparation for one on the basis of the Wemyss Castle Manuscript, which is certainly one of the oldest. It is matter for regret that his intention was not carried out, and the Chronicles of Pittscottie remained unedited by his kinsman and chief, one of the most accomplished of Scottish noblemen, who had a rare interest in, and still rarer knowledge of, Scottish history. It is, however, some compensation that the delay in the issue of the new edition has led to a fuller examination of the various manuscripts, and above all to the recovery of Manuscript I.

MS. I. After the end of Pittscottie's Chronicle MS. I has a manuscript copy of Bishop Adamson's Recantation, which was printed in the year 1598. It is written in the same hand as the Chronicles. And a written copy is not likely to have been made after it was printed. It almost looks as if both this copy of the Recantation and the copy of Pittscottie's Chronicles had been prepared for the press, and that we may have the press copy. The date of MS. I is therefore about 1598. MS. A may be about twenty years earlier.

The name of the transcriber of MS. I is unknown. He speaks so modestly of himself in the note to the reader that we should like to have known it. The transcription

of the verses Thomas Davidson prefixed to Bellenden's translation of Boece, beginning—

‘Ingyne of man be Inclinatioun
‘In sindrie wayes is giwin as we sie,’

proves the transcriber knew Bellenden's work. The alteration of the verses so as to make them suit a writer instead of a printer, and similar alterations of parts of Sir David Lyndesay's ‘Complaynt of the Papingo,’ to answer the purpose of a brief description of the reigns of the Jameses, and the insertion of this and of Lyndesay's ‘Deploration for the Death of Quein Madelein,’ must not be looked on with the eyes of a keen modern hunter of plagiarisms. Nothing was more common at this period than to use and adapt the works of others in chronicles and other compositions. Although the writer depreciates his own skill, his manuscript is one of the most distinctly written and most free from blunders. When they do occur they have when clear been corrected in the text, when doubtful in the notes to this edition.

What remains to be said as to the manuscripts will be better said in the description of each which follows.

The object of this section of the Introduction is to enable the reader to judge for himself of the materials and sources of the present edition. It is scarcely to be expected that the original manuscript will now be found ; but we have got what is next best, a copy of the whole work the author designed, and probably in the form in which it was prepared for publication from the best copies. Yet recent examples show that it is as impossible to limit the chances of discovery in the small field of manuscript as in the large field of nature. When a poem of Sappho

and a treatise of Aristotle have recently been found buried in Egypt, who shall say that this Chronicle of Scotland may not lie hid in some Scottish or English library disguised by its title or neglected by its owner? The latter seems to have been the case with MS. I. Its fate affords an illustration of the general rule that MSS., like other antiquities, should be preserved in collections and libraries of the countries to which they belong. No one will rejoice more than the present Editor if the original text should be discovered, and more information than he has been able to collect should be obtained as to the author and his work.

Detailed
account of
the MSS.

The manuscripts which have been found and examined will now be described in detail.

MS. A.

MS. A. MS. A, Laing Collection, University of Edinburgh Scroll Catalogue, Division I. No. 218, is the oldest manuscript both in handwriting and language of those which have been examined, and accordingly so far as it goes has been taken as the basis of the present edition. It was probably written towards the end of the sixteenth century. Unfortunately it is not complete, and has a piece wanting both at the beginning and end of the MS. The discovery of MS. I has enabled these defects to be supplied, and more than supplied, as will be presently explained. MS. A has been copied by a somewhat careless scribe, and his mistakes have been in some instances corrected by collation with MS. B, which, although not of so old a date, appears to be a copy from the same original or one very similar to MS. A, and retains as ancient a text.

MS. A now contains 191½ folios, numbered from the present beginning of the MS. by a hand of the seventeenth century, which has added a few Memoranda on the two last pages, coming down to 1612. The MS. of the Chronicles itself commences with the words, 'At 'hame in respect of his enemeis [manuscript 'torn here] the houre and tyme sa justlie keepit and 'the kingis glad depairting,' p. 33, line 18, of this edition, and p. 28 of Sir John Graham Dalyell's printed edition of 1814. This passage refers to the relations between James II. and William, Earl of Douglas, about the year 1439. This MS. ends abruptly in the year 1564. It contains some matter not in the other MSS., especially in the reign of Queen Mary. Its phraseology is less smooth than most of the other MSS., and apparently it has been less subjected to an editorial hand. It was probably written not long after the last events recorded in it. There are some omissions—*e.g.*, the story about M'Lellan of Bombie (Dalyell's edition, 1814, vol. i. pp. 96 to 100, note, and present edition, pp. 89-93), and the account of the campaign of Henry VII. against Richard III., are not given, and are supplied in the present edition from MS. I.

This MS. belonged to John Gordon of Buthlaw, whose bookplate is on the inside of the cover, and there is an entry below the last line of the text, 'liber Johannis Gordon 'de Buthlaw Advocati 16 die Maii 1761 Edinburgh.' It is in a plain leather, apparently the original binding. The water-mark of the paper supports the view that the MS. was written in the sixteenth century.

MS. B.

MS. B. MS. B, Laing Collection, No. 216, is a more complete but somewhat later MS. than A, written continuously and including what in most of the MSS. is called 'An Addition,' and in some 'An Addition by another hand,' consisting of meagre and irregular jottings from 1566 to 1598; a somewhat detailed account of James VI.'s progress to London after the death of Queen Elizabeth, and also the embassy in the same year sent by James to Copenhagen to Christian IV., King of Denmark, none of which were, as has been shown, written by Lindesay of Pitscottie. This MS. has a Table of Contents, which is the same as that printed at p. 627 of Dalzell's edition of 1814, and has the same mistakes, so that it is undoubtedly one of the MSS. from which Dalzell compiled his edition. It is probably the copy which he described in his Preface as one in which the continuity of the text is uninterrupted. As the text in the same hand comes down to 1603, it cannot have been written before that year. It belonged to the family of Seton of Meldrum, and as that family changed its name to Urquhart in 1635, its date may be fixed as between 1603 and 1635. The language in this MS. is undoubtedly old, and a few readings have been supplied by a collation of it. But it has been very inaccurately printed by Dalzell. The MS. has at the commencement 'The briefe descriptione of England Scotland Waillis 'and Cornwall,' which, as we have seen, there is no reason to suppose to be the work of Pitscottie. But it does not contain the Preface in which Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie himself claims the authorship of the work, nor does it

have the dedicatory verses to Robert Stuart, Bishop of Caithness.

These have been added on separate loose sheets inserted by some recent possessor of the MS.

MS. C.

MS. C, University of Edinburgh, Laing Collection, MS. C. Division I. No. 583. This MS. belonged to George Chalmers, the author of the 'Caledonia.' It had been in the library of the Duke of Roxburghe, whose Arms are on the cover, and has a marking which shows it was lent by Robert Pitcairn, W.S., the editor of 'The Criminal Trials of Scotland,' to Lord Lindsay, afterwards Earl of Crawford, when he projected a new edition of Pitscottie in December 1843.

It contains 141 pages, not folios. It has the usual Preface by Pitscottie, and the Verses to the Bishop of Caithness. The Description of Britain is not prefixed. The text, as usual, begins with the death of James I., and there is an abbreviated copy of the Addition. Book xviii. is divided into the same chapters as I, but the chapters have no Tables of Contents, and there is no further division into chapters.

A few of Andrew Melville's epigrams, written apparently in a somewhat older hand than the MS. itself, are copied on pp. 1 and 2, and at the close there are some miscellaneous entries of historical events, and a copy of Drummond of Hawthornden's verses for his own epitaph. This MS. is in the handwriting of the Rev. Charles Lumsden, minister of Duddingston between 1640 and 1681, and its date, from a note in his hand, appears to be between 1640 and 1642. A further notice of

Lumsden, who was a well-known copyist of this period, is given in the notice of MS. M, which, as well as MS. N, was copied by him.

MS. D.

MS. D. This MS. is also in the University Library, D. C. 1, and is in one handwriting throughout, not earlier than the reign of Charles II. It contains the Verses to the Bishop of Caithness and the Preface by Pitscottie, and also the Addition, which comes down, however, only to 1598, in which year the interview between Queen Elizabeth and the Danish Ambassador is given. It is in plain leather binding, with the capital letters ^{E.}J. ^{L.}impressed on the cover, which may refer to John, Earl of Lindsay. It has notes which show that it had belonged to Sir George Lockhart of Carnwath, whose Arms are inside the cover, and afterwards to Sir Henry Jardine, the King's Remembrancer, from whose library it probably passed into that of the University. Its date may probably be about the end of the sixteenth century, or a little later.

MS. E.

MS. E. MS. E, Advocates' Library, 35-4-10, is a well-written MS. of 152 folios. The text of Pitscottie ends at folio 133 with the Parliament of Edinburgh in 1565 and the marriage of Earl of Bothwell to the sister of the Earl of Huntly. The usual Addition follows (fol. 133 to 145), and carries the History down to 8th August 1603, and as it is written in the same hand as the text the MS. cannot be of earlier date. Folios 146-152 contain 'The Table.' The regularity of the writing throughout and

the style of the language prove it to be not only a copy, but a copy in which the text has been to some extent modernised. It does not contain either the Preface or the Verses to the Bishop of Caithness, or the usual Introduction, but it has the brief description of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. There is nothing in the volume to show to whom it originally belonged. Its date may be about the beginning of the seventeenth century.

MS. F.

MS. F, Advocates' Library, 35-4-11. This is a well- MS. F.
written MS. containing 108 folios and the Addition, which goes down only to 1598. It has the full Preface, but not the Verses to the Bishop of Caithness. The Introduction, 'Heir begineth the 18th buik of the Chronicles of Scot-land,' is somewhat abbreviated. This MS. is divided into chapters, but without tables of their contents or marginal notes. The division into chapters is continued, however, only through Book xviii., after which the narrative is continuous. It is evidently a copy from another MS., and appears to be all written in the same hand, including the Addition, so that it cannot have been copied prior to 1598. Probably both this and the MS. from which it was copied were not written until at latest the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

MS. G.

MS. G is the property of Mr John Scott, C.B., of Halks- MS. G.
hill, by whom it was purchased at the sale of the Beckford portion of the library of the Duke of Hamilton. It is a modern copy and of no independent value for the text.

MS. H.

MS. H. MS. H, the Wemyss MS., is the property of Mr Randolph Wemyss of Wemyss Castle, Fife. It bears on the fly-leaf the following inscription : ' In anno 1670. This ' Book was given me by Mr James Nairne Minister of ' Wemyss who was Chaplane to the King Cha^r. Secund ' and the said Mr Nairne died in anno 1678 in Febry. ' WEMYSS.'

It contains 155 folios, and has the usual Preface and Verses addressed to the Bishop of Caithness. On the page opposite the fly-leaf there is the usual Introduction, slightly varied in these terms : ' Heir begineth the auctent ' buik of the cronickles of Scotland quhilk wer left on- ' writtin be the last translatoure to wit Maister Hector ' Boyce And Maister Johnn Bannatyne Quha left thair ' Cronickles and endit at King James the First so this ' buik begineth at King James the Secund and ordourlie ' proceeds of all Kings Queinis Gouvernours and Regents ' to this hour quhilk is 1575 yeiris With ane breif de- ' scription of Scotland Ingland Wailes and Cornewall,' as follows. It does not contain the Addition, and comes down only to 1565 (which is curious after the explicit declaration that the Chronicles are carried down to ' this ' hour quhilk is 1575'). It has at the close of the text, ' The Table of this buik orderlie as writtin from ye first ' to ye last and in quhat leafe ze sall find ye samen.' The last entry in this table is, ' The Erle Bothwell married ' the Earl Huntlie's sister. Parliament Haldin at Edin- ' burgh the suits called mony compeired and I came my ' way and so continued

' Finis quod ego.'

In the text the closing paragraph is, 'In the quhilk parliament the Earl of Huntlie was restorit againe that same day and the rest of all matters continuit to the twelfth day thairafter quhilk my authour continues to this houre to speik further of.' From these fragmentary entries it would appear that the scribe had been present at this Parliament, and possibly had employed his leisure time in writing up the copy of Pitscottie, and expected that he might continue his copying work at some other time, which, however, he never did. This of course is merely conjecture from the above brief entries. I remember seeing Mr Cosmo Innes occupying his time during tedious debates in the court of which he was clerk in this way.

This undoubtedly is an old MS., and much consideration was given to the question whether it should not be made the foundation of the present edition, especially as the late Earl of Crawford at one time contemplated using it for the purpose of a new edition of Pitscottie. But the opinion of the best judges is, as before explained, that on the whole the University MS. A is an older text, and as the defects of that MS. have not only been completely supplied, but much additional matter added through the discovery of MS. I (Mr Scott's MS.), it has been thought better to take these two MSS. as the foundation of the present edition.

The Wemyss MS. is substantially the same text as MS. J, the Innerpeffray MS., to be presently described. Both contain at the close in identical terms the curious entry above quoted, and a marginal note opposite to it: 'Parliament haldin at Edinburgh the suitis callit money compeirit and I come my way.' MS. J has 'naine' instead

of 'money,' and the former is perhaps the correct reading, as it would account for the scribe, who was probably one of the clerks of Parliament, coming away. The date of MS. J, as will be seen from the colophon by the writer, where it is more fully described, is 1600, and the Wemyss MS. is probably a copy of about the same date.

MS. I.

MS. I. MS. I, now the property of Mr John Scott, C.B., of Halkshill, was acquired by him at the Phillipps sale on 16th June 1896, being MS. 1023. The text of Pitscottie is on 164 folios, which contain much more matter than the 191½ folios of MS. A, through the folio being larger and the writing closer, as in the 155 folios of MS. H, which, for the same reasons, contain more than the 191½ of MS. A. It was bought in 1827 at the sale of Sir J. Page Turner's library by Sir Thomas Phillipps, and formerly belonged to the Right Honourable Hugh, Viscount Cholmondeley, who was born about 1663, and succeeded as third Viscount Cholmondeley of Kells in 1681. He was Lord Lieutenant of North Wales 1702-1713, and was created Earl of Cholmondeley 29th December 1706. He died 18th January 1725. As his armorial book-plate in this volume describes him as Viscount, he must have owned this volume before 1706. The water-mark in the paper is the grape.

This MS. substantially has, with a few variations, the same old spelling as MS. A in the University, but is in a later hand. It is also much fuller, and has scarcely any lacunæ. It begins with the common Preface, after which follows in large capital letters the following note :—

‘THE EXORTATIOUN TO THE RIDER
 PRAYAND HIM TO BE CIRCV-
 MSPECT AND EXPERT IN
 REIDING BECAUS HE
 IS BOT ANE ZOVNG SCHOL-
 IAR THAT WREITT IT
 THAIRFOIR HALD
 HIM EXCVSIT.’

But although this note, as well as the MS. itself, show some bad or doubtful spellings, the transcript is one of the best of all the MSS. of Pitscottie’s Chronicles. It is written apparently all in one hand, although some of the additions in the same volume appear to be in a different hand. These are at folio 166: ‘The accusatioun confessioun and death of the Bishope of Sanct Andros called Jhoune Hamiltoun’; and at folio 170: ‘Mr Johnne Strattonis sermon anno 1611.’

Amongst the additional matter in this MS. may be noted:—

1. The introductory poem from Bellenden’s Boece, beginning—

‘Ingyne of man be Inclinatioun
 ‘In sindrie wayes is giwin as we sie,’

and ending—

‘And tak the sentence the best wayes that ze may
 ‘I sall do bettir will god ane vther day.’

This poem was written by Thomas Davidson the printer, and prefixed to the translation of Boece by Bellenden. It is followed by the copy of verses to the Bishop of Caithness.

2. The MS. of Pitscottie then begins, and is styled as

usual 'The 18th Buik of the Cronicles of Scotland quhair
' Maister Hector Boes left and M. Johone Ballentein
' translaitit of the five Kingis of the Steuarts begynning
' at James II.' But it differs from almost all the MSS.
by having a division into chapters and a table of contents
at the head of each chapter, down to the murder of
Darnley. The first may be taken as an example:—

' Heir beinnis the first chapt quhan James the Secund
' was crounit at Scone be awyce of the heill nobillitie:
' and quhan Schir Allexander Levingstoun of Callendar
' was chossin governour: And Schir William Crichtoun
' neu approvit Chansellar. Of gret extortionis and enor-
' meteis done in spetiall in annerdeill: and in money
' other pairtis of Scotland. Of money other troubillis
' that fell in Scotland at this tyme: And hou the queine
' tuik her sone out of the Castell of Edinburghe, be slicht
' fra Schir Williame Crichtoun capten thairof to the gov-
' ernour to Stiruiling.'

After narrating the murder of Darnley the division into chapters ceases and the concluding portion of the MS. is in one unbroken narrative, though in the same style and handwriting as the preceding portion. The division into chapters and statement of their contents seem to show the MS. had so far been prepared for publication.

3. There are verses at the end of each of the reigns of James II., III., IV., and V., and 'The Deploratioun of Quein Madelein's death' by Sir David Lyndesay is inserted at the commencement of the 21st book, chapter xxviii. Most of the verses at the end of each reign are taken from Lyndesay's 'Complaynt of the Papingo,' the rest appear to be original, or at least have not been traced.

4. Book xx. The Reign of Queen Mary is much fuller than in the other MSS., and extends from folio 93 *verso* to folio 134 *recto*. Folios 135 to 164 have a history of the reign of James VI. between 1565 and 1575, which is contained in no other MS.

5. There are also other smaller and a few considerable additions of details or incidents not in the printed editions or in most of the other MSS.

From the above it appears that this MS., although not written at quite so early a date as MS. A, contains almost as early and substantially the same text as A so far as A goes. It is also much more complete, and enables the missing parts of A at the beginning and end to be supplemented. It seems certain, therefore, that MS. I is the only MS. which contains the complete and authentic text of Pitscottie, for it closes in 1575, the date fixed for the end of the work in the Preface; and it has none of the continuation or additional matter, certainly not written by Pitscottie, but found in most of the other MSS. It also omits 'The Description of England, Scotland, Wales, and Cornwall,' found in many MSS., and printed in Dalyell's edition, with which there is no reason to suppose Pitscottie had anything to do.

To fix its exact date is difficult, but the best judges of such a point incline to place it about 1598.

As the copy of 'The Recantation of Maister Patrik Adamsone swmtyme Archbischof of Sant Andros in Scotland,' is dated 1598, in which year it was printed,¹ is written in the same hand as Pitscottie's History, it is not probable that either can have been written long if at all after 1598,

¹ See Dickson and Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing*, p. 511.

though it was no doubt not uncommon to make manuscript copies of works after they were printed. The authenticity of the Recantation has been doubted, but it is thought without sufficient ground, as the names of the witnesses and the scribe are given, and some of them were certainly alive in 1598. Whether authentic or spurious, there is no doubt that it was printed in that year, and copies are now known—(1) in the British Museum, (2) in the Bodleian, and (3) in Mr Huth's library, (4) in the Advocates' Library, (5) in Mr John Scott's library at Halkhill. Mr Edmond conjectures that it was printed secretly in England or abroad, but possibly in Scotland by Robert Charteris. The discovery of this MS. copy of the Recantation, the work of a Scottish scribe, favours the conjecture that it may have been printed in Scotland.

MS. I may be deemed, therefore, very nearly, though not quite, as old as MS. A in the University Library, and older than MS. B there, or MS. H, the Wemyss Castle, and MS. J, the Innerpeffray MS., which are the other oldest MSS.

MS. J.

MS. J. MS. J has in pencil on the inside of the cover 'Innerpeffray Library,' but is at present in the library of Dupplin. It appears to be all written in one hand, and consists of 143 folios, which bring the history down to the marriage of the Earl of Bothwell with Lady Margaret Gordon and the restoration of Huntly at the Parliament of Edinburgh in the year 1565.

It has the Addition in the usual form contained in 5 folios, which continue the History down to King James VI. At the end of the text, before the Addition, there occurs this entry: 'Liber hic inceptus a me scriptore 23

' mensis Aprilis ac finitus penultimo die mensis Julii anno
' salutis humani, 1600.'

The usual Preface and the Verses to the Bishop of Caithness are omitted from this copy. On the page opposite the commencement there occurs the usual Introduction slightly varied: 'Heir beginis the auchteind
' buik of the croniklis of Scotland quilk was left one
' vreetin be the last translatouris to wit maister Hector
' Boyis and Maister Jhon Ballatyne quha left ye croniklis
' and endit at Kyng James the First. So this buik be-
' ginis at Kyng [James] the secund and ordourlie proceidis
' of al Kyngis Quens Gouvernouris and Regentis to this
' hour quhilk is 1575 yeiris.'

This MS. contains an old text, but the copy itself cannot, as the above entry proves, have been made before 1600, and is therefore somewhat more recent than A or B, or probably than I.

MS. K.

MS. K was found by Mr J. T. Clark, Keeper of the MS. K. Advocates' Library, in the library of the Earl of Kinnoull at Dupplin Castle. It is a late MS. and of no special value. It consists of 136 folios, of which 115 are in an older hand than the remainder. At the commencement of folio 1 it is stated in the older hand: 'Heir beginis
' the aughtent buik of the cronicles of Scotland begining
' at the regne of King James the secund Quher Maister
' hector boice left Quha was collector of the Scots hestorie
' And contenis the perfyt historie of all Kings Quenis
' princes and Gouvernors and Regents of this Realme
' alsueil concerning ciuill police as ecclesiasticall admin-
' istracione, to this present zeir of God ane thousand fyue
' hundreth thrie score and fyftene zeiris, begun to be

'writtin the first day of Appryll ane thousand sex hundredreth and aughtent zeiris, And to be follout furth and outred quhen God shall offer leasour to do the same.' So this copy cannot be of an earlier or much later date than 1618.

MS. L.

MS. L, which belongs to the Rev. D. MacGregor, The Manse, Inverallochy, Rathen, has the Preface by Pitscottie, and the Verses to the Bishop of Caithness. These are immediately followed by the commencement of the 18th Book of the Chronicles of Scotland with the usual somewhat modified heading, that it begins where 'Mr Hector Boes left and Mr John Ballantyne translated of the five kings of the Stewarts beginning at James II., and going down to the Parliament of 8th March 1565.' It also has the Addition from 1566 to 1598 in a very abbreviated form, answering to pp. 572 to 573 of Dalrymple's edition. The 'Description of Brittain' is not inserted at the commencement, nor are there any verses except those to the Bishop of Caithness. It contains 236 pages not numbered in folio. The whole MS. is modern in the character of the language, but the first ten pages are in a somewhat earlier handwriting. There is no division into chapters, and only a few unimportant marginal notes. It is too late a MS. to be of any value as an authority for the text.

MS. M.

MS. M. University Library, D. C. 1 is a fine volume in plain oak binding. It contains the usual Preface, Dedication, Verses to the Bishop of Caithness and the text is continued from the death of James I. down to the execution of the Duke of Argyll and the restoration of the

Parliament of 1564, which is the last entry of the Chronicles. The Addition follows with the usual jottings or short entries of various matters down to the embassy from the King of Denmark to Queen Elizabeth in 1598, and Queen Elizabeth's answer. It is believed to be in the handwriting of Mr Charles Lumsden, minister of Duddingston from 1640 to 1681, who was a well-known transcriber of documents. It is some confirmation of this that it has the name William Livingston on the last page of the volume, and Lumsden was married to a Margaret Livingston. The broad Scotch has been turned into the English of the period. This text is of course too late to be of any value as an authority.

MS. N.

MS. N, No. 198, Laing Collection, is a small quarto in MS. N. a hand of the seventeenth century identical with the preceding, and therefore also a copy by Charles Lumsden. The text is also identical both as regards the Chronicles and the Additions, and the language is the English used in Scotland, not the broad Scotch of the period. The name 'Johannes Kirkwood,' with the date '1655,' appears on the first page—and if this date can be taken as the date of the MS., which is probable though not quite certain, it is a curious proof at how early a period English was supplanting broad Scotch as a literary language even in Scotland. This MS. is also of no value as an authority.

MS. O.

MS. O is in one of the miscellaneous volumes of the MS. O. **Wodrow Manuscripts**, XLVIII., No. 11. The table of **contents** has the following entry: 'The Chronicles of

‘ Scotland, from the death of King James the first to
‘ King James ye 6th his birth 1567 with an addition
‘ mostly as to King James reception at London 1603.
‘ Ye author I know not. Its Pitscottie Lindsay.’ The
last three words being added later.

This MS. is a copy by Wodrow or his transcriber of one of the ordinary MSS. which carry the Chronicles down to March 1565—the marriage of Bothwell to Lord Huntly’s sister, Lady Jane Gordon, and the restoration of Lord Huntly. It also contains the ordinary addition from the birth of James VI. to the return of the Earl of Rutland’s Embassy to Denmark on 8th August 1605. It is not a MS. of any independent authority or value, and is at times somewhat condensed.

The notice in the Table of Contents appears to show that the owner did not at first know, but afterwards found out, that this copy was a transcript of Pitscottie’s work. This circumstance deserves notice, as it is quite possible there may be other MSS. of Pitscottie extant which have been lost sight of owing to their having the same general title of Chronicles of Scotland, and no reference to Pitscottie.

MS. P.

MS. P. This is a modern MS. in the collection of Mr Scott at Halkhill. It contains only a translation of the xviii. Book of Boece, and has the title-page, evidently prepared for the press, which is printed on the opposite page. Although this MS. is not of any independent value, it supplies some curious information as to one of the abortive projects of re-editing Pitscottie.

MS.
EXAMINATION
OF THE
COMMON SCOTTISH VERSION
OF
Boethius's
Reign of James the Second;
IN WHICH
THE VARIATIONS
ARE
DISTINGUISHED FROM
THE FAITHFUL RENDERINGS,
AND
THE ERRORS OF BOTH
ATTEMPTED TO BE CORRECTED,
AND
DEFECTS
SUPPLIED;
TO WHICH ARE ADDED
AN ADJUSTMENT OF THE CHRONOLOGY,
AND
REMARKS AND ADDITIONS
IN THE FORM OF
NOTES,
IN WHICH
THE MORE RECENT DISCOVERIES
RELATIVE TO
A Dark Period of the Scottish History
ARE SUBMITTED,
AND
THE ERRORS, AND OMISSIONS,
AS WELL AS
VALUABLE CONTRIBUTIONS,
OF ITS
LATEST HISTORIAN,
PINKERTON,
POINTED OUT;—
THE WHOLE BEING INTENDED
AS
SUBSIDIARY TO
AN IMPROVED EDITION
OF
THE SCOTTISH VERSION.

As has been seen from George Chalmers's letter to Sir John Dalyell, the indefatigable author of 'Caledonia' had projected in 1809 a new edition of Pitscottie, which probably he laid aside when Dalyell undertook the work, and this MS., which is in a hand of the commencement of the present century, had probably been prepared by or for him with a view to this new edition. It contains a note : 'The black words are the parts of the common version, 'which are retained,' meaning the words in black ink, but these are only in the proportion of about one in five to the words in red ink, which supply what is called in the title-page 'the literal version.' The literal version, although in Scots, has been apparently made by the compiler, and certainly does not correspond with any of the MSS. I have examined, though the Innerpeffray version has been read by the compiler, and is occasionally used in the text. Reference is also made, but not frequently, to Lord Belhaven's folio MS., and also to the Kilravock MS., both of which, as already noted, have disappeared.

This MS. contains the whole of the xviii. Book of Boece, but it has never been finally revised. The notes point out some, but only a few, of the mistakes of Boece, especially as to dates. It is characteristic of Chalmers that the title-page refers to 'the errors and omissions' of Pinkerton, although his 'valuable contributions' are also acknowledged. As Pinkerton, whose 'History of Scotland from the Accession of the House of Stuart' was published in 1797, is called the 'latest historian,' the MS. must have been written after that date, and probably not long before Chalmers's letter of 1809 above referred to.

Printed
editions.

The character of the printed editions of Pitscottie has already been indicated. There are three of these, and it is only necessary here for the sake of completeness to give their title-pages.

I. Freebairn's edition is a small folio entitled—

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
S C O T L A N D ;

From 21 *February*, 1436. to *March*, 1565.

In which are contained

Accounts of many remarkable Passages altogether
differing from our other Historians; and many
Facts are related, either concealed by some, or
omitted by others.

By ROBERT LINDESAY of *Pitscottie*.

Done from the most authentick and most correct Manuscripts.

To which is added

A CONTINUATION, by another Hand,
till *August* 1604.

E D I N B U R G H,

Printed by Mr. BASKETT and COMPANY, His Majesty's Printers, and sold at Mr. *Freebairn's* Shop in the *Parliament-Clofs*; and at *London* by *Andrew Millar* Bookfeller, at his Shop over against *St. Clement's* Church in *The Strand*. MDCCXXVIII.

II. Urie's edition is in 12mo, and is not now commonly met with. I am indebted for the loan of a copy to the Library of the Free Church College, Edinburgh. This is a verbatim reprint of Freebairn's edition, with substantially the same title-page and the addition of the words—

The SECOND EDITION

GLASGOW

Printed by R. URIE. MDCCXLIX.

There is also an index, to which I am indebted for aid in the compilation of the index to the present edition.

III. Dalzell's edition is in two volumes 8vo—

THE
Chronicles of Scotland

BY

ROBERT LINDSAY of Pitscottie

Published

From several old Manuscripts

EDINBURGH

Printed by GEORGE RAMSAY and COMPANY,
For ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE and COMPANY, Edinburgh;
and LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, and BROWN, London.

1814

None of these printed editions could satisfy scholars or assist the general reader to understand Pitscottie. They did not give an accurate text, and the editors

appear ignorant that a large part of the Chronicles was omitted, while no attempt was made to explain the obscurities or correct the errors of the author. It is not wonderful, therefore, that three projects for a better edition were made—the first by Mr George Chalmers, in 1809; the second by the Bannatyne Club between 1826 and 1829, who employed Mr Macgregor Stirling to make transcripts and notes¹; and a third by the late Earl of Crawford in 1843. Whether these very competent persons were deterred by the undoubted difficulties of the undertaking or by other circumstances from carrying their projects out, is not known. If the present edition has been more fortunate, it has been due to the generous aid of many friends; and it is a matter of deep regret that one of them, the Rev. Walter Gregor of Pitsligo, the editor, who was the chief encourager of the work, has not lived to see its completion.

III.—PITSCOTTIE'S PATRONS AND AUTHORS.

The two patrons of Pitscottie to whom he intrusted the publication of his Chronicles when the fit time came, were Robert Stuart, Bishop of Caithness and Commendator of the Priory of St Andrews, and John Stuart, fourth Earl of Athole. They were both of the blood royal, and were more nearly and recently connected with each other, for a daughter of the first Earl of Athole had married the third Earl of Lennox, the father of the bishop. Athole was also related to the Lindesays, as Lady

Pitscottie's
patrons,
the Bishop
and the
Earl.

¹ These Chronological Notes are now in the Library of the University of Edinburgh, and contain much valuable matter.

Helen Stuart, daughter of John, third Earl of Athole, was the wife of John, fifth Lord Lindesay of the Byres.

Even when republican opinions were making way amongst the Scottish commons, of whom Pitscottie was a representative, there remained a strong attachment to royalty and the royal kin. Neither the bishop nor the earl were persons of very great importance, though Athole, as a leading Catholic noble who might become Protestant, was the more important. They were both pushed aside by stronger men, and their names only appear casually in history. Yet their connection with royalty, and, in the case of Athole, his great estates, gave them a certain influence. We know more about them than we do about Pitscottie; and it is worth while to pursue their half-forgotten history a little farther than has been already done, in order to explain their relations to each other and to Pitscottie and his Chronicles.

Robert
Stuart,
Bishop of
Caithness,
born 1516.

Robert Stuart, second son of John, third Earl of Lennox, was born in 1516. His mother was Lady Ann Stuart, eighth daughter of John, Earl of Athole, uterine brother of James II. by the marriage of his mother with the Black Knight of Lorne. When still young, he was nominated in 1542 by the Pope Paul I. Bishop of Caithness on the death of Andrew Stuart, son of John, third Earl of Athole. It was said he had nothing sacred about him save the tonsure; but he had taken deacon's orders, and was already Provost of Dumbarton College—an appanage of the House of Lennox. He abetted his brother, the future regent, in his rising against the Regent Arran, and when its failure seemed imminent was sent by Lennox to England in 1543.¹ On 17th May of that year

Sent to
England
on failure

¹ See vol. ii. p. 25.

he signed at Carlisle a contract between Henry VIII. and the Earls of Lennox and Glencairn, by which the earls agreed to support Henry, and Lennox received in return a promise of the hand of Henry's niece, Lady Margaret Douglas. The bishop was to remain a hostage in England while his brother continued the war against Arran. ^{of Lennox's rising in 1543.}

On 10th July 1544 Lennox became a naturalised Englishman, and on the same day married the Lady Margaret. On 7th December 1545 Darnley was born. Both before and after his marriage Lennox took part in expeditions to Scotland. The chief of these—Hertford's raid on the East Coast, with which he co-operated—ended like the others in nothing but pillage, and Lennox again retired to England.

On 1st October 1545 the Bishop of Caithness, along with Lennox, was not unnaturally accused of treason in a Parliament at Edinburgh. Cardinal Beaton protested that the bishop, being a churchman, was subject to the authority of his ordinary, and the proceedings against him were allowed to lapse, although Lennox, being a layman, was forfeited on 9th October 1545.¹ To such a height had the privilege of clergy risen in Scotland on the eve of the Reformation, that a clerk was not allowed to be tried by Parliament even for treason.

The Bishop of Caithness lived for several years, chiefly in England, but made occasional visits to Scotland. While on one of these we find him in contact with a curious character well known to those who have wandered in the bypaths of Scottish history, John Elder, a member

¹ The 'Diurnal of Occurrents,' p. 41, says that the Earl of Huntly 'gat the Bishoprik of Catheness at this Parliament.'

Letter by
John
Elder, a
protégé of
the Bishop.

of the College of Dumbarton, of which the bishop was head. Elder was the author of the letter¹ written in 1542 to Henry VIII. advocating union with England, in which the often-quoted description of the Highlanders as 'rough-footed Scots' occurs. In 1555 he published in London a letter² sent into Scotland, and addressed to 'The ryghte reverende and his very especial good lord Robert Stuarde, Bishop of Catheness and provost of Dumbritane Colledge in Scotlande, John Elder his humble oratour wishes health and prosperous felicitie.' The letter bears to be written for New Year's Day 1555; and its most interesting part contains an account of the arrival and marriage of Philip of Spain to Queen Mary, and the legation of Cardinal Pole. The writer appears in sympathy with Pole and the restoration of the Roman Catholic Church. He confesses his repentance for his lapse from it during the last twenty years. Curiously, while he absolves himself from 'association with hereticks,' he accuses himself of 'voluptuous living.' Whether he thought the bishop at that time shared his sentiments in matters ecclesiastical is not quite clear, yet he would hardly have written to him in such terms otherwise. The Lennox Stuarts were by no means quite safe Protestants, though the bishop ultimately became one. He encloses certain verses and adages written by Darnley, the bishop's nephew, then only a boy of nine, at Temple Newsome, the mansion Henry VIII. gave his father for a residence, and praises his 'towerdness in the Latin tongue and the French, and in sundrye other virtuous qualities whom also God and Nature hath

¹ Bannatyne Miscellany, Part I., pp. 1-18.

² Reprinted in Chronicle of Queen Jane, Camden Society, First Series, No. 48.

'endowed with a good wit, gentleness, beautie, and 'favour.' The parents of Darnley he calls his 'singular good patrons,' and the bishop had evidently befriended him. How or why this New Year letter, as he styles it, got into print is not clear. It was a fortunate accident, for it contains the only full account of Philip II.'s marriage to Mary Tudor, and the earliest description of Darnley.

In 1563 the bishop finally returned to Scotland, where he became a supporter of the Reformers, though the date when he turned Protestant, probably before he left England, is not certain. When the death of the Regent Murray in 1570 opened the regency to Lennox, his brother shared the spoils, and was made in October 1570 Com-
The Bishop returns to Scotland in 1563, and is made Commen-
dator of St Andrews Priory in 1570.
mendator of the Priory of St Andrews, continuing to hold the designation of Bishop of Caithness, and probably to draw the revenues, without discharging any of the duties of the see. He seems to have resided chiefly in the Priory House at St Andrews, where he maintained a certain state. A son of Andrew Wood, the younger, of Largo is mentioned as one of his servitors, and there are several allusions to his hospitality in contemporary documents. He seems to have been a man of a genial temperament, and tried to be good friends with everybody, and was a natural man to choose as a patron.

Almost the solitary episcopal act with which he is credited is that in 1571 he took part with John Spottis-
Con-secrates John Douglas the tulchan Bishop of St Andrews.
wood, Superintendant of Lothian, and David Lindsay, minister of Leith, afterwards tulchan Bishop of Ross, in consecrating John Douglas, Morton's tulchan Bishop of St Andrews. He was charged by the Presbyterian clergy with granting pensions out of the revenues of the priory; and James Melville mentions in his Diary a curious

contest he and his uncle Andrew had with the prior and his gentlemen pensioners, 'wha colluded with the rewallars ' of the town to hald the ministry vacand and in the ' meantime tuk up the stipend and spendit the sam with ' the rest of the kirk rents of the priory at the goff archerie ' guid cheer.'¹ He also mentions that 'Williame Stuart,' called the 'Accusar,' who brought an accusation against Andrew Melville in 1583, was one of the prior's pensioners. The charge of dilapidating the church revenues was a common and often a just one against commendators, the Scottish equivalent for the English Lay Impropriators; and it is not at all likely that Robert Stuart, himself a titular bishop, who had accepted the Reformation in its English and Episcopal form, would abstain from impropriations or would be favourably judged by Presbyterians like the Melvilles.

The murder of his brother the regent in 1571 made his tenure of the priory precarious, and Queen Elizabeth wrote to the Regent Arran in November asking that the bishop might still be allowed to enjoy the priory as he had surrendered another benefice for it. The death of his nephew, Charles, fifth Earl of Lennox, without male issue, in 1576, opened the succession of the earldom to the Bishop.² Sir Robert Bowes reported in July 1578 that the king proposed to create him earl in succession to his nephew, and the bishop was created earl in the Parliament of October, to the prejudice of a grant already made to Charles and the heirs of his body, under which Lady Arrabella Stuart, his daughter, would have succeeded. In spite of the remonstrance of Bowes, the

Created
Earl of
Lennox,
1578.

¹ James Melville's Diary, p. 1267.

² Bowes' Correspondence, letter, 23rd July 1578, dated Stirling, from Sir Robert Bowes to the Earl of Leicester.

charter, dated 16th June 1578, in favour of the bishop was ratified by the Parliament of October 1579.¹ In this Parliament he bore the sword, and was one of the Lords of the Articles. He did not long enjoy the title of Lennox, for in the spring of 1580 James VI., by an Act which shows the arbitrary power of a Scottish king in dealing with titles, revoked the grant in favour of the bishop, as he had revoked that in favour of Charles and the heirs of his body, and bestowed both title and estates on his then favourite, Esme Stuart, Lord of Aubigny, son of the bishop's younger brother, John, Lord of Aubigny, who was created Duke of Lennox in 1581. A voluntary² or involuntary compromise had been made with the bishop, who received in exchange the earldom of March. An attempt was made about the same time to get the bishop to surrender the Priory of St Andrews to another royal favourite, Captain James Stuart, afterwards Earl of Arran, and a procuratory of resignation was in fact executed, but revoked by the bishop on 9th June 1580. This was not wonderful, for the scandalous process of nullity of marriage was then in progress at the instance of the bishop's wife in order that she might marry Arran. This lady, Elizabeth Stuart, a daughter of John, fourth Duke of Athole, is described by Spottiswood as 'a woman intolerable in all the imperfections incident to that sex.' When very young she had been married to Hugh, seventh Lord Lovat, and after his death on 1st January 1576 she became the wife of her cousin, the bishop, on 6th

Deprived
of the
earldom,
1580.

Divorced
by his
wife.

¹ Act. Parl. 1579, c. 39 and 40.

² Moysie's *Memoirs*, p. 26, calls it 'a voluntar demissioun,' but this may be doubted. The bishop, however, had no male heir, and possibly may not have been unwilling to favour his nephew.

His life at
St An-
drews.

December 1578. They separated in November 1579, and she raised her action against the bishop before the Commissaries on 22nd March 1580, in which, after very singular pleadings,¹ she obtained decree on 19th May 1581. On 6th July² following she married Arran, with whom she had been carrying on a criminal intrigue. This process was a Scottish rehearsal for the still more odious suit of the Countess of Essex in England. On the whole, the bishop appears to have been more sinned against than sinning. It has been said that he lived a retired and studious life at St Andrews. The scandal of which he was the victim cannot have conduced to his prestige, and indicates a weak character. But in fact he took a considerable, though not a leading, part both in private and in public business. He acted as one of the curators of the daughter of the Regent Murray, and is one of the somewhat numerous body of persons mentioned as having visited Knox on his deathbed. He was a commissioner for visiting the Universities of Glasgow and St Andrews, and continued to attend Parliament and the Privy Council, acting as auditor, and more than once on the Committee of the Articles.³ On 17th October 1582 he attended a convention of nobles at Holyrood.⁴ When James VI. visited Fife in the beginning of June 1585 he supped with his great-uncle the Bishop at St Andrews. In the end of that month he was named one of his Privy Council.⁵ One of his last acts was to sign, in 1585, the 'Band anent the Trew Religioun,' and 'Act of Estates' 'for a League offensive and defensive with England'

¹ Riddell, in his *Peerage and Consistorial Law*, describes the pleadings from the record.

² Moysie in his *Memoirs* (p. 24) gives the date as 6th June.

³ Moysie's *Memoirs*, p. 40.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

against the Catholic Powers, negotiated by the skilful diplomacy of Sir Henry Wotton. He died at St Andrews in 1586, and was buried in the Chapel of St Leonard's. In its roofless aisle a tablet to his memory may yet be seen with the lines on the architrave—

'In portu fluctusque omnes classemque relinquo,
'Me spectans mundumque omnem fascesque relinque.'

His epi-
taph.

John, fourth Earl of Athole of the Stuart line, succeeded his father, the third earl, in 1542. His family was nearly connected with the royal house, and strongly Catholic. He supported Mary of Guise against the Lords of the Congregation, but the rivalry between him and Huntly, his relation by marriage, gave hopes that he might join them against Huntly, and he had meetings with Argyle and Lord James Stuart. In 1560 his name occurs in a contemporary memorandum of 'The mannour how the 'Scottes be divided' amongst those nobles marked 'Neuter,' as to whom it was 'doubtful to whether party 'they will incline,'¹ and Randolph reported in the autumn of that year that he had joined the Protestant League, but he had voted in Parliament against the Confession of Faith, and afterwards became, according to Knox, reconciled with Huntly, a Catholic who never wavered. Yet on Queen Mary's return to Scotland in 1561 he again acted with Lord James Stuart in the Council, and took part in the expedition against Huntly which ended in the victory of Corrichie. Lethington and Lennox put him forward as a rival to Lord James, who already began to aim at supreme power, and he promoted the Darnley marriage. Both Lennox and Darnley were still deemed doubt-

John
Stuart,
Earl of
Athole.

Attempts
to be
neutral.

¹ Hamilton Papers, ii. p. 748 ; No. xxxix. of Longleat MSS.

ful Protestants. He took no part in the murder either of Rizzio or Darnley, but opposed the Bothwell marriage, and approved of Mary's imprisonment at Lochleven, signing the bond in favour of Murray's regency. Yet after her escape to England he signed a petition to Queen Elizabeth for her restoration. He fell much under the influence of Lethington, who married Mary Fleming, his wife's sister; and after the death of Murray he did not approve the election of Lennox, now turned Protestant, as regent. In 1570 a council, called the Council of Balloch, was held in Athole, of which the earl was nominal head; but Lethington pulled the strings, and by his skill organised a formidable party in support of Mary. Athole naturally opposed, though unsuccessfully, the election of Morton as regent after the death of Mar. In 1573 the writer of the 'Historie of James the Sext' notes: 'there was na man could judge whase 'faction he inclined maist to.' An attempt to make him conform to Protestantism in 1574, by threatening his excommunication from the Kirk, failed, partly through his temporising and consenting to meet the ministers to resolve his doubts, and partly through the protection of James Paton, titular Bishop of Dunkeld. There is no proof that he even outwardly conformed, or that the sentence of excommunication was ever pronounced.¹ But a common opposition to Morton, who was hated by Athole as a Douglas, and by the Protestant Presbyterians as a favourer of a modified Episcopacy and a spoiler of the Kirk, led again to the possibility of at least a temporary political alliance of the Protestant lords with Athole. He joined Argyle in 1578 in depriv-

¹ Calderwood's History, iii. pp. 11, 341, 349.†

ing Morton of the regency, and was made Chancellor on 28th March of that year. When Morton got possession of Stirling Castle from the king, Athole and Argyle prepared to meet him with force. They were reconciled by Bowes, the English ambassador, and became members of the new coalition council under Morton. The reconciliation was only nominal, and it is not wonderful that when he died suddenly on 25th April 1579, after a banquet given by Morton at Kincardine Castle, the rumour that he had been poisoned was not only current, but believed in by his own kin, and even in the next generation by Calderwood, though he acquits Morton of the charge, which Morton himself denied at the time of his execution.¹ Bishop Leslie, who calls himself his intimate friend, assures us that Athole never swerved from the Catholic faith, and that his leading object was to restore the faith of his forefathers. There is little doubt this is true. But there were moments when his interest and that of the Protestant party were the same. It was during one of these, between 1576 and the first downfall of Morton in the spring of 1578, that the intimacy between Athole and the Bishop of Caithness was closest, through the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth with the bishop on 6th December 1578, and the negotiations which preceded it. It must have been at this time that Pitscottie sent his Chronicles through the bishop to Athole, and it is even possible that their perusal had some influence in inducing Athole to take the part he did in acting with the Presbyterian party, and in the deposition of Morton from the regency.

Joins
Argyle
against
Morton,
and made
Chancel-
lor, 1578.

Dies
Catholic,
1579.

Copy of
Pitscottie,
sent to him
between
1576 and
1578.

The patrons of Pitscottie seemed not ill-chosen for his

¹ Calderwood's History, iii. p. 563.

purpose. They were both noble and wealthy, inclined for the time to support the Protestant cause, yet requiring to be confirmed in their support. But neither the good-natured but weak bishop nor the vacillating earl did anything for the Chronicles, which had to wait for a more convenient time and public patronage.

Pitscottie's
authors,
Patrick,
fourth
Lord
Lindesay
of the
Byres.

Let us now trace the sources from which Pitscottie derived the material for his work. Patrick, Lord Lindesay of the Byres, is the first of the authors to whom he acknowledges indebtedness. As Pitscottie's grandfather of that name, fourth Lord Lindesay of the Byres, died in 1526, and his cousin, also Patrick, sixth lord between 1563 and 1589, was the Chronicler's contemporary, it is perhaps not quite clear to which he refers. But the position given Lord Lindesay in the list of authors, and the fact that several anecdotes of the fourth lord are recorded in the Chronicles, make it almost certain that he is intended. The expression that Pitscottie was 'lately informed' by the authors he names, must not be taken in this case literally, for he could not have been informed lately or personally by his grandfather, who died either before he was born or in his early childhood. It seems to follow that the fourth lord had left a historical manuscript of some kind to which Pitscottie had access, though, of course, he may have got his information only through family tradition. He narrates also the deeds of the sixth lord during the period his History covers, but it is with brevity, and without the evident pride he had in his grandfather. Patrick, the fourth lord, was a remarkable character, of whom it is fortunate his grandson has told so many anecdotes. He was the fourth son of John, first Lord Lindesay of the Byres, who

succeeded to the title as his brothers, David and John, the second and third lords, died without issue in 1490 and 1498. Their father, John, who died in 1479, is the first of the race mentioned on record¹ as a lord of Parliament. He is usually treated, as by Lord Lindsay in the 'Lives of the Lindsays,' as the first lord, though his father, William de Lindesay, being styled 'Dominus,' has been deemed so by others, as in the old genealogy in the Advocates' Library.² Being the fourth son, Patrick Lindesay had little chance of succeeding to the title. He was probably educated in law, hardly with a view to practice, but as a useful part of a gentleman's education. The death of his brothers David and John, and the renunciation of the succession by his third brother George, who had no male issue, opened the succession to him; and his brother John, who died in 1498, made a conveyance of the estate, which was heavily encumbered, to him. This conveyance probably carried the title.³ He is described in the old genealogy as 'a wise man and good 'manager.' He had shown his wisdom by securing himself in the succession through the influence of Lord Elphinstone—a courtier to whom he gave a grant of the lands of Airth by the advice of William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, and by his good management he 'recovered 'the estate to its antient opulence.'⁴ His first appearance in history was at the trial of his brother David, when accused of treason for siding with James III. against the nobles, who set up his son James IV. as his rival, of which Pitscottie gives so lively an account.⁵ For his service in

¹ Act. Parl., ii. p. 122, 1478. See also Act. Parl., ii. p. 153.

² Adv. Lib. MS., formerly marked Jac. V. 7. 12; (now) 34. 6. 24.

³ Adv. Lib. MS.

⁴ Adv. Lib. MS.

⁵ Book xx. ch. iii.

casting the indictment, his brother gave him the Mains o Kirkforthar. Douglas in his Peerage discredits the story, on the ground that he is already described as Patrick Lindesay of Kirkforthar in a charter of 10th November 1478; but this seems an insufficient reason, as he may have resided there before he became owner of the Mains. He succeeded to the title of Lindesay of the Byres in 1498, on the death of his brother John. In 1503 he was one of the witnesses to the marriage settlement of James IV., so he must have made up his quarrel with the king.¹ In 1508 he had a licence to go a pilgrimage to Rome, though it is not certain whether he went. He accompanied James to Flodden in 1513, and his speech dissuading the king from venturing his person against the Earl of Surrey is another of the characteristic passages of Pit-scottie. He was appointed one of the council to assist the queen-mother in the Parliament of 1st December 1513, and in 1514 received a grant of the sheriffdom of Fife,² which was long a subject of conflict between him and the Earl of Rothes. Bishop Lesley mentions, on 17th June 1518, a 'curst cumbat' upon the 'calsay' of Edinburgh between him and Rothes, when both were put in ward, but soon released, the matter having been accommodated for the time; and Lord Lindesay held the sheriffdom by a gift in 1524, ratified in the Parliament of 1525. He died in 1526, and was succeeded by his grandson John, son of his eldest son, Sir John of Pitcruvy, who predeceased his father. His other sons were Patrick Lindesay of Wormiston, and William Lindesay of Pyotstoun, the father of the chronicler. He was the patron of Sir David Lindesay, the Lyon

¹ Act. Parl., ii. 270 B.

² MS. Records of the Sheriff Court of Fife, Register House.

Herald, and Squire Meldrum acted as his depute in the sheriffdom of Fife.¹ From him Pitscottie probably inherited the quaintness and simplicity of expression for which he is distinguished above all the historians of Scotland, and possibly also his taste for historical study. John, fifth Lord Lindesay of the Byres, held the title from 1526 to 1563, when he was succeeded by Patrick, the sixth Lord, Pitscottie's cousin and contemporary, who died in 1589. From him also, or persons in his suite, Pitscottie got many of the facts in the later part of his Chronicles, especially the details of the siege of Edinburgh, in which this lord took a prominent part.

'Schir William Scot of Balwerie, knight,' was the name in the sixteenth century of a succession of representatives, father and son, of one of the old-families of Fife, who, like the Lindesays, had migrated from the Lowland Borders to Fife as far back as the thirteenth century.² There was a regular movement northwards of many members of the Norman families, originally settled in or near the Borders, and they retained their ancestral proclivity for acquiring land. Sir Michael Scot, the ambassador who went with Sir David Wemyss to fetch home the Maid of Norway in 1290, was then Laird of Balwerie, and the more famous Michael, the so-called Wizard, probably belonged to it before its migration from Tweedside.³ The eldest of three Sir William Scots of the sixteenth century was the son of an earlier Sir William Scot of Balwerie, and Isobel, daughter of Sir John Moncrieff of Moncrieff. As he served

Sir William Scot
of Balwerie.

¹ 'The Historie of Squyer Meldrum,' l. 1535.

² Cartulary of Dunfermline.

³ J. Wood Brown's *Life and Legend of Michael Scott*. Edinburgh, D. Douglas, 1897, p. 8.

at Flodden in 1513, and was a witness to charters in 1503 and 1507, in both of which he is described as a knight and apparent heir of Sir William Scot of Balwerie, he must have been born at least as early as 1482. He was knighted before 1503, and in 1506 both he and his father are described as knights in the same charters.¹ He succeeded to Balwerie before 1513, and having been taken prisoner at Flodden, he sold part of his lands of Strathmiglo to pay his ransom.² He served in the Parliament of 15th February 1524, and was one of the Lords of the Articles for the Barons. On 24th November of the same year he was one of the judges on a commission to try the 'malt makers' of Leith for oppression by causing a dearth of corn.³ He was then acting as Justice in the absence of the Justice-General. In the Parliaments of 12th June and 11th November 1526 he was again one of the Lords of the Articles; and on 21st June of that year he was one of the councillors appointed to wait on the king,⁴ then under the custody of the Earl of Angus. He married Janet Lundie, daughter of Thomas Lundie of that ilk, by whom he had two sons, William and Thomas Scott of Pitgorno.⁵ On the foundation of the Court of Session in 1532 he was appointed one of the first Judges, but held the office only till autumn of the same year, when he died; and on 19th November his son, Thomas Scott of Pitgorno,⁶ was appointed in his room.

His elder son, the second Sir William, succeeded to

¹ Great Seal Register, vol. ii. Nos. 3052, 3457.

² Ibid., vol. iii. No. 43, charter 28th September 1515, confirming charter of 11th September 1514; and in a charter of 18th January 1514 he is designed Sir William Scot of Balwerie, *ibid.*, vol. iii. No. 22.

³ Act. Parl. ii. p. 315.

⁴ Ibid., p. 304.

⁵ Great Seal Register, 22nd March 1552, No. 686.

⁶ Brunton and Haig, Senators of College of Justice, p. 40.

Balwerie¹ and other large estates, which he held till 1579, when his son was served heir to him.² This Sir William, who married at least as early as 1535 Isabella, a daughter of John, Lord Lindesay of the Byres, and a cousin of Pitscottie, was the contemporary of the chronicler; and it was he, or his son, a third William, to whom he had transferred his baronies of Inverteil and Strathmiglo, which included the whole lands of Pitscottie,³ as we have seen, who probably gave Pitscottie a tack of the farm of Easter Pitscottie, from which he derived his designation, when it fell into the hands of the superior in consequence of the forfeiture of Sir John Melville of Raith.

There may be some doubt which of the William Scotts of Balwerie it was Pitscottie refers to as his author; but as the Lord of Session was a man of importance and knowledge of affairs, and Sir William Scott is mentioned in the list of Pitscottie's authors immediately after Patrick, fourth Lord Lindesay of the Byres, and before the elder Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, it seems almost certain that it was the first, who lived between 1482, or earlier, and 1532. If so, it was probably some written record to which Pitscottie had access, and it may well have extended as far back as the commencement of the reign of James IV.

'Schir Androw Wood of Largow, knicht,' was the gallant Sir sea captain who shares with the Bartons the honour of being the makers of the Scottish Navy, whose cradle

Andrew
Wood of
Largo.

¹ Great Seal Register, vol. iv. No. 872, 4th December 1553, confirming charter of 19th March 1536. See also Great Seal Register, 30th April 1548, vol. iv. No. 200.

² An elder son, Michael, seems to have predeceased his father. See Great Seal Register, 4th December 1553, vol. iv. No. 872.

³ Great Seal Register, 30th April 1548, vol. iv. No. 200.

was the Forth. He is believed to have been born about the middle of the fifteenth century at the Old Kirkton of Largo on the Fife coast, and is first mentioned on record in 1480 in a lease of the lands of Largo in his favour. But in 1483 and 1488 he is described in charters as still living in Leith. From entries in the Exchequer Rolls he appears to have been engaged as a merchant trader who conveyed grain for the king from Largo to Leith, and had a fee of £20 a-year. He early distinguished himself by his services at sea against English and other pirates. The armed vessels he commanded, the *Flower* and the *Yellow Carvel*, each of about 300 tons, drove in 1481 an English squadron from the Forth and another from the Clyde which threatened Dunbarton. In 1483 he was knighted by James III., and his lease for nineteen years of the lands of Largo was converted into a feu-farm¹ for his gratuitous 'service' by land and sea, especially against the English enemies, 'to the danger of his life.' This was confirmed on his marriage to Elizabeth Lundy² in 1488, when it was settled on the longest liver in liferent and their issue. He was a faithful follower of James III., who took refuge in one of his ships when threatened by his rebellious nobles, and was reported to have done so a second time after the battle of Sauchie. This appears to have given rise to the singular story in Pitscottie that James IV. mistook Sir Andrew for his own father, which is hard to credit, though Pitscottie probably received it from the traditions of the Wood family. When assured of James III.'s death he entered into the service of the young

¹ Great Seal Register, 18th March 1483, No. 1563.

² Ibid., 21st March 1488, No. 1720.

king, and in 1489 captured some English cruisers off Dunbar. In 1490 he received an additional grant of the cotlands and milnland of Largo¹ and a pension of £20 out of the feu-mails of the estate. In the same year he defeated the English captain, Stephen Bull, in the Forth; and on 18th May he was granted a licence to build a castle with iron gates² at Largo on account of his great services and losses, and the services it was confidently hoped he would yet render. He went on acquiring lands in Fife between 1504 and 1513, continuing also his naval service.³ In 1504 he commanded along with Barton the fleet which subdued the insurgent chiefs of the Western Isles, and after his return superintended the building at Newhaven of the *Michael*, the largest ship built up to that date. It was destined by James IV. to co-operate in the war against England, but unfortunately the king intrusted the command to the Earl of Arran, under whom Sir Andrew was placed. It did no service, being taken by Arran on a bootless cruise to Carrickfergus and thence to France, where it was sold after Flodden to the French king. The minute account of this vessel in *Pitscottie* must have been derived from the memoranda of Sir Andrew Wood. He undoubtedly lived to old age, and the date of his death has been put by some biographers in 1521 and by others in 1540; but the payments to his

¹ Great Seal Register, 11th March 1490-1, No. 2019, and see 18th March 1503-4, No. 2775.

² Great Seal Register, 18th May 1491, No. 2040; Act. Parl., ii. pp. 227 and 270.

³ On 21st August 1513 his whole lands in Fife were created into a barony, with the Hall Walls of Largo as the principal messuage, and the Nethertoun and Seytoun of Largo as a burgh of barony. Confirmed in favour of his son by James V. Great Seal Register, 16th June 1542, No. 2691.

relict in the Exchequer Rolls, as well as references to his own decease,¹ prove that he died before 1516. He was succeeded by his eldest son Andrew.² The second Andrew Wood, who is called by Pitscottie principal and familiar servant of James V., was a constant attendant at his Court, and was present at his deathbed. He died himself in 1579. He married Alison Hume, and had, besides other children, Andrew, who succeeded him in the estate of Largo; Mr John Wood of Tullidavie,³ who became secretary to the Regent Murray, and was murdered in 1570 a few days after his master; and James⁴ of Lambilethem.⁵ It was from the Woods, and probably from the second Andrew, the son of the old sea captain, that Pitscottie got most of the nautical details which form a very interesting portion of his Chronicles.

Mr John
Major.

The next author to whom Pitscottie refers was the well-known philosopher and historian, 'Mr John Mair, 'Doctour of Theologie,' commonly called by his Latin name, John Major, who inscribed on the title-page of his 'History of Greater Britain,' published in Paris in 1521, that he was 'Natione quidem Scotum professione 'autem theologum.' A memoir of his life and an account of his works have been given so recently by the present

¹ Vol. xiv. pp. 170, 171.

² Great Seal Register, 18th December 1556, vol. iv. No. 1129, marriage contract of Andrew Wood and Egidia Gourlaw at Largo, 28th November 1556. Great Seal Register, 5th September 1528, vol. iii. No. 657; 4th January 1539, vol. iii. No. 1888 (grant of Inchkeith); 16th June 1542, vol. iii. No. 2691.

³ Great Seal Register, vol. iv. No. 1850. He was also a Judge of the Court of Session, Brunton and Haig, p. 114.

⁴ Great Seal Register, 20th May 1566, No. 1747.

⁵ Wood's East Neuk of Fife, p. 275.

writer in the introduction to the translation of that History by Mr Archibald Constable, published by the Scottish History Society in 1892, that it would not be proper to repeat any but the few facts which brought him into possible contact with Pitscottie and show the relation of his History to the Chronicles.

In 1531 Major, who had already lectured at St Andrews some years before, returned there from Paris, and three years later was appointed Provost of St Salvator's College—an office he held till his death in 1550. It is possible, therefore, that Pitscottie when a youth may have seen him in his old age; and it is certain that he knew his historical work, which appeared ten years before Major's return to St Andrews. There were copies of it not only in the university but also in many private libraries in Scotland. It contained the history of England as well as of Scotland in outline from the earliest time down to the marriage of James III. to Margaret of Norway in 1469, and of Henry VIII. to Catherine of Aragon in 1509. It closes with the words, 'Hæc Hactenus: Reliqua 'alii, aut nos alias.' But Major never resumed his historical labours. Between 1521 and 1531 his publications were on the Aristotelian physics, logic, and ethics, and a commentary on the Four Evangelists—chiefly new editions of works he had composed when a lecturer in the University of Paris. After 1531 he ceased to write, being sufficiently occupied with the duties of his office, and already in declining health. From the history of Major, Pitscottie has not taken much. Major's account of the reigns of James II. and James III. is indeed very slight. The remark on the death of James II.—that kings should not expose themselves to danger through curiosity ;

the notice of the expedition of Peter Brézé to Northumberland in aid of Henry VI. ; the praise of Bishop Kennedy, modified by the censure on his pluralities and extravagant tomb ; and the account of the part taken by the Scots, amongst whom was a native of Haddington, in Henry of Richmond's victory over Richard III., are almost the only passages in which he seems directly indebted to Major. But the indirect influence was considerable. Major set the example of a Scottish history of the modern, reflective, and reasoning kind—not merely a chronicle of events, but an attempt to trace their causes and consequences and to read their lesson. His work was trammelled with the bonds of a scholastic method and a half-dead language, but both writers were moved by the same modern spirit. This spirit had already touched the old orthodox Catholic Major ; but it had freer play when the pen was taken up by Pitscottie, a Protestant layman of a younger generation, who was ignorant of the Latin of the Sorbonne and the logic of the schoolmen. While opposed to each other in their opinions about religion, they agreed in finding a genuine Scottish patriotism not incompatible with a desire for an English rather than a French alliance. This led both authors to pay considerable attention to contemporary English history. Each was firmly attached to his own faith ; but, at least as regards the past, Major was a liberal Catholic and Pitscottie a liberal Protestant. In the fierce controversies of their own day their paths severed. Major sat on the council which condemned Wishart. Pitscottie deemed the latter a martyr, and calls the Catholic bishops who condemned him 'bloody butchers.'

'Schir David Lyndesay of the Mont, alias lyon herald

‘King of Arms,’ is too well known, and his life has been too often written, amongst others by the present writer,¹ to render necessary more than a brief notice of his connection with Pitscottie. They were members of the same clan, and though their relationship was remote, the celebrity and popularity of Sir David’s verse made all the Lindesays ready to count him their cousin. Employed, as heralds then were, on important embassies, and one of the foremost men of letters of his age, it is to be regretted that more of his letters or historical writings have not come down to our time. Pitscottie can only have known Sir David, who was born about 1490 and died before 1555, when he was still a youth, if the conjecture that he was born about 1532 is correct. But so notable a character cannot fail to have left a mark on the imagination of one who bore his name; and there is ample proof that the author of the *Chronicles* was familiar with his works and influenced by his opinions.

The insertion of so many of his verses in the complete manuscript of the *Chronicles*² now published is specially noteworthy, and though this is perhaps not quite certain, it probably was done by Pitscottie himself, and not by the scribe of the manuscript. Before the date when the *Chronicles* were sent to the Bishop of Caithness, although the poetical works of Lyndesay, all originally printed in England or abroad, had been printed in Edinburgh by John Scott at the expense of Henrie Charteris in 1571, and again by Thomas Bannatyne in 1573, and manuscript as well as printed copies no doubt circulated in Fife, it may be doubted whether they had yet reached Blair Athole. In any case nothing could

¹ Dictionary of National Biography.

² MS. I.

serve better to enforce the lessons Pitscottie was anxious to teach the Earl of Athole and his countrymen than the extracts he has given from Lyndesay's 'Complaynt of the Papingo.' They form, indeed, a versified summary of the earlier part of his Chronicles.

Sir David Lyndesay was a son of David Lyndesay of the Mount, a round-topped hill near Cupar which can be seen from some of the fields of Pitscottie, and of Garmylton in Haddington.

He was of the same stock as, though we do not know how near of kin to, the Lindesays of the Byres, who also migrated from the neighbourhood of Haddington to Fife. He was sent as a boy more probably to the famous school at Haddington, where John Knox and other men of note were educated, than to that of Cupar, but passed to the University of St Andrews in 1509; and the greater part of his life, when not abroad on official duty, was spent in Fife. He is always designated as 'of the Mount.' On leaving college he entered the royal service, in the reign of James IV.; and he acted as half-tutor, half-playmate, to James V. He is cited by Buchanan as the authority for the strange story, so well told by Pitscottie, of the apparition at the Kirk of Linlithgow, which tried in vain to deter James IV. from the campaign that ended by the disaster of Flodden. He was appointed Lyon in 1529 after James V. escaped from the custody of Angus. His works, beginning with 'The Dreame,' and ending with 'The Monarchie,' were written between 1528 and 1554. Three are specially connected with Fife and the life of Pitscottie. The 'Satire of the Three Estates,' originally written about 1540, and probably acted at Cupar in 1552, presented the

principles of the Reformation, and denounced the vices both of Church and State in the same vein which runs through Pitscottie's Chronicles. It is possible that their author had seen it acted.

The 'Tragedy of the Cardinal,' written in 1547, is a vindication of the actions of the extreme party amongst the Reformers with whom Pitscottie sympathised, although he cannot be deemed an active member of it.

The 'History and Testament of Squire Meldrum,' written about 1550, is a lively narrative of the adventures in love and war of the Fife soldier of fortune, who acted in old age as Sheriff Depute of Fife under Lord Lindesay of the Byres, and who must have been well known to Pitscottie personally or by repute.

Several parts of the Chronicles can be directly traced to information the writer got from the Lyon. The principal of these passages are the story of the apparition at Linlithgow; the account of James V.'s too early withdrawal at the age of twelve from the schools, and 'Erection' as it was called as a monarch; the vengeance of De la Bastie on the assailants of Squire Meldrum; James V.'s escape from the custody of Angus; the marriage of the fair and fragile Madeleine of France to James V. at Notre Dame; and the pageants at the reception of her successor, Mary of Guise, at St Andrews. More important than any particular passages is the spirit of the Reformation which passed from the poet to the chronicler, and made the work of the younger a continuation of that of the elder writer.

'Andrew Fernie of that Ilk, ane nobill man of recent
'memorie,' was Andrew Fernie or Farnie of that Ilk,

Andrew
Ferne of
Ferne.

forester of Falkland under King James V., and Chamberlain of Fife from 1530 to 1562, when his son William was in that office.¹ He was the son of William Fernie, to whom he was served heir on 9th January 1515, his father, as is mentioned in the verdict of the inquest, having died a year and four months before.² He received several grants of land from the king in addition to his paternal estate.³ On 12th September 1565 he was a party to the bond, entered into at St Andrews by certain gentlemen of Fife, to serve the king and queen and follow their lieutenant against their Scotch rebels or English enemies.⁴ As 'his hand at the pen' was led by the notary Alexander Hay, it is probable that Fernie was then in old age, for it is not likely that a man who held his offices would have been unable to write. Sir William Bruce of Earls hall and Patrick Lindesay of the Byres signed the same bond, and the two signatories immediately after Fernie are David Lindesay of Pyotstoun, the brother of Pitscottie, and Sir William Scot of Balwerie.

Sir
William
Bruce of
Earls hall.

'Schir William Bruce of Erles hall, Knicht,' the last of Pitscottie's authors, who is said by Pitscottie to have 'wrettin werrie justlie all the deidis sen flowden feild,' and was, like Fernie, a Fife laird, the eldest son of Sir Alexander Bruce of Earls hall, a younger son of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, in Stirlingshire. Sir Alexander Bruce⁵ of Earls hall had, as we learn from Pitscottie,

¹ Exchequer Rolls, xvi. p. 8; xix. p. 184.

² MS. Sheriff Court Book of Fife, Register House.

³ Great Seal Register, 29th September 1541, No. 2454. Great Seal Register, 16th March 1552, No. 771. Great Seal Register, 29th November 1554, No. 975, names of third assize, note 4.

⁴ Privy Council Register, i. p. 367.

⁵ MS. I, vol. i. p. 191 *et seq.* of this edition, where the notice of Sir Alexander Bruce is printed for the first time.

served in France, where he made the acquaintance of Henry of Richmond, and came with a thousand men of arms called the Scots company on the expedition against Richard III., which landed at Milford Haven, in the part called Dale, on 7th August 1485. The number under his command is, however, uncertain, and all reference to this Scotch contingent, as well as to Bernard Stuart of Aubigny, who commanded a French contingent, has been omitted by English historians.¹ According to Pit-scottie, Bruce commanded the Scottish horse and Captain Henderson of Haddington the Scottish foot, of the vanguard of 10,000 men, in the decisive battle of Bosworth Field, which was fought on the 22nd of August. Pit-scottie's narrative, evidently derived from the traditions of the Bruces of Earlsall, is too vague to be relied on as to the numbers, which are much exaggerated. He does not even mention the name of the battlefield, but he can hardly have been mistaken in describing Sir Alexander Bruce as having taken part in it. Sir Alexander Bruce married Janet Stewart, and their marriage must have been either before he went to France or shortly after his return, for his eldest son, afterwards Sir William Bruce, was born in 1486. He had four sisters, who married four neighbouring lairds in Fife: Kinninmont of Callinch, Ramsay of Brackmont, Balfour of Mountquhany, and Trail of Blebo. Sir William Bruce appears to have succeeded to his father about 1504.² He was knighted by James IV., and fought at Flodden, as so many of Pit-scottie's neighbours and informants

¹ Pinkerton's *History of the Stuart Kings*; Sir James Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, ii. p. 538.

² Great Seal Register, 13th November 1504, No. 2889, note.

had done. He married Margaret Meldrum of Seggie, in the parish of Leuchars, a parish which adjoins Ceres, and increased the paternal inheritance by acquiring lands in the Mearns and Angus. Queen Mary gave him a pension of 100 crowns of the Sun. He commenced the building of the Castle of Earlsall in 1546, but it was not completed in the form in which it has recently been so well restored till the time of his great-grandson, another William Bruce, who placed over the fireplace in the painted hall the inscription—

‘ÆDES HAS EXTRUEBAT D W B AN. 1546 EXTRUIT TÁNDEM
W B EJUS PRONEPOS ANNO 1617.
CONTEMNO ET ORNO MENTE MANU.’

The coat of arms in the same place has, in addition to the ordinary arms of the family, ‘a fleur-de-lis in the ‘centre of the chief,’ and two naked savages as supporters. It is said that the fleur-de-lis was introduced to distinguish the arms of the Bruces of Earlsall from the elder branch of Airth,¹ but there seems no reason why the distinction should not have been chosen on account of the services of Sir Alexander Bruce in France. Sir William Bruce constructed the family burying-place in the Parish Church of Leuchars. The monumental slab has an inscription—

‘This sappoltur that ze heir see
‘For Erlis Hal and his posterite.’

Above his shield is a horse’s head bridled as crest, with the motto ‘Be Trev,’ while two naked savages appear as supporters. Round the slab there is inscribed in bold letters: ‘Hic jacet vir probus ac omni memoria dignus

¹ Notes of the Family of Bruce of Earlsall by S . . .

' dns Gulielmus Bruce de Erlishal miles qui obiit 28 die
' mensis Januarii anno Dni 1584 anno ejus ætatis 98.

' Heir lyis of al piete ane lantern brycht
' Schir Villyam Bruce of Erleshal Knycht.'

Sir William Bruce during his long life had seen James IV.'s chivalrous reign and unhappy fate, James V.'s checkered life and sad death, the tragedies of Mary Stuart, the assassination of two and execution of a third of the four Regents, and the commencement of the personal rule of James VI. If Pitscottie's rare praise that he told the events of this period 'very justly' is well deserved, its disappearance is a great loss to Scottish history. Perhaps it is not altogether beyond the chances of the fate of MSS. that it may yet be found. For the present, we must be satisfied with getting no doubt some of its chief contents in Pitscottie's Chronicles.

This review of the authors or authorities of Pitscottie shows what good materials he had with which to work, for the period before his own memory and observation made him a contemporary writer, but it is probable that much of his information was conveyed by word of mouth and by family tradition. This may account in some measure for the vagueness and want of precision in his narrative, especially in the matter of dates. After the accession of Queen Mary his chronology becomes much more accurate. It is noticeable that it is only in the case of Bruce of Earlsall that he refers expressly to a written record. We shall see presently what use he made of these authorities; but we must first endeavour to explain the character of the language he used.

Pitscottie
authors
good ma-
terial, but
he is in-
accurate as
to dates
before
accession
of Queen
Mary.

IV.—PITSCOTTIE'S LANGUAGE.

English
prose liter-
ature com-
menced
with An-
glo-Saxon
in eighth
century ;
Scotch
com-
menced
in six-
teenth
century.

‘There exists a general impression among educated Englishmen that our prose literature dates from the sixteenth century.’ So writes Professor Earle in the course of the masterly criticism in which he refutes this impression, and proves the continuity of English prose from the Anglo-Saxon laws of the eighth, and the works of Alfred the Great in the ninth, century down to our own time, through the successive stages of Old, Middle, and Modern English. What is false of English is, however, true of Scottish prose. Scotland was not, indeed, destitute of prose literature prior to the sixteenth century. If we credit it with a share, though its share was small, of the Celtic literature of the Gael, it may claim earlier specimens than England ; but we refer here to literature derived from Anglo-Saxon, and written in Lowland Scotch. The use of Celtic in a large part of Scotland, and the Border wars, which gave birth only to ballads, postponed the commencement of Anglo - Saxon prose. Or, if we include poetry, Scotland produced a few, but noble, poets, from Barbour and Wyntoun in the fourteenth century to Henryson, Dunbar, and Douglas in the latter part of the fifteenth and commencement of the sixteenth century, who used the vernacular of Southern Scotland, which was closely akin to Northern English, and became known as Broad Scotch. But its prose writers were few, and consisted almost exclusively of chroniclers, chiefly monks, who wrote in Latin down to the sixteenth century. Even in that century its greatest historical writer, George Buchanan, wrote his History of Scotland in Latin, extending his

contemporary at the cost of his posthumous fame; and Bishop Lesley found it necessary to translate the original Scots version of his History into Latin in order to gain the ear of Europe.

A few specimens of fifteenth-century Scottish prose have been preserved, but they are the gleanings of a scanty harvest. The principal of these which have survived are the following :—

Fifteenth-
century
Scottish
prose.

‘Ane schort Memoriale of the Scottis Croniklis for addicioun.’ This contains brief notes of the reigns of James II. and James III., compiled about the year 1460, and was first published by Mr Thomas Thomson in 1827. It scarcely deserves the name of literature; but as a contemporary, or nearly contemporary, chronicle it has been much used by Scottish historians, and in the present edition of Pitscottie.

The translation from the French by Sir Gilbert Hay of ‘The Buke of Battailis,’ ‘The Buke of the Order of Knighthede,’ and ‘The Buke of the Governauce of Princes,’ written in the year 1456. The second of these books was published for the Abbotsford Club in 1848. The whole three are shortly to be edited, with glossary and notes, for the Scottish Text Society, by Mr J. H. Stevenson, advocate. This is practically the earliest work of Scottish prose known.

‘The Craft of Dying,’ and a few other short religious pieces in Scottish prose from MS. K. K. 1. 5, Cambridge University Library. This was edited for the Early English Text Society in 1870 by Mr R. Lumley, whose opinion, and that of Dr J. A. H. Murray, is that these pieces are translations made towards the close of the fifteenth century.

The recently discovered Scottish Recension of Wyck-

liffis Gospels, which, by the courtesy of Lord Amherst of Hackney, is being prepared for publication by the Scottish Text Society under the editorship of Mr T. Graves Law. The date of this will, no doubt, be fixed by Mr Law ; but it is probably earlier than the sixteenth century.

Scottish
prose al-
most con-
fined to
the six-
teenth
century.

Although the above are the earliest known works in Scottish prose, there are some documents and inscriptions which date from a century earlier, so far back at least as 1380, and fragments of the Scottish laws of the reigns of Robert II. and III., dated 1389 and 1398, have been printed in the first volume of the Acts of the Scottish Parliament.¹ But these works do not suffice to make a literature, or even to show that a literature has been lost. Scotland entered late into the field of prose literature. It is when we pass into the sixteenth century that Scottish literary prose really began, and it is almost confined to that century. If the Union of the Crowns had not so soon followed, it might, perhaps, have maintained an independent character. But the total amount of printing in Scotland at this time was small, and after the Union the great epoch of English prose, the epoch of Shakespeare, Bacon, and Hooker, came, and was too powerful not to supersede Scottish prose, which became provincial, and was abandoned by the best Scottish writers, although it continued to be spoken in a gradually decreasing degree. Some of the best parts of its vocabulary have fortunately been retained by the Scottish poets and novelists, and have passed into and enriched modern English. The use of it by Scott and other novelists of the eighteenth, and commencement of the nineteenth, century was a survival, while that of those

¹ See Murray, *Dialect of the Southern Counties*, p. 91.

of our own day is a revival, for it is now passing out of common speech or even common knowledge. The Scotch of Burns has to be explained to many nineteenth-century Scotsmen. But in country districts, in the form of dialect, it still survives. A countryman will understand Pitscottie.

Already, prior to the sixteenth century, the English influence had begun to tell through the introduction of the English works of Wycliffe or his disciples. English books were prohibited prior to the Reformation, but many were smuggled, and after the Reformation withdrew their prohibition, they came in like a flood. The translation of the Bible by Tyndale and his followers, printed between 1536 and 1539, was copied by Arbutnott and Bassandyne in 1576-79. The writings of Knox are largely English, and his life shows how closely the Reformation drew the two nations and their speech together, with the inevitable result that Scotch gave way to English as the classical form of the language. Born and educated in the Scottish Lowlands, he married an English wife, nearly became an English bishop, and his two sons were educated in England, and became, one a Fellow of St John's, Cambridge, the other a vicar in the Church of England. It is not with the language of Knox, great as was his influence on the opinions of Pitscottie, but with other prose writings in the Scottish vernacular of his time, that the Chronicles must be compared. The list of these, though much longer than the list of those written in the preceding century, is still so short that a concise view of them may be usefully given. It proves that the impulse to this form of writing had begun, but begun too late, to create a literature.

1. 'The Traduction of Livy (the first four Books), by

Johnne Bellenden, Archdean of Moray.' This was made for the use of James V. in 1533, for that monarch was not, like his father, a linguist, and probably knew no language but his own.

2. 'The Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Hevene, by Johnne Gau,' printed at Malmo on 16th October 1533.

3. 'The Hystory and Croniklis of Scotland, with the Cosmography and Description thairof, Compilit be the noble Clerk Maister Hector Boece, Channon of Aberdeine. Translaitit laityly in our vulgar and commone langage be Johnne Bellenden, Archdene of Murray, and imprented in Edinburgh be Mr Thomas Dayidson.' There is no date on the title; but it was printed about 1536, and had been translated for the use of James V.

4. 'The Complaynt of Scotlande, vyth ane Exortatione to the Thrie Estaits to be vigilante in the Diffens of the Public Veal,' printed at St Andrews, 1549.

5. 'The Catechism; that is to say, ane commone and catholik instructioun of the Christian people in materis of our Catholik faith and religioun quhilk na gud Christian man or woman suld misknow: set furth be ye maist reverend father in God, Johnne, Archbishope of Sanct Andrews, legat nate and primat of ye Kirk of Scotland, in his provinciale Counsale haldin at Edinburgh the xxvi day of Januarie, the yeir of our lord 1552, with the aduisse and counsale of the bischoippis and vther prelatis and doctouris of theologie and Canon law of the said realme of Scotland, present for the tyme.' This was printed at St Andrews, 1552.¹

¹ In addition to Hamilton's Catechism there were tracts in Scotch by Roman Catholics, of which the chief are—

The Refutation of ane answer be Schir Johne Knoxe to ane letter send be James Tyrie to his vmquhyle brother. Paris, 1573.

Certaine Demandes concerning the Christian religion and discipline pro-

6. 'The Historie and Cronikle of the Hous and Surname of Seytoun, be Schir Richart Maitland of Lethingtoun, Knycht, Dochteris Sonne of the said Hous.' This was first written about 1561, and first printed by the Bannatyne Club in 1829 in such a limited number of copies that it would be well worth reprinting.

7. 'Certain Tractates for Reformatioun of Doctryne and Maneris, by Ninian Wynzet.' These were first printed between 1562 and 1567, and have been edited for the Scottish Text Society by the Rev. J. K. Hewison.

8. 'The Historie of Scotland, fra the death of King James the First in the yeir of God 1426 to the yeir 1561, newly collected be Johne Leslye, Bishop of Rosse, during the time of his remaining an Ambassadour for the Quene his Sovrane in Ingland, MDLXX.' This was the first form of Leslie's History, first published by the Bannatyne Club in 1830. The work was afterwards published in Latin at Rome in 1578, and was retranslated by Father James Dalrymple at Regensburg in 1596. Dalrymple's translation has been published for the Scottish Text Society by the late Rev. Father E. G. Cody and Mr William Murison in 1895.

poned to the ministers of the new pretended Kirk of Scotland. Be *John Hay*, of the Societie of Jesus. Paris, 1580.

Ane Catholik and facile traictise dravin out of the halie scriptures. Be *John Hamilton*. Paris, 1581.

A Disputatioun concerning the controversit headdis of Religion, haldin in the realme of Scotland . . . betuix the pretendit ministers of the deformed kirk in Scotland and *Nicol Burne*, Prof. of Philosophie in S. Leonardis College. Parise, 1581.

Ane Cathechisme or schort instruction of Christian Religion [by *Peter Canisius*, S.J.] . . . with Ane Kallendar perpetuale, etc. Made be *M. Adame King*. Paris, 1588.

A facile traictise contennand first ane infallible reul, etc. Be Maister *Jhone Hamilton*. Lovan, 1600.

It is noteworthy that while for about ten years after the Reformation Roman Catholics used Latin, they then began to appeal to the people in the mother tongue.

9. 'Ane briefe Description of the Pest,' by Dr Gilbert Skeyne, written about 1568 and printed with other tracts by the same author by the Bannatyne Club in 1860.

10. 'Ane Admonitioun direct to the Trew Lordis main-
teneris of Justice and Obedience to the Kingis Grace.'
Written by George Buchanan in 1570 and printed at
Edinburgh by Lekprevik in 1571.

11. 'The Chamæleon,' by George Buchanan, written in
1570, and first printed in *Miscellanea Antiqua*, London, 1710.

12. 'Ane Detectioun of the doingis of Marie Quene of
Scottis, twiching the Murther of hir husband, and hir
conspiracie, adulterie, and pretendit marriage with the Erle
Bothwell, and ane defence of the trew lordis maintenaris
of the kingis grace, actioun, and authoritie.' Translated
out of Latin, quilk was written be M. G. B. [Buchanan],
Sanct Androis, be Robert Lekprevik, 1572.

13. 'Memoriale of Transactions in Scotland,' A.D. 1569-
A.D. 1573, by Richard Bannatyne, Secretary to John Knox.
This was first printed by Sir John Graham Dalyell in
'Illustrations of Scottish History,' 1806, and afterwards
edited for the Bannatyne Club in 1836 by Robert Pitcairn.

14. 'Diurnal of remarkable Occurrents in Scotland since
the date of King James IV. till the year 1575.' This was
first printed by the Bannatyne Club in 1833. This work,
though published in one, consists of two distinct and in-
dependent parts which, as they overlap each other, were
probably compiled by different writers, the first from 1513
to 1572, and the second from 1554 to 1575, each probably
written soon after the two later dates.

15. 'A Schorte Somme of the whole Catechisme, wherein
the question is proposed and answered in few wordis, for
the greater ease of the commoun people and children, by

Johnne Craig, Minister in Edinburgh,' printed in Edinburgh in 1581.

16. 'The Essayis of a Prentice in the Divine Art of Poesie,' by James VI., printed in Edinburgh in 1584. The later works of James VI., prior to his accession to the English throne, were 'Poetical Exercises at Vacant Hours' (1591), 'Dæmonologie' (1597), and 'Basilicon Doron' (1599). The Scotch works of King James are to be edited for the Scottish Text Society by Mr Oliphant Smeaton.

17. 'The Sea Law of Scotland, shortly gathered and plainly descryvit for the reddy use of aʃl Seafaring men,' printed in Edinburgh, 1590.

18. 'Memorials be Sir James Melville of Halhill' (1549 to 1593), first published in London by George Scott, his grandson, in 1683, and by the Bannatyne Club in 1827.

19. 'The Historie and Life of King James the Sext,' from 1566 to 1596, with a short Continuation to 1617. The principal part was probably written soon after 1596 and the Continuation soon after 1617. This was first printed in Edinburgh in 1804 by Mr Malcolm Laing, and afterwards in 1825 by the Bannatyne Club.

20. 'The Diary of Mr James Melville, Minister of Anstruther,' from 1566 to 1601. This was written in 1600-1, and first printed by the Bannatyne Club in 1829.

21. 'The Exposition of the Termes and Difficill Wordes contained in the Foure Buikes of Regiam Majestatem and vtheris in the Actes of Parliament, Infestments, and used in Practiques of the Realme, and with diuerse rules and commonplaces or principallis of the Laws. Collected and exponed be Mr Johne Skene, Clerke of our soverane

Lordis Register, Councill, and Rollis.' First printed in Edinburgh by Waldegrave, 1599.

22. 'Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, by David Moysie' (1577-1603). First printed in Edinburgh by the Bannatyne Club, 1830.

23. 'The Diarie of Robert Birrel, Burges of Edinburgh, from the 1532 zeir of our redemptioun till ye beginning of the zeir 1605.' First printed in Edinburgh, 1798.

24. 'The Rolment of Courtis,' by Abakuk Bysset, servant to Sir John Skene. This MS., in the Advocates' Library, written in the reign of Charles I., is described by Dr J. A. H. Murray as "perhaps the latest specimen of Literary Middle Scotch Prose existing."¹

Activity of
writers of
Scottish
prose in
sixteenth
century.

The above list, which is nearly though not quite complete, shows that writers of Scottish prose in the sixteenth century were fairly active. It includes representatives of most departments of literature except science, which did not then exist, and philosophy, which still clung to Latin. Theology, history, medicine, and law all appear, but history predominates. It may also be observed that the purity of the Scotch decreases in the works which were written in the last quarter of the century. It is in those composed before, or shortly after, 1575 that we find the best specimens of Scottish prose. There can be little doubt with which of them the language of Pitscottie can most fitly be compared from affinity of subject and proximity of the date of composition. These are the Historie of Bishop Leslie in its original form, the 'Diurnal of Occurrents,' and the 'Historie of King James the Sext.' These three works cover portions of the same period of the Scottish Annals of which he treats, and are written

Pitscottie
may be
best com-
pared with
Leslie's
History,

¹ Complaynt of Scotland, Introduction, p. xxvii.

substantially in the same language, although the History of King James is somewhat more modern. The 'Complaynt of Scotland' belongs to an earlier period, and both in its vocabulary and style represents the French influence which was passing away. It was, in fact, in part adapted from 'Le Quadriloge Invectif' of Alain Chartier.¹ The 'History of the Reformation,' by John Knox, though written before Pitscottie, represents a somewhat later period, for Knox had, as we have seen, at an early stage of his life become subject to English influences, and his great work really represents the progress of the language towards a common model. One other author, Sir David Lyndsay, must also be kept in view, though he wrote verse and not prose, for his relations to Pitscottie were more direct, and several passages in his poems were adopted and adapted by Pitscottie to the purpose of his own work.

The question may be asked whether Pitscottie, who wrote the literary Scotch prose of the sixteenth century, the language of the Court,² used any particular dialect. The answer must be that he did not. If he had used any, it would have been that of Fife, which is represented at this period in Sir David Lyndsay's poems. But although it existed, dialect in Scotland was less marked than in England, and dialect is a form of speech rather than of writing. Writing tends to a common form and suppresses dialect. Although poets, to enlarge their vocabulary, borrow words from it, prose writers rarely do. Few if any traces of the dialect of Fife can be detected in the

the 'Diurnal of Occurrences,' and the 'Historie of James the Sext.'

Pitscottie did not follow any special dialect.

¹ See Scottish Antiquary, xiii. p. 11.

² Professor Earle has instructive remarks on the Court as the focus of literary language in England through Chaucer in the fourteenth, in Scotland by the poets of the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century. Philology, pp. 90-96.

prose of Pitscottie. It might have been written by any of his contemporaries—by Bellenden or Leslie, who were Northern Scots; by Buchanan, who was a West Countryman; or by the unknown authors of the ‘Diurnal of Occurrents,’ or the ‘Historie of James the Sext.’

In studying the language of Pitscottie, there are some points now familiar to scholars, chiefly owing to the investigations of Dr J. A. H. Murray, founded upon his unrivalled knowledge of Lowland Scotch, which require to be briefly stated.

Sketch of
the his-
tory of the
Scotch
language.

Old Scotch, from the earliest times of which we have any traces to the end of the fourteenth century, was the same language as Northern English, though with an infusion of forms and a comparatively small number of words derived from the neighbourhood of races who still spoke Gaelic or Celtic after it had been abandoned in all England except Wales.

A much larger importation of forms and words borrowed from France was a result of the success of the War of Independence, which made Scotland the ally of France and the enemy of England. This continued down to the time of the Reformation. But the continuous French influence on the Scottish language must be distinguished from the Norman French already introduced into England and Scotland alike, by the Norman Conquest and its results. The Reformation, and the events which led to and followed it during the period when Pitscottie was writing his Chronicles, had a reverse influence. Not all Scotland, for it was divided into a Protestant and a Catholic party, nor even all the Protestants, for a portion of them hated Prelacy and associated more intimately with the German Lutherans, and later with the Swiss and French

Calvinists, but a considerable number, became English in sympathy. Some Presbyterian Reformers felt the necessity for a time of making common cause with the English Reformers, and cherished a hope that, aided by the English Puritans, they might mould the English Reformation. An opportunity of realising this hope came later in the time of Charles I., but proved an ignominious failure. In the sixteenth century many Scots of all classes and sects were beginning to look forward to the Union of the crowns. Education in England and intermarriage became more common ; English books, chiefly religious, began to circulate in Scotland, English printers settled in Scotland, and the English instead of the Continental press came to be used by Scottish authors. The result was the rapid growth of English influence upon the language. Pitscottie wrote when the triumph of English was impending but not quite decided. He was less subject to English influence than many of his contemporaries. There is no reason to suppose he ever crossed the Border, and his *Chronicles* frequently show his Scottish patriotism. He was, too, a local historian, who described the events which lay nearest to him in the language with which his countrymen generally were familiar. Still the English influence is perceptible even in his work. His vocabulary contains few words unintelligible to an Englishman of the sixteenth or even of the nineteenth century. Latin, through the Church and translations, and Gaelic, through contact and bilingual speech, also exercised a subordinate influence in the formation of Scotch.

It is chiefly in the retention of inflections, both of verbs and nouns, which English has dropped, and still more in his spelling, that the modern reader may find difficulty in

Pitscottie's spelling. following Pitscottie. His spelling is at first sight a puzzle, and seems almost arbitrary. The same word is spelt in different ways on the same page. Sometimes he spells like an Englishman of the period, more often like a contemporary educated Scotchman ; at times, it would seem, only like himself. The solution of the variations of spelling was impossible so long as the printed editions of Freebairn and Dalyell were used. Freebairn professedly modernised the text. Dalyell made an uncritical amalgam of the MSS. in his hands, which did not include MS. I, and probably not MS. A. Even with the certainty we now have that the oldest MSS. known have been used for the present edition, it is not quite certain that they are exact copies of Pitscottie's original. Assuming that they are, as is probable, we must remember the fluid state of the language, in which there was not yet a normal spelling fixed by dictionaries or by printed books, which were still rare. The Acts of Parliament contemporary with Pitscottie are the nearest approach to a fixed usage of Scotch spelling. It was common to use both the spelling of the Scotch dialect and that which was found in English books. Even a century later exact spelling had not yet become a test of education. There are undoubtedly also many mistakes in the text due to inaccurate copying. These can generally be detected, and have been pointed out in the footnotes ; but when they cannot, the reading of the text has been allowed to stand. After allowance has been made for these causes of variation, it will be found that the spelling of Pitscottie, strange as it appears to our eyes, was not without method, and is practically the same as that of other writers in Scottish prose of the seventeenth century. Apart from spelling, there are some peculiarities

in that prose which it will be well briefly to notice. But no attempt will be made to discuss the subject in all its bearings, as has been done by Dr Murray in his 'Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland.'

The vowels, Dr Murray has remarked, made the largest difference in the pronunciation between English and Scotch, as their pronunciation was based upon a different system, and the spelling, it must be remembered, was to a much larger extent than at present phonetic,¹ and represents the pronunciation of an earlier time. We still say English but we print English, while Pitscottie and other writers of his time have "Inglis."

Use of
vowels.

A was, of course, pronounced broad in the Scotch of Pitscottie, as in other Northern dialects. The older forms of "than" and "quhan" for "then" and "when" are frequently but not invariably used. So also are "thair" and "quhair" for "there" and "where"; "thai" and "thaies" for "they" and "those." "Ane" is used both for the article and the numeral, and whether before a vowel or a consonant, as in the common phrase "ane certain."

E is often used for *I*, as in the expression "me lord," which no doubt represents the pronunciation, as in the modern French "milord"; and in like manner one of the meanings of "be" is "by," as in the phrase "me lord be my conscience." A silent *e* frequently appears as a final letter, as in "mischieffe," "vaine," "bischope," "wanische," "schape." The use of *ie* final instead of *y* is common. *Y* is exceptional, but is coming in. "Kirkcaldie" and

¹ "The spelling of Middle English is phonetic. As the word was spelt so it was pronounced."—Skeat, Introduction to Wycliffe's New Testament, p. xvii.

"Kirkcaldy" are both used. So, too, "historie" and "history."

The insertion of *e* after *i* is very common, as "diligence," "nobilietie," "autorietie," "bissieness," with which may be compared the English spelling and pronunciation "oblige," which continued to be used down to recent times.

I is used where *e* has now been substituted, as in "Frinch" for "French," "Inglis" for "English," "thift" for "theft," "thimselves" for "themselves." The use of "thir" for "their" is peculiar, and requires further explanation. It is a slight change, but apt to produce confusion.

The use of a capital *I* is a noteworthy specialty in Pitscottie. The use of capitals, as we now employ them at the commencement of every sentence, had not yet begun.¹ Most of the cases in which capital *I* appears in the present text have been introduced for the purpose of shortening sentences, and making the reading easier. This is, indeed, almost the only deviation from the actual text which has been made. But, on the other hand, capital *I* has been used by Pitscottie in many cases where we should not now use it—in the middle of sentences with such words as "Impresounment," "Impyreing," "Invocatione," "Intollerabill," "Impediment," "Imagine," "Idollis," "Invy," "Igramancie." This last word deserves a special note. It means the Black Art, and is a corruption of "necromancy." But how the *n* has been dropped is obscure. Possibly it is the blunder of some ignorant scribe, which by accident has been perpetuated. It is always spelt "Igramancie" in Pitscottie. In a few cases a capital *T* is used in the same way, as "Twa erlis," "Twa

¹ Skeat's Introduction to Wycliffe, *ut supra*.

lordis, and Twa bischopis." The rationale of this is difficult to explain. Possibly it may be to give emphasis to the word, but in some cases there seems no reason for special emphasis. More probably it is only the caprice of the copyist, as it certainly seems to be when he omits to give the capital to some proper names and gives it to others. It is possible that it was to prevent confusion between the written forms of small *i* and *e*, *t* and *c*; but if this were so, we should expect capitals to be more frequently used.

O is frequently written where modern usage has fixed *u* as proper, as in the negative compound *on*=*un*, as in "onfreinds," "on-learned," "onjustlie," "onlandit," "on-written," "onpossible," "ondelyverand," "ondrowning," "onforgiven." *Un* is an old English form of prefix, and *on* is found in the Northern English, but its use in the form *on* was much more frequent in Scotch. So also *o* appears for *u* in other cases, as "abose" for "abuse," "corpulent" for "corpulent," "porpose" for "purpose," "sommer" for "summer," "bot" for "but," "most" for "must."

U, as a vowel, is often written *v*, as in "vnhappie," "vtheris," "vnderstuld," "vnsaceable"; and *w* is used for *v*, as in "disawit," "perceawe," "merwellous," "prowydit." This interchange of *u*, *v*, *w* is in the manuscript copies, so has nothing to do with exigencies of type. Nor does it seem to have affected the pronunciation. It appears rather to belong to a stage in the language before the value of these letters was fixed. "In early Middle English," Mr Sweet notes, "*u* and *v* were still written almost indifferently, . . . but an arbitrary distinction began to be made, by which angular *u* (*v*) was only used as a consonant.

This reform came from Italy through France.”¹ The same use of *v* and *u* for *u*, *v*, and *w* has been pointed out by Dr Murray as occurring in ‘The Complaynt of Scotland,’ and as increasing the difficulty of reading it.²

Use of con-
sonants.

With reference to the consonants, *B* is frequently suppressed after *m*, as in “nommer” for “number,” “cummer” for “cumber,” “temmert” for “timbered.” As to this, Dr Murray has observed that “the northern tongue has a repugnance to the combination of the nasal *m* and *n* with the cognate mutes *b* and *d*.” *C* is, as in modern English, sometimes equivalent to *k* and sometimes to *s*, as in the common word “caice.” It is indeed phonetically a superfluous letter which might be dispensed with. *D*,³ either single or frequently doubled, is often used where *th* would now be, as in “eard” for “earth,” “togidder” for “together,” “quhidder” for “whether,” “gadderit” for “gathered.” The pronunciation was probably always as if written *th*. *F* is frequently doubled at the commencement of a word, as in “ffor,” “ffarder,” “ffordwart”; but this is not invariable, and within a few lines a single *f* will be found. This has frequently been explained as a mode of writing a capital, and it has been retained in some proper names in lieu of a capital, as “ffinch,” “ffoliot,” and “ffrench.” But the use of the double *ff* in Pitscottie does not support this explanation. It would almost appear as if it were similar to the doubling of other letters, which is now dropped as unnecessary, for it is not only at the commencement but sometimes in the middle of the word that *f* is doubled, as in “proffessouris” and “certified,” but that it had been

¹ Sweet, *New English Grammar*, p. 268. See also Skeat, *Introduction to Wycliffe*, p. xviii.

² *Complaynt of Scotland*, *Introduction*, p. c.

³ See Murray, *Dialect of the Southern Counties*, p. 122.

retained longer in the case of *f*, and in a few proper names as a mark of distinction. The original doubling expressed a stronger sound, and for this purpose it was discovered, when printing became common, that it was not necessary to repeat the same letter. What is certain is that doubling¹ applied to almost all consonants, as "pillgrimage," "allteris," "civill," "oppinion," "barrouns," "promissit," "presentt."

G is frequently written after *n* instead of before, as in "conding" for "condign," "ringe" for "reign," "rang" for "reigned," "impung" for "impugn," as in older Scotch. *G* is dropped before *th*, as in "lenth" and "strenth," in which, indeed, it is only slightly sounded in modern English.

H is used as in modern English, and there is no tendency to omit or insert it. There appears to be an exception in the words "abominable" and "preheminnence," but these are early English forms. "Hadherentis" is a singular case of an initial *h* being added, and may be compared with "hit" for "it" and "huz" for "us," which last Dr Murray calls "the only Scotch word which aspirates an originally simple vowel." It occurs several times in Pitscottie, but is perhaps only a blunder of the scribe. "Oist" for "host" is an instance of dropping the *h*, but "oistler," which is also used, is retained in both the forms of "hostler" and "ostler" in modern English. *I* and *j* are not yet clearly distinguished, and we have both such forms as "ieopard" (but *jeopard* also) where we should now write *j*. This use of the two letters is similar to the separation of *u* and *v*, which had begun but was not invariably used. *K* was probably still pronounced where it is now silent, as in

¹ As to the early origin of doubling consonants, see Earle, *Philology*, p. 50.

"knowis" for "knolls" or "knottis" for "knots."¹ Perhaps this was also the case with *qu* in "quhyle" and similar words, and accounts for their having been retained as well as the aspirate. When at the end of the word, as in "hals," pronounced "haass," or before consonants, as in "chalmmer," *l* is sometimes elided or not pronounced, as "challmer," from Fr. *chambre*, where after being introduced it became silent,² or introduced as in "walkin" for "waken." The French or Romance *l* before *s* is pronounced soft, as in "artailze," from Fr. *artille*, and "spuilzie," from Fr. *espouille*. The same pronunciation was used with *n*, as in "fenzie," from Fr. *feigne*. *M*, we have seen, rejects *b* after it, as in "chalmmer," from Fr. *chambre*.

Sch is often used where in modern usage *sh* or *s* only is employed. Thus "she" is generally written "scho," "sir" frequently "schir." Other instances are "schaw" for "show," "schervice" for "service," "schessit" for "chased" (but "chassit" is also used), "schipis" for "ships," "schone" for "soon." This is explained by Dr Murray as "undoubtedly of Celtic origin; in Gaelic *s* is always pronounced *sh* in connection with the small vowels *e* and *i*."³ It is not only in the beginning of words that we find this; for "astonish," "finish," "diminish," "flourish," are written "astonisch," "finisch," "diminisch," "flourisch." In "ischit" for "issued" the *sh* sound is retained, as it often is in the modern form. On the other hand, in "sall" the *h* has been dropped, and so also in "sedule" for "schedule," or the *c* is dropped, as in "septer" for "sceptre."

The use of a final but silent *t* is very peculiar, and a distinct mark of Scotch of the middle period. Thus

¹ Murray, *Dialect of the Southern Counties*, p. 122.

² *Ibid.*, p. 122 *et seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

"witht" and "withtout," "baitht," "faitht," "fortht," "furht," "thocht" for though, "throcht" for through, "monetht" for month, are common forms. This has been ascribed, but somewhat cautiously, by Dr Murray to "the habit of writing *t* where it was no longer sounded, and even where it has never been so, and not to any peculiarity of pronunciation," and perhaps also to an erroneous expansion of a contraction—as "*w^t*" for "with"—and to the confusion between *c* and *t*, which are very difficult to distinguish in the MSS. But this point is obscure, and it cannot be said that the explanation is completely satisfactory. Why should *t* be written where it has never been sounded? Mr Oliphant gives an instructive series of the addition of *t* to round off the word in English, but this is not one of them, and is specially Scotch.¹

Quh is used for *w*—as in "quho," "quhilk" (but the curious form, "the quhich" is also used), "quhiddir," "quhingeris," "quhisperit." This is the most persistent of the forms of old Scotch. It was due to the more distinct aspirated sound² in the Northern than in the Southern dialect, which is still audible at the present day.

Quhill is also frequently used in the sense of "until" as well as "while," which is apt to produce confusion—as in the phrase, "ane quhyll quhill" = "a while until."³

The position of *r* is frequently altered—as "corse" for "cross," "fyrth" for "frith"; and the opposite change is seen in "brod" for "board," "thrid" for "third," "brunt"

¹ See Index to Old and Middle English.

² Alexander Hume, schoolmaster at Bath, has an amusing account of a controversy on the retention by the Scotch of the guttural *quh*, but we have now lost the guttural though retaining the aspirate.—Orthographie, E. E. Text Soc., 1865, p. 152.

³ "In our Southern speech 'while' is equivalent to 'during,' but in the northern dialects it means 'until.'"—Earle, Philology, p. 92.

for "burnt," "Brantoun" for "Barntoun," "Bruntisland" for "Burntisland."

W is constantly used for the consonant *v* — as in "wangaïrd," "wiweris," "woyce," "wictuallis"; but sometimes also for the vowel *u*—as in "wriesouns" = "uriesons" —*i.e.*, orisons or prayers.¹

Z, "a form of letter neither *g* nor *z*, which was written 3,"² is used for *g*, as in "zied" for "gied," "forzett" for "forgett"; but oftener for *y*, as in "ze" for "yea," "zeir" for "year," "zoung" for "young," "zou" for "you," "zour" for "your," a use probably facilitated by the similarity of the letters. *Lz* and *nz* are frequently used in words derived from French, where they are now dropped—as "artilze" or "artilzerie," Fr. *artiller*, now artillery; "pleinzie," Fr. *plaindre*, now complain.

Inflection
still re-
tained.

The inflections which continued to be used in Scotch after they had been dropped in English are almost all to be found in Pitscottie. Thus we have the plural of nouns constantly in "is," with some examples of the exceptional plurals—as "eyen" or "ein," as well as "eyes," "brether" and "bretherin," "wemen," and the singular word for the plural, as in "hors" and "futt."

The possessive case is expressed by "is," but also by the expression, "fadir brother" for father's brother or uncle, "sister son" for sister's son or nephew. The present participle of verbs is formed in "and" instead of "ing," but the distinction between the gerund and the participle is abandoned; the past participle of weak verbs is in "it" instead of "ed." There are a great number of participles

¹ Mr Skeat notes in Middle English "Very rarely we find *w* for *u*."

² Earle, *Philology*, p. 132.

of irregular verbs now lost in literary language, though many of them survive in dialect—as “patt” from “put,” “lut” from “let,” “leuch” from “laugh,” “wan” from “win,” “cuist” from “cast,” “raid” from “ride.”

There are some special uses of prepositions and conjunctions which deserve a note. “Be” is used for “by,” but also besides, or contrary to; “but” for “without,” “in” for “into,” “tyll” for “to,” and “quhyle” for “until”; “an” = “and” is used for “if”; “gyf” and “gin” are also used for “if.”

The Vocabulary is almost the same as the English Vocabulary of the period. There are comparatively few words derived from French. The following may be noted, many of which were also used in Middle English: “abulyment,” from *habillement*; “abit,” from Fr. *habit*; “assoilzie,” from O.Fr. *assoiler*; “burrious,” from *bourreau*; “botynes,” from *bottes*; “cure,” from O.Fr. *curé*; “caucioun,” from O.Fr. *caucion*, or Latin *cautio*; “eventur,” from Fr. *aventure*; “freres,” from Fr. *frère*; “galziand,” from Fr. *galiard*; “matulate,” from Fr. *maculate*; “meschant,” from Fr. *méchant*; “moyan,” from Fr. *moyen*; “novellis,” from Fr. *nouvelles*; “pest,” for Fr. *peste*, “plague”; “panse,” from Fr. *penser*; “pissance,” from Fr. *puissance*; “sege,” from Fr. *siège*; “sussy,” from Fr. *souci*; “tass,” from Fr. *tasse*; “suddand,” from Fr. *soudaine*; “wallour,” from Fr. *valeur*; “vilipend,” from Fr. *vilipender*; “vissie,” from Fr. *visé*; “woce,” from Fr. *voix*. There is a remarkable absence of words which can be derived from Gaelic, as if the Lowland Scotch purposely rejected them, which is indeed what might be expected from the hostility of the two races. On the other hand, the modifications

of forms due to proximity to a Celtic-speaking race had probably begun at an earlier period, and is fixed in the language.

Phrases in
Pitscottie.

Certain phrases frequently occur in Pitscottie. Such are "byganes to be byganes," meaning to forget the past, a phrase still familiar in Scotland; "baith as ane" and "all as ane," meaning a complete union in action. "Fra hand" equals "instantly." "Ane siker targe" is what we should now call "a sure shield" or "protection." "Ane heart of stane" has been preserved by Burns. "From the boddom of my heart" has become a commonplace. "To quhit ane commoun" means to requite or give back as good as one gets, usually in the sense of returning evil for evil. "To bear the lawer sail" is to play humble, or, in modern cant, "to lie low." "To tak on the reid crosse" means to accept the English badge of the red cross and become a sworn or assured ally of England. "To play with baith the hands" is used for taking gifts from or assisting both sides. "To gif bakis" is a pithy expression for to retreat, and is repeatedly used. "In feir of weir" is also very common, and means "in array of war" (*in apparatu bellico*). "Hangit be the purs" appears to be an ironical expression for "fined." "Bag and baggage," a phrase revived in our own day, meant the surrender of a town or fort with everything in it, and when it was added "frie for seven days," that meant that the besieged might remove their belongings within that time. "Fair weiris" was used for wars in which prisoners were ransomed or exchanged. "But it was force" was a translation from the Latin, and means "it was necessary."

Many of these phrases are to be found in other writers of the period, but the frequency of their use is a mark of

the style of Pitscottie. The above notes are merely a few illustrations to help the general reader in a subject which might be enlarged upon by a philologist. Scottish prose deserves further study. Though the field from which examples can be drawn is small, it is sufficient to illustrate its grammatical forms, and the vocabulary can be supplemented from what now survives only as dialect. Pitscottie retained much of the old Scotch, probably more than other writers of the same age. But it would be easy to show that he also began to use modern English, and it is the use of both and a mixture of the two which causes the difficulty of his language to persons unfamiliar with the Scotch dialect. No one who has become accustomed to read Pitscottie as originally written can doubt that his language is quaint, forcible, and picturesque. But it is also very irregular, and lacks the grace and harmony of style which distinguishes the best writers of English prose. Even if Scotch had maintained its existence as a separate language, Pitscottie would never have been a classic.

V.—PITSCOTTIE AS AN HISTORIAN.

An examination of the merits and deficiencies of Pitscottie as an historian would require the rewriting of the 'History of Scotland' from 1436 to 1575, and cannot be expected in an edition whose object is merely to present a complete and correct text for the use of future historians. Yet a few points may be usefully noticed which may relieve him from undeserved praise or blame. So much, at least, appears due to our author, and may help to elucidate his character and that of his Chronicles. It has

A full examination of Pitscottie as an historian not attempted.

been usual to regard him as a good story-teller, but altogether wanting in the accuracy now demanded of all who attempt to write history. This verdict requires revision. It is rather the result of a popular impression than of critical examination, and critical examination was not attempted by former editors, nor was it possible until the complete work was recovered. How little either Freebairn or Dalyell regarded the point is shown by their printing the Preface by Pitscottie, which expressly states that he brought down his Chronicles to 1575, while the former editor assumed that after 1565 the work he published was, as it in fact was, a continuation by other hands till August 1604, and the latter, that it was by Pitscottie himself, the date of whose birth and death he made no effort to ascertain. The discovery of MS. I, which stops in 1575,

The discovery of MS. I enables us to judge Pitscottie more fairly.

according to the promise of the preface, enables us at once to see the different conditions under which the author compiled different parts of the history of nearly a century and a half of the annals of Scotland. It is necessary to distinguish three periods.

The three periods in Pitscottie.

I. 1436-1460. Reign of James II., a translation of Boece.

I. From 1436 to 1460, the reign of James II., Pitscottie is merely a translator of Hector Boece, whose Chronicles he continues, scarcely altering the Latin original, and not attempting any correction of the text of his author. This reign had been left untranslated by John Bellenden.

II. 1460-1542. James III. to Queen Mary, compiled from other writers.

II. From 1460, the commencement of the reign of James III., to 1542, the commencement of the reign of Queen Mary, Pitscottie works independently, but his work is a collection or compilation, in which it is impossible to say how much is original and how much adopted matter. He relies on the authors named in his preface, but none of their works have been preserved, except that of John

Major, from which he has taken little. Nor are we even certain whether he may not refer to oral and traditional communications, and not to written documents, unless in the case of Sir William Bruce of Earlshall, of whom he says that he "hes wrettin werrie justlie all the deidis sin flowdane feild."

III. From 1542 (if we accept 1532 as the probable date of his birth) down to 1575, where MS. I ends, he is a contemporary historian, relating events which occurred in his own lifetime, although as to some of them he was no doubt indebted to Sir David Lyndsay and Andrew Wood of Largo, and probably to Andrew Fernie of that ilk and Sir William Bruce of Earlshall. That he described events which he himself witnessed is specially clear as regards the last decade of his history, now published for the first time. It will easily be seen that there is a very great difference in accuracy between the accounts of these three periods.

During the first he follows and adopts the errors of Boece, a writer somewhat unfairly called mendacious by Buchanan, but whose standard of exactness was certainly not high, and the early part of whose history, though Buchanan himself accepted it, has required to be rewritten. As regards the reign of James II., which Pitscottie translated, Boece, though a generation earlier, was not himself a contemporary.

III. 1542-1575.
Contemporary and mostly independent.

First period is subject to the errors of Boece.

In the second period there continue to be many errors, especially in dates and genealogies, the result, when not the fault of careless transcription, of accepting hearsay information without independent inquiry.

Second period has many errors.

But in the third period Pitscottie is substantially accurate, and in that portion which narrates the events between

Third period substantially accurate.

1565 and 1575 he is as accurate as any diarist of the time. This, of course, could not be known until the manuscript which contains the most important portion of the third part of the history was discovered. It has now been shown by the comparisons made in the footnotes of his narrative with the 'Herries Memoirs'—originally written in the sixteenth, though in the form we now have it revised in the seventeenth century—the two independent accounts called 'The Diurnal of Occurrents,' and 'The Memorial of Richard Bannatyne,' and the early Scottish version of the 'History of Bishop Leslie.' In regard to the siege of Edinburgh, we are indeed surprised by the agreement of two or more of these writers in minute or even trivial points, and are tempted to suspect a record may have been kept of the nature of a journal of what happened from day to day.

This is not a necessary inference. The siege of Edinburgh was the central point of Scottish history on which the eyes of all were turned, and independent observers may have noted every step in its progress to its all but inevitable end as soon as the English began to take part in it, in spite of the desperate efforts of Grange and Lethington to keep the flag of Mary flying on the Castle walls. The tendency of Scottish writers to magnify events which concerned Scotland out of due proportion must also be kept in view. In the third or last period it may further be noted that Pitscottie's story-telling ceases, while the propensity he all along showed for moralising increases.

It is in the reigns of James III., James IV., and James V. that we have such striking and picturesque narratives as the hanging of Cochrane and the favour-

ites of James III. at the Bridge of Lauder, the presages of Flodden field, the escape from Falkland, and the death-bed scene of James V. The reigns of Mary and of James VI., though certainly not wanting in opportunities for similar scenes, are told in plainer language and with fewer digressions. Such digressions as occur are either into English history or moral reflections upon the corruptness and wickedness of the times, which modern historians for the most part leave to the pulpit. This may either be because such stories were taken from some of the authors out of whose works Pitscottie borrowed the second period of his Chronicles, or more probably because the narrative, no doubt written as the events occurred, draws nearer the Reformation and its triumph—a period during which, though Pitscottie never faltered in his belief that the cause he embraced was right, it was impossible for him not to see the mingling of secular motives and private ends. It was a time too grave for mirth, too recent for stories.

In the history of the particular reigns there is much omitted which would have found a place in a modern history. The field of observation of the writer is limited. Yet enough is told to bring out the character of each monarch. It is in the chronology the mistakes occur which are sometimes sufficiently great to dislocate materially the sequence of events. James II. with the Fiery Face belongs properly to Boece; but the translator has identified himself with the older writer, and the fierce conflict between the Stewarts and the Douglasses, which twice dyed the royal hands with blood, stand out as the mark of the reign. Amongst the mistakes in this reign it may be noted that as the sixth Earl of Doug-

Mistakes
in chrono-
logy.

James II.

las was only seventeen at the date of his murder, it appears probable that some of the acts ascribed to him were really those of the eighth earl. The date of the murder has been given as 1411 in MS. A, and as 1448 in MS. I, while the true date was 1440; but these are probably transcribers' errors. There are indeed comparatively few great errors of date in the part of Pitscottie which is taken from Boece, but the chronology lacks preciseness. The insertion in some MSS. of the story of the death of the Tutor of Bombie, and the transposition of the apologue from the sheaf of arrows by Bishop Kennedy which belongs to this reign to that of James III., deserve, however, to be noticed, as showing the liberties taken with the manuscripts. It is noteworthy when we compare the tone of the description of this period with the original work of Pitscottie which follows, how much he has in common with Boece. Boece was a Catholic priest and university man; Pitscottie a layman and country gentleman. Boece was a disciple of the Renaissance, which was late in reaching Scotland; Pitscottie was an ardent follower of the Reformation. Yet their view of Scottish history is very similar. They sympathise with the Royal house, but are not blind to its faults, which they freely criticise. They both condemn without stint the ambition and oppression of the Scottish nobles. They both recognise, though Pitscottie more fully, the corruptions of the Church, yet even Pitscottie admits the virtues of individual prelates like Kennedy, whose character shines by contrast. They are both moralising historians, and represent the ideas of intelligent members of the third estate, which was gradually growing in importance, until

Pitscottie
and Boece.

it became in the end of the sixteenth and during the seventeenth century not the predominant but a powerful factor in Scottish politics. In both, too, there are traces of the humaner feeling which a wider view of affairs necessarily produced. It was natural that Pitscottie should regard his work as a continuation of that of Boece rather than the commencement of a history of his own.

The reign of James III. is that in which the most James III. serious errors occur. It is the farthest, except the part translated from Boece, from Pitscottie's own time. This portion of the history he wrote himself, and he must have compiled it from authors or sources none of which were, probably, contemporary with the events. So we have hearsay of hearsay. Nor is there any full contemporary chronicle with which to compare it. The truer history has to be laboriously pieced together from Acts of Parliament and other official records, and various later chronicles, of which the best appear to be that of Ferrerius, a Piedmontese monk, who made some notes in continuation of Boece, and frankly admits his difficulties as a foreigner. Amongst the mistakes which may be noted in the period between 1460 and 1488, the following deserve special attention. The coronation of James III. was at Kelso and not at Scone, a mistake not of the first consequence, as there may have been a confirmation at Scone; but if so, it is singular that it is not recorded elsewhere. The date of the king's marriage with Margaret of Denmark is post-dated. It really took place in July 1469, as is shown by the Treasurer's Accounts, and not in 1473, as stated by Pitscottie. Possibly the birth of James IV., which was not till 1473, may explain

the mistake. The rise and fall of the Boyds, an important fact in this reign, is entirely left out by Pitscottie. There is great confusion in the account given of Albany's proceedings. It was in 1479 that Albany escaped from the Castle of Edinburgh and went to France, where he married Anne de la Tour d'Auvergne, and not in 1483, although it would appear that he paid another short visit to France in 1484. The "correction and punishment" of Cochrane and the king's favourites at Lauder Bridge was in July 1482 and not in 1481, as is stated in Pitscottie. The account of the escape of Albany and his chamber child from Edinburgh Castle in the following year, 1483—one of the most graphic passages in Pitscottie—cannot have taken place in that year. It is too circumstantial to be invented, and probably occurred in 1479; but the misplacing of its date certainly raises a doubt whether it occurred, at least in the way Pitscottie narrates it. The account of the battle of Bosworth Field—now printed for the first time from MS. I—and the part ascribed to the Scottish troops under Sir Alexander Bruce of Earlsall, derives some confirmation from John Major: and the army of Henry VII. no doubt included Scotch as well as other mercenaries, though English historians have ignored their contribution to the victory. But the story of Macgregor stealing the English crown, with its humorous incidents, certainly gives ground for supposing Pitscottie made up for the absence of facts by inserting stories. There are times in his history, and this is one, when he appears to be laughing in his sleeve, or playing a practical joke on his readers. The incidents of the death of James IV., after the battle of Sauchie, have been also doubted. Yet here the continuous tradition of the district supports

his narrative. Nor is there anything wonderful in the murder of James by the hand of a pretended priest.

The reign of James IV. has fewer errors in dates, but James IV. contains several stories which are, at least, of doubtful authenticity. Such are the tale with which it commences of the young prince taking Captain Wood for his father ; the trial of Lord David Lindesay, and his successful defence by his brother's skill in advocacy ; the predictions as to Flodden, and the alleged intrigue of James with Lady Ford, by which they were fulfilled. Yet it seems almost certain that the two first of these were derived from the traditions of the families of Wood of Largo and Lindesay of the Byres, while the latter stories, so closely connected with each other, were probably the popular rumours of the time, which grew after the issue of the fatal field. It must be remembered, however, that for the strangest of them Buchanan cites the Lyon King as a voucher. Few ghost-stories have such good evidence.

The defeat of Flodden, really due to the bad generalship of James, was sought to be explained by his immoral conduct. But Pitscottie, who reports the story as an *on dit*,—"sum sayis the lady of Furde was ane bewtiefull woman, and that the king mellit with hir and allso his sone, the bischope of Sanct Androis, with hir douchter,"—was too ready to accept a tale which had royal adultery as its basis.

The date of the marriage of James IV. with Margaret Tudor, though wrongly given in MS. A as 1504, is correctly placed in MS. I in 1503 ; but the day and the month of 10th September requires to be corrected by the diary of Young, the Somerset Herald. The date was 8th August 1503.

The story of the "monster" who could speak as many

languages as the king is credited with by Don Pedro Ayala, can only be accounted for by the appetite of the age for adding marvels to marvels. The singular account, now first printed from one of the additions in MS. I, of the tournament in which James fought as the Black Knight in honour of the Black Lady before Marshal D'Aubigny, is confirmed by Dunbar's poem, and no doubt refers to an actual occurrence, although its date is uncertain.

The too late arrival of Maclean of the Isles, after the battle of Flodden had been lost, is an addition from MS. I, and is not told in the same way in any other account of Flodden. It is difficult to believe there can have been any subsequent engagement worthy of the name of a great battle. But Tytler mentions Maclean of Duart, in Mull, as having fallen at Flodden, and this is confirmed by a MS. history of the clan.

James V. In the reign of James V. we approach the period when Pitscottie was a contemporary. He certainly had information from Sir David Lyndsay, who lived through the whole of the reign and died about 1555. Pitscottie himself, we have seen, was probably born about 1532; yet there are more serious errors in the dates than in any part of his history. Possibly Pitscottie trusted to hearsay, and had not any written narrative to follow, as he probably had for portions of the reign of James IV.; but his mistakes are difficult to account for. The skirmish of Cleanse the Causeway is placed in 1515—not, as it should be, in 1520—possibly from a confusion with an earlier similar street-fight. Whatever the explanation, this error has dislocated much of the history of this period. There is no reason to suppose the Earl of Angus went to France shortly after 1515, as is stated by Pitscottie. It was in

1522 that he made this move, if he was not rather the victim of a plot. We should have expected him to take refuge in England rather than in France. The expressions in Pitscottie that "he remainit ane sessoun but companie of aney Scottisman, skantlie knowand in quhat part of the world he was in," is very peculiar; and perhaps the explanation may be that he was in hiding, and it was not really known where he went. The statement that he "convoyit himself *quyetlie* out of France to Ingland quhare he was weill ressavit," rather confirms this conjecture. The blunder in ascribing the death of Squire Meldrum to a period of fifty years after the assault by the Laird of Keir is one of the most curious in Pitscottie, though not in itself of much consequence to Scottish history. Pitscottie, we should have thought, from his relationship to the Lindesays of the Byres, who gave the Squire the hospitality of Struthers, must have known the true date of his death. Perhaps Laing gives the most probable explanation—that "fiftie" is a miscopy for "fifteen," and that he died about 1532, after which date we find no trace of him. This mistake is, however, in all copies of the MS. as well as in the printed editions, and, if Laing's conjecture is correct, it is another example of the inaccuracy of the copyists.

The siege of Wark, at which Buchanan was present, was certainly in 1523—not in 1520, as Pitscottie puts it. It was during Albany's third visit to Scotland, which Pitscottie has omitted; and its failure, through the barons not co-operating with Albany, was the cause of his final return to France. Something very wrong—it is hard to say what—has confused the dates of this period. Thus the length of Albany's three visits, which is too expressly

stated to be a mistake of any copyist, is computed at five years and a half; while we know from the dates of his arrival and departure, which can be ascertained from the Records, that he was in all only three years and seven months in Scotland. Here the error may be extending the first portion of his regency to 1519, and slumping together the second and third portions.

The date of the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton does not agree with the 'Diurnal of Occurrents' which places it on 28th February 1527,¹ instead of September 1525, as Pitscottie does.

The field of Linlithgow, where Lennox was slain, is misdated in 1520 or 1522, but was really fought on 4th September 1526.² More important is the date of the escape of James V. from the custody of Angus at Falkland, of which Pitscottie gives a fuller narrative than other writers. But he places it shortly before 2nd July 1524,³ whereas the true date was in July 1528. This is proved by the forfeiture of the Douglasses, the date of which was in October 1528. In the account of the burning of the Vicar of Dollar we again meet with singular errors as to the dates. MS. A places the burning of the Vicar, Norman Gourlay, and David Stratton in 1520, and MS. I in 1529.⁴ The true date of the martyrdom of Norman Gourlay and David Stratton was in 1534,⁵ while the Vicar of Dollar was not executed till 3rd February 1539.⁶ The voyage of James to the Isles should be placed after and

¹ P. 10; and see Foxe's Book of Martyrs.

² Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 10.

³ Vol. i. p. 327. The Council at Stirling against the Douglasses. Freebairn reads 1527 not 1524, and perhaps the emendation is correct, but it still leaves an error of a year.

⁴ Vol. i. p. 348.

⁵ Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 18; Knox, i. 1, p. 60.

⁶ Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 23.

not before the date of the king's second marriage.¹ A good example of what is evidently a copyist's error is found in the date assigned to the letters written by James to invite the Scotch lords to his marriage with Madeleine of France. These are stated to have been written in 1520 in MS. A, and in 1526 in MS. I.² Freebairn, seeing there was an error, omits the date. As the marriage took place on 1st January 1537, the date of these letters must have been in 1536. The copyist of MS. A has not completed the date, and the one who wrote MS. I has left out x, and put xxvi for xxxvi. This is proved by the last date given before the date of the letters—viz., the date of the king's embarkation—being 1536.³ A similar mistake has been made as to the marriage of James to Mary of Guise. MS. A reads *I^m V^c* leaving the year a blank, while MS. I fills in xxvii.⁴ The true date was 1538. The explanation seems to be that MS. A had left the date to be filled in, and that MS. I filled in wrongly xxvii for xxxviii. The dates of the birth of the sons of James V., who died in infancy, are in like manner omitted in MS. A, and in MS. I are filled in a year short of the actual dates, which were 22nd May 1540 and April 1541.⁵ The first date of this period which is absolutely correct is that of the Parliament which confirmed the general narration made by James when in France at Rouen. This is dated in the addition from MS. I as 3rd March 1540.⁶ The closing events of the reign of James V. are correctly given, though the date of his death was probably 14th, and not 20th, December 1542.

¹ See Dunbar, *Scottish Kings*, p. 235.

² Vol. i. p. 364.

³ Vol. i. p. 357.

⁴ Vol. i. p. 378.

⁵ *Treasurer's Accounts ; Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 23, 24.

⁶ Vol. i. p. 382.

After 1542 chronology practically correct. From the accession of Queen Mary in 1542 until the close of the history in the manuscript now first printed, in 1575, Pitscottie is a contemporary author, and although there are a few discrepancies in his dates, these are comparatively rare. It is not therefore necessary to pursue further the reconciliation of his chronology with the correct dates.¹

Explanations of mistakes in earlier part of the Chronicles. The mistakes which have been pointed out in the earlier part of the Chronicles cannot be explained by any single theory. Some of them are no doubt due to the errors of copyists. An unfortunate practice seems to have prevailed of leaving the date or exact date blank in the original copy. This was sometimes allowed to remain blank, and at other times filled up by later and ignorant redactors of the text. The difference in the old and new styles, both of which had begun to be used by historical writers before the new was introduced by James VI. in 1599 for legal documents, may also account for the errors where they are only one year different between 1st January and 25th March. So also may the acceptance of second or third hand accounts for some of the earlier errors. But it is evident that no attempt was made by Pitscottie to write history with the precision which is now rightly deemed necessary, and which can be so much more readily attained when the dates of all important events have been recorded in print before the historian commences his task.

How far this inaccuracy and the habit of introducing

¹ I have been much indebted in the attempt to give the true dates to the 'Revised Chronology of Scottish History,' by Sir A. H. Dunbar, Bart., though it was published too late to enable me to take full advantage of it.

doubtful anecdotes affects the credibility of Pitscottie as an historian is not easy to say. Probably the modern historians have acted most safely who do not accept his authority unless when it is confirmed by some other source. But it must be distinctly kept in view that this criticism does not apply to the portion of his *Chronicles* after the accession of Queen Mary.

For the solution of the problems of her reign it is a different question. The dates are now generally right or only wrong by a few days. The question is whether he was not so much of a partisan as to be unable to form an impartial verdict. Pitscottie undoubtedly believed that Mary was guilty of a preknowledge of Darnley's murder and of adultery with Bothwell. This is evident from his reference to Margaret of Gueldres, whom he accuses of adultery with Hepburn of Hailes, because the same thing had happened in the case of a queen in his own time; from the insinuation that Darnley was brought to the Kirk-of-Field, a place convenient for the murder, and his description of Mary's conduct on the fatal night; and from his acceptance of Murray and Buchanan's statement of the facts to Elizabeth's Council. He also emphatically calls Murray 'the guid Regent, for sa he was indeed,' and credits him with the equal administration of justice to poor and rich. But the murder took place on 10th February 1567, and already on 7th March the accusation was launched by the placards on the church doors that Mary as well as Bothwell were the causers of the king's death. After that date almost every one in Scotland was a partisan, and believed, if a Protestant, in Mary's guilt, if a Catholic, in her innocence. Pitscottie was

How far
the account
of Queen
Mary's
reign can
be cred-
ited.

no exception, and there is no reason for supposing he had any special means of knowledge. There was truth, too, in Darnley's scoff. Murray had too much land, acquired by doubtful methods, to deserve the character of a just or good man.

His state-
ment of
facts in
reign of
James VI.
credible.

Conclu-
sion.

With regard to the events of the reign of James VI., and specially the account of the siege of the Castle of Edinburgh, which he has told in such detail, there is no reason to discredit his statement of facts, though the bias of his narrative is palpable. We may deem him in the earlier part of his Chronicles, prior to the reign of Mary, as a truthful writer, though one who had not sufficient regard to accuracy in dates, and was too much inclined to introduce stories to enliven what would otherwise have been a prosaic narrative. In the later part, after Queen Mary became a prominent actor, and the Reformation the chief factor in Scottish history, while he retained his honesty of purpose, he was too much interested in the great controversy of the time to be accepted as a safe guide when unconfirmed by other testimony. But both in the earlier and in the contemporary part of his Chronicles his characters live, and whatever may be our judgment of his accuracy or bias, he shows us the form and pressure of the times he depicts. If he shows this by the light of his own age, is not all history a view of the past seen by the eyes of the present? We should, where we can, correct his errors. It would be well if we could, like Scott, learn something of his historic instinct and patriotic spirit.

P R E F A C E.

HEIR¹ beginnis the historie and cronickillis of Scotland
quhilk was left onwrettin be the last translature to wit
maister hector boes² and maister Johne ballentyne³ quha
endit thair cronickill at the slauchter of king James the
5 first quhilk was frome our redemptioun ane thowsande
four hundreith xxxvi zeiris the xxi day of february.
Thairfoir we follow furth seinsyne begining at king
James the secund so breiflie succedin all the kingis
quenis gowernouris and regentis that hes beine sen the
10 said day foirsaid wnto this day and dait heireftir follow-
ing⁴ and forder hes socht gadderit and collected all the
notabill actis done be thir foirsaid princeis in thair
tyme and all troubillis and enormities of conspirationis
fallin in lyk maner in thair dayis is all comprehendit
15 in this wollume and specialle the maner of the reforma-

¹ A portion of MS. A, missing from the beginning down to p. 32, l. 18, has been supplied from MS. I, which, with some variations and considerable additions, contains practically the same text. The MSS. are fully described in the Introduction.

² Hector Boece or Boethius is the more usual spelling, but the form Bois or Boes is also used in contemporary documents, and Pitcottie prefers Boes to Boece, used in Bellenden's translation of the first seventeen books, printed by Thomas Davidson.

³ The forms Ballentyne and Bellenden were both used, but the latter by Bellenden himself.

⁴ The day and date referred to is 25th December 1575, to which the Chronicle is brought down in MS. I. See p. 2 and 10 and Introduction.

tioun of the religioun and quhat was done thairin sen
the fyftie aucht zeir wnto the thrie scoir fyftein zeir
socht gadderit wrettin and collected be ane robert
lyndesay of pitscottie instructed and learned and laitlie
informit be thir authouris as eftir followis to wit Patrick 5
lord lyndesay of the byres¹ Schir William Scot of bal-
wirrie knicht Schir Androw Wood² of Largow knicht
Maister Johne Mair doctour of theologie quha wret his
cronickill heirwpone³ and alsua schir dauid lyndesay of 10
the mont allias lyoun herauld king of armes with androw
wood of largow principall and familiar serwand to king
James the fyft Androw fernie of that ilk ane nobill man
of recent memorie schir willame bruce of erleshall knicht
quha hes wrettin werrie Iustlie all the deidis sen flow-
dane feild.⁴ 15

THE EXORTATIOUN TO THE RIDER
PRAYAND HIM TO BE CIRCV-
MSPECT AND EXPERT IN
REIDING BECAUS HE
IS BOT ANE ZOVNG SCHOL-
LAR THAT WRETT IT
THAIRFOIR HALD
HIM EXCVSIT.⁵

¹ It is not quite certain whether this is the fourth or sixth Lord Lindsay of the Byres; but the names seem stated in chronological order, so it is probably the fourth Lord, who died 1526. See Introduction: 'Pitscottie's Authors and Sources.'

² The famous sea-captain of the reigns of James IV. and James V. (b. 1450, d. 1521).

³ 'Historia Majoris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scotiae, per Johannem Majorem natione quidem Scotum professione autem theologum,' first printed by Badius Ascencius, Paris, 1521.

⁴ See Introduction: 'Pitscottie's Authors and Sources.'

⁵ The Exortatioun is in the verses which follow, as to which see p. 3, note 1.

- Ingyne¹ of man be Inclinatioun
 in sindrie wayes² is giwin as we sie
 sum men ar giwin to detractioun
 inwy displeassure or malancholie
 5 and (sum)³ to thair nichtbouris hes na cherritie
 Sum ar so nobill and full of gentilnes
 Thay luife⁴ no thing bot joy and merenes⁵
- Sum ar at wnderhand and⁶ sum maid vp of nocht
 Sum men luifis peace and sum desyres weir
 10 sum is so blindit in his lust and thoct⁷
 he curis nocht so he may passeweir⁸
 In gold and siluir and in warldlie geir⁹
 Sum Invyand vthir with maist crewell feid
 with sword and dag to schut him to the deid¹⁰
- 15 Ane hes that nicht ane hundreith weill susteine
 and livis in vo and pinschis¹¹ at his tabill
 And of guid fallowis comptis nocht ane prein¹²
 his wrechit mynd is euer so insasiabill
 as hevin and hell var nothing bot ane fabill

¹ The first four stanzas and the last stanza of this poem are borrowed, with slight variations, from the verses prefixed to Bellenden's translation of the 'Chronicles of Hector Boece,' made by command of James V., between 1530 and 1533, and printed by Thomas Davidson, without date, but probably about 1542. [Dickson and Edmond, 'Annals of Scottish Printing,' p. 131.] The fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth stanzas have been inserted by the scribe of the original MS. of Pitscottie's Chronicle, who has substituted in the first line of stanza four the word "wrettar" for the word "prentar." The lines are headed in the printed edition of Bellenden's translation of Boece, 'The Invocation of the Prentar,' and were probably written as well as printed by Thomas Davidson.

² Wyse in Davidson's lines.

³ D omits.

⁴ Luf, D.

⁵ Merynes, D.

⁶ Under and, D.

⁷ Sum is so blyth in to his many thoct, D.

⁸ Pasewir, D = persevere.

⁹ In grace and favour of his lady deir, D.

¹⁰ With lance and dagar rynniss to the deid, D.

¹¹ Pennance, D.

¹² Bene, D. Prein is still Scotch vernacular for a pin.

4 EXHORTATION TO THE READER.

he burnes¹ evir in sicht of guid or euill
Syne rynis with all his bagis to the dewill

And I the wrettar² that dois considar³ weill
The⁴ sindrie⁵ myndis of men in thair leiving
desyres nocht bot for my laubouris leill 5
bayth nicht and day musing and studdieing
first to pleis god and syne our nobill king
and that the rederis bousum and attent
war of my laubour and bussines contentt.

And that this wark may haue the bettir speid 10
To pray me think it is verray necessarie
That I sould fall considdering my neid.
That I most haue for laik of dew studdie
quhair throw thair cunning and perfytt memorie
Of thingis consawit quhan I was hynde⁶ 15
Bein far sett of now and put from my mynde.

Bot this Ignorance now cuming in plaice
and obliuion had set his fute
Sie that knowledg frome me thay down raite
quhairby in auld authouris I micht find sum buit 20
In latin or frensh that in thair deuers suite
So and wrettaris hes so compendiouslie
Sett thir auld storries in ordour diligentlie

Bot in my prayeris I think nocht so be wssit
As did the poettis in the auld dayes 25
quhich maid thair prayeris to goddis⁷ abusit
as Iupitar marce that in thair auld lawis
war namit goddessis⁷ and feinzeit in thair sawis

¹ Birnis ay, D.

² Prentar, D.

³ Considir, D.

⁴ Thir, D.

⁵ Sindry, D.

⁶ Probably "hind," which first meant a youth and afterwards a servant. See Glossary.

⁷ The variety in spelling is as in MS. I. Neither of the gods mentioned are feminine, and possibly "goddasis," p. 5, is a pun or play on the heathen *gods*, as *god asses*. More probably the spelling is due to the scribe's ignorance.

That thay war goddasis¹ of battellis and of riches
And haid in thame grett wertew and prowes.

Quhat mycht thay help thais feinzeit godasis all
As saturne or marce or zet the bricht appollo
5 as bacctus or neptune or pluto the thrale
as Iolus or Wenus or blinde cupiddo
Or zet that goddes the fair Juno
Diana or pallas or Scires² the frie
Or zet the musis that been the thrys thrie
10 Thairfoir to the lord that is celestiall
I will now cry that of his Influence
of graice and mercy may on me fall
And schairp my wit with such expeirence
That this wark may finnische with his assistance
15 To the glorie of his name quhich in heavin is
quhair the angellis singis gloria in exelsis³
So in this wark that I haue heir asseilzeit⁴
To bring to licht most humblie I exhort
zow gentill⁵ readdaris quhair that I haue feilzeit⁶
20 In letteris sillabbis pointtis lang or schortt
That ze wald of zour gentrice it support
And tak the sentence the best wayes⁷ (that) ze may
I sall do bettir will god ane vthir day.

TO THE MOST REVERENT FATHER
IN GOD ROBERT STEVART BISCHOP
OF CATNES AND COMMENDI-
TUR OF SANTAN-
DROS AND PRY-
ORI⁸ THAIROF

¹ See footnote 7, page 4.

² Ceres.

³ Excelsis.

⁴ Assalzeit, D.

⁵ Nobill, D.

⁶ Failziit, D.

⁷ Wyse, D, who omits "that."

⁸ See Memoir of Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, in Introduction.

6 DEDICATION TO BISHOP OF CAITHNESS.

O litill buik pas thow with diligence
 To Sanctandrois that fair citie
 Salutt that lord with humbill reuerence
 Beseikand him of fatherlie pitie
 With inteir hairt and perfytt cherritie 5
 And that he wald onnawayis offend
 To luik on the ane day or twa to spend

 And thair schaw him thy secreittis moir and les
 frome the begynning wnto the end
 and also zow to come vtter and expres 10
 Schaw him the veritie and mak it to him kend
 The martiall deidis and als the fattell end
 of his nobill daintie progeniture¹
 In Scotland liwet sum tyme in great honnour.

 Schaw him the gret consperacie 15
 That hes beine in this realme of auld
 And also the wicked tyranie
 Of fals tratouris that war boith stout and bauld
 That to thair princes wald nevir obey nor fauld
 Nor nevir wald aneir² vnto the commonweill 20
 Bot evir in wyce runing heidlongis to the deuill

 Schaw him heir the fyve kingis of the Stewarttis
 how long thay rang in this regioun
 and quhat at last was thair revarde
 I pray the schaw him and mak mentioun 25
 quhat troubill quhat cummar and quhat dissentioun
 fell in this cuntrie be lordis thrie³
 daylie stryvand for the autoritie.

¹ Progenitors—*i.e.*, the Stewart kings, ancestors of Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, younger brother of the Regent, Earl of Lennox, father of Darnley.

² Freebairn's edition reads "an ear," MS. I "aneir"; but the work is badly written—perhaps corrupt.

³ Probably Livingstone, Crichton, and Douglas, as described in the next stanza.

Quhan James the secund that potent prince was zounge
 Thair was nane so guid to haue the auctorie
 as was Schir Allexander levinstoun,
 Of guid wit and recent memorie
 5 Thairfore the cunsall thocht him maist worthie
 To haue in Scotland the governement
 quhairat the Douglas and Crichtoun war nocht content

Quhilk in this realme maid great diversitie
 as eftirwart this buik will schaw zow plaine
 10 ffor thair was nevir perfytt stabillitie
 quhill that the Douglas was perisch¹ deid and gane
 Than the Crichtoun reullit all alaine
 Zit in this realme was mekill miserie
 quhill that the king resawit his awin autoritie

15 Declair zow him and vtter and expres
 how the earle of crawfurd maid a band
 with willame the gret erle of douglas
 Thir twa lordis oppressit all the land
 Bot fra tyme the king did vnderstand
 20 gart bring this earle to stiruilling quyetlie
 quha in the castill was mordreist crewellie

Syne eftir this the king did live in rest
 and brocht his realme to gret tranquillitie
 and the puire thay war no moir opprest
 25 for thay haid justice bot² parciallitie
 quhilk caussit thame to liue in vnitie
 and fra tyme thir great men war thus corrected
 To wyce this realme was no moir subjected

Bot euer allaice this roy of gret renowne
 30 quhan he had brocht his realme to stabillitie
 Eist west south north vp and downe

¹ Perished—so printed in the edition by Freebairn.

² Without.

8 DEDICATION TO BISHOP OF CAITHNESS.

Thair was nathing bot paice and vnitie
 Zet come thair ane chance maist suddainlie
 This potent prince this roy of gret renowne
 vas murdreist be ane misforttunit gown

Schaw him that how king James the thrid 5
 ane prince of gret facillitie
 Eftir that his father was gone and deid
 was delyuerit to bischope James kenneddie
 and that be ayvce of the heill nobillitie
 To learne letteris and mak him abill at all 10
 To gyde his royall seat Imperiall

To quhome this nobill bischope did his cuir
 To bring this nobill prince to verteu and science
 Bot euer alaice he did nocht lang indure
 As this buik dois schaw the circumstance 15
 for schowne thair fell ane gret varience
 Be ane new courteour that rullit so the ruddar
 and causit the king to discord with his broder

This Courteour to wit was callit Cochraine
 quha rewwlit king and court than as he pleisit 20
 for thair was nevir lord erle nor gret man
 That tyme in the court micht be eassit
 he held that potent prince so inclosit
 That he gart have at his broder sick mortall feid
 That he slewit the duik and put the erle to deid 25

Nochtwithstanding this cochreine with his companie
 Within schort tyme gat thair warisoun
 On lather¹ brig wer hanged schamefullie
 Thair king was taine and put in subiectioun
 And on his servandis was maid correctioun 30

¹ Lauder.

And that be the heill counsall of the nobillitie
Bot haistelie thair rais ane gret conspiracie

That this nobill king was piteouslie put downe
At Bannockburne as ze sall heir tell
5 Be the cruckatt hum and the glyed hepburne
quha aganis this king did all rebell
Syn eftirward how it befell
how James the fourt that most prudent king
In Scotland resawit the hail governing.

10 And guyddit the same in veilfair and paice
Mony ane day as eftir ze will heir
quhill at the last flowddaine feild allaice
dewored him with his nobillis in feir
all his trew lordis and he var brocht in beir
15 Be his awin vilfull mesgovernance
And luife he buir vnto the realme of france.

Than James the fyft beand of tendar age
Thair rang into this realme gret miserie
Be new rewlaris rewland in ane raige
20 daylie stryvand for the authoritie
Sum tyme the queine sum tyme the duik of albanie
Syn start vp ane presumptuous man amang ws
quha was callit Archbald erle of angus.

Than the king tuik his awin authoritie
25 and reullit his realme as he thocht expedient
liveand in pleasour and gret felicitie
Bot daylie his bodie he did mispent
quhair of his lordis war nawayes content
Alledging his hurdome and harlotrie
30 Wald bring him schowne to deith and miserie

IO DEDICATION TO BISHOP OF CAITHNESS.

Quhilk was at last as cleirlye ze may sie
as in this buik makis mentioun
and also of the vofull miserrie
and crewell feid and discentioun
That fell hestelie into this regioun 5
Be Ingland throw breaking of the peace
quhilk gart Scotland oft tymes say allaice.

ffor the gret bluide was sched at pinkie feild
Be the governouris ¹ vilfull misgovernance
quhair money nobillis was slaine with speir and scheild 10
Be pryd and be thair awin negligence
And nocht be the vertew of Inglis ordinance
Bot be the governouris intoxicat counsall
Thir nobill men in feild war perrischit all

Than schaw zow him how queine regent ² 15
Reft frome the Duik the authoritie
quhair of money of Scotland war nocht content
knawin of wemen the facultie
That thay are nocht constant in thair quallitie
Thairfore thay ar nocht abill to reule a regioun 20
nor of ane cuntrie to have dominioun.

Than last of all schaw him be enarratioun ³
all thingis done seine the fyftie aucht zeir
And speciallie the reformatioun
and evirie thing schaw him in ordour cleir 25
Beseikand him patientlie the to heir
and quhair he findis in the fals enarratioun
Beseikand his lordschip one the to mak correctioun.

¹ James, Earl of Arran, afterwards Duke of Chatelheraut.

² Mary of Guise.

³ This verse agrees with the Preface, that Pittscottie continued his Chronicles after the year 1558, and presumably till 1575, which is stated in the Preface as the date of their conclusion.

Quhan he hes done fast thy voyes¹ vend
 To Athoill that most hie cuntrie
 And to that lord hairtlie zow commend
 Salute his lordschip² with all humillitie
 5 Beseikand him of his benegnitie
 That of thy fame nothing as zit be sprong
 Into the cuntrie quhill that the king is zoung.

Becaus thow mellis with the autoritie³
 at this tyme quha hes it now in hand
 10 and als declairis of that clan⁴ the veritie
 Thairfoir I wald thay did nocht vndirstand
 That thow hes taine sick hie matteris in hand
 To this guid lord gif thy haill credence
 quhan he thinkis tyme thy matter to avance,
 Amen.

¹ "Voyage," Freebairn's edition.

² John Earl of Athole, as to whom see Introduction.

³ This probably refers to James Douglas, Earl of Morton, during whose regency the copy of the Chronicles was sent to the Bishop of Caithness. See Introduction.

⁴ The clan referred to is the Douglasses; and as Morton was beheaded on 2nd June 1581, these verses must have been written before that date—probably about 1578—as explained in the Introduction.

HIER BEGINNIS THE XVIII BUIK
 OF THE CRONICLIS OF SCOT
 LAND QUHAIR MAISTER
 HECTOR BOES LEFT¹
 AND M. JOHNE
 BALLENTAIN &
 TRANSLAITIT OF
 THE V KINGIS
 OF THE STEUARTS
 BEGYNING AT
 JAMES THE
 SECUND

¹ The 'Chronicles of Hector Boece,' in seventeen books, were originally published in 1527, and extended only to the death of James I., and this is the whole work translated by John Bellenden. The second edition, edited by Joannes Ferrerius, a Piedmontese monk of Kinloss, and published by Badius Ascencius at Paris in 1574, contained the eighteenth book of Boece and the commencement of the nineteenth, down to the embassy sent by Charles Duke of Burgundy to Scotland, with a proposal of marriage for James III., in 1460, with a continuation by Ferrerius from 1461 down to the death of James III. This eighteenth book, which is the first of Pitscottie, is a translation, sometimes close, at other times free, and with additions, noted at the proper places, of the eighteenth book of Boece.

THE I CHAPTER.¹

Heir beginnis the first chapter quhan James the secund was crounit
at Scone be awyce of the heill nobillitie : and quhen Schir
Allexander lewingstoun knicht of Callendar was chossin
gouernour : and Schir William Crichtoun neu approuit chan-
celar. Of gret extortionis and enormeteis done be Allexander
Erle of douglas in the south cuntrie and in speciall in Anner-
deill and in money vther pairtis of Scotland ; Of money vther
troubillis that fell in Scotland at this tyme and hou the queine
tuik hir sone out of the Castell of Edinburghe be slicht fra
Schir Williame Crichtoun capten thairof to the gouernour to
Stiruilling.

Fol. 1 a.

THE XVIII BVIK.

King James the first being treasonabillie muredrest
and The traitouris slayeris of him condinglie puneschit
and put to death for the samyn zit neurtheles the hail
realme was brokin and dewydit in the sellff for quhy
5 quhair evir thair is na aw nor feir of ane king or prince
that thay that ar maist furthie in the ingyring and
surffetting thame sellffis leives without meassoure or
obedience eftir thair awin pleasour and sa lang as the
king is zOUNg greit men ringis at thair awin pleas-
10 ouris and libertie oppressand all men as thay will but
doubt be punischit thaireftir. This James the first left
bot ane sone behind him callit James the secund
nocht past sex zeir of aige quha than was brocht to

King James
the first left
onlie king
James the 2
behind him
of vj zeiris of
aige.

¹ MS. A is not divided into chapters, but MS. I is, and the divisions and contents of the chapters have been taken from the latter MS. The Scotch in the contents of the chapters is as old as the text. It is probable, therefore, that the division into chapters had been made at an early period with a view to publication by printing. A conjecture is made in the Introduction why the Chronicles were not printed by their author.

King James
the 2 is
brocht to
Skwn and
crownit be the
nobillitie.

Schir Alex-
ander leving-
stounne of
Callender
chosin for
gouvernement
of the
realme.

Schir Wm.
Crichtoun
of new ap-
provit chan-
cellar.

Gret com-
plentis wpon
Alexander
erle of dow-
glas ffor his
oppres-
sion.

Gret ondw-
tifulnes to
the king and
oppressione
of the sub-
iectis be
Alexander
erle of Dow-
glas.

Fol. 1 b.

Scone and crownit be the nobillitie : bot becaus the king
was nocht sufficient to governe the realme for inlaik of
aige the nobillis maid conventioun to adwyss quhome thay
thocht meist abill beith for manheid and wit to tak the
administratioun of the common weill in hand At quhilk 5
conventioun was nane thocht so convenient as Schir
Alexander lewingstoun knight of Callender and thairfoir
was maid gouvernour ouer all the realme And als Schir
willame crichtoun was of new approvit chancellor of
Scotland becaus he had worthielie exersissed the samyn 10
office in king James the firstis tyme. In the meintyme
Alexander Erle of douglas beand potent in mair kine
and freindis than contempnit¹ all the kingis officairis in
respect of his gret puissance: Sa money complanttis
was meid to the governour and magistratis vpon him 15
and in special be the men of Annerdaill becaus he
nocht onlie spoilzeit the haill cuntreis narrest about
him bot als crewellie slew the indwellaris thairof but
ony pitie and quhan he was commandit to repair all
sick iniures done be him he beith obstinatlie dissobeyit 20
and also stoppit vtheris that wald haue amendit thair
offences And causit procleame publicklye that na man
within Annerdaill or vtheris boundis quhatsumevir per-
tinit to his dominiounis ether to call and withdraw the
leiwe² or zet gif that he was callit that he obey nocht 25
ony of the kingis officairis vnder the paine of deid
allegding that he had prewiledge of the king to dessyde
all matteris within the boundis foirsaid quhairfoir the
heill nobillitie that war men of guid zeall and conscience

¹ MS. I has "continit," but is corrected by Boece: "Magistratus pro suis facultatibus contempnebat."

² Leiwe = "lave"—i.e., the rest, Freebairn's edition. The text is corrupt. Dalzell alters it, p. 3, but his alteration, which has no MS. authority, is as corrupt as the text. The meaning of Boece's somewhat cramped Latin is, "that Douglas prohibited any of the king's officers to summon any one to Court (*in jus vocare*), and any one summoned to obey the summons." Pitscottie perhaps did not understand the Latin.

seand Justice allutterlie suppressed in evirie sydde was
 hichlie commoweit at the said Allexander Erle of
 Douglas bot durst nocht attempt to puneis thairfoir
 becaus thay dreid to prouock grettar troubillis beith to
 5 thame sellffis and als to the heill realme give thay wald
 invaid so gret ane man. Throw this the heill zouth of
 Scotland began to rage in mischeiffe and lust. So lang
 as thair was na man to punisch nethir heirschip slauchtar
 in land and borrowis nor creuelltie of nobillis amangis
 10 thame sellffis for slauchtar thift and murther was than
 patent And sa continwallie day be day that he was
 esteemed the grettest man of renowne and fame that was
 the grettest briggane theiff or murtherar bot thay war
 the caus of this mischeiff that wer gouvernouris and
 15 magistrattis of the realme. In this mean tyme money
 gret dissentiounis rais amang ws bot it is wncertaine
 quha was the mowar or quhat occasioun the chancellor
 exerssit his office forthar nor become him: he keipit
 baith the castell of Edinburghe and als our zoung king
 20 thairintill quha was commitit to his keiping be the hail
 nobillitie and ane gret part of the nobill men assisted to
 his opinioun. Vpoun the wther sydd Schir Allexander
 lewinstoun beirand the autoritie commitit to him be
 the consent of the nobillitie menteined ane wther fac-
 25 tioun to quhais opinioun queine mother with mony of
 the nobillis assisted werray trewlie. Sua the principallis
 of beith the factionis causit proclame letteris at the
 marcatt crosses and principall willaiges of this realme
 That all men sould obey conforme to the lettiris set
 30 furth be thame vnder the paine of deid Throw the quhilk
 na man knew to quhome thay sould obey and als gret
 troubillis appeired in this realme daylie: Becaus thair
 was na man to defend the burges preistis and puir men
 labouraris hauntand to thair lesun bussenes ather pub-
 35 licklie or priuatlie and sicklyk all vther febill personis
 vnabill to defend thamesellffis quha ar maist crewellie

All kynd of
 Iniquitie
 rang for
 lack of pwn-
 isment.

Negligent
 magistratis
 is the caus
 of mekill
 mischeiff in
 ane countrie.

The chan-
 cellar had in
 keping the
 castell of
 Edinburgh
 and the king
 also.

vexit and afflicted be wicked vnhappie tyranis in sick
trublus tymes. So quhan ony past to seik redres at
the chancellar of sic iniures and trubillis sustenit be
thame thaie thewis and brigganes feinzeit thame to be of
the vther factioun wald burne thair housses and carrie 5
thair heill guidis away or evir thay returned thame againe
and evin sicklyk mischeiff befell thame that zeid to plein-
zie to the governour of the oppressioun done to thame.
Sum vther guid men moweit of considderatioun and pitie
of thir present callamities thollit mony sick iniures and 10
contentit thame sellffis at hame and socht na redres. In
the middis of thir troubillis all thingis being out of
ordoure the queine mother begane to find ane myane
hou scho sould deminesch the chancellaris pouer and
augment the governouris quhais autoritie scho assisted. 15
Sa scho past to Edinburghe convoyitt with ane small
tryne The chancellar resaut hir with glaidnes and gif
hir entres to vissie hir zoung sone and gave command
how oft scho pleissit to haue entres to the castell that it
sould be patent Bot scho verray craiftelie dissembled that 20
scho come to intercommon with the nobillis alledging
that thair was na thing that scho haitit so meikill as
ciuill weiris and dissentioun knawin that gret mischeiffe
is gennerit among nobill men in the realme and thairfoir
with ane glaid will scho wald that discord war sett 25
assydde and peace and vnitie to be nurischit amang the
lordis, and desyreit also that the king war brocht vp
vnder the feare of god and honnorabillie in the sicht of
the world ffor in him lay the onlie hoipe and restitutioun
of the commonisvealth to the awin estait¹ and punisch- 30
ment of transgressouris for the offencis commitit at sick
trublus tymes. And to bring thes haill purpois to
effectt scho promiseit to imploy hir haill cuire and laboris
to bring all the subjecttis of this realme to peace and
rest. Be thir and vtheris sicklyk wordis the chancellar re- 35

Fol. 2 a.

¹ *I.e.*, "its own estate."

mowit all susspitioun and haitrent out of his mynd quhilk
 he suspectit the queine buire toward him of befor fol-
 lowit sick familliaritie and kyndnes betuix the chancellor
 and the queine with hir assisteris that scho gat credence
 5 to vissie and haunt companie with hir sone baith day and
 nicht without ony impediment or stope quhill at the last
 spyand oportunitie and tyme to fullfill hir purpois quhan
 scho haid sick libertie to eschew and enter to the castell
 scho gaue the chancellor to vndirstand that scho haid
 10 maid ane vowe to pas in pilgrimage to the quhytt kirk of
 Bricheine¹ for the health and prosperous success of hir
 sone desyreand thairby to carrye away Twa cofferis with
 hir claithes and ornamentis furth of the castell quhilk
 beand grantit to hir scho inclossit the zoung king in ane
 15 of the saidis cofferis and hir claithis in ane vther.
 Schortlie eftir the watcharis and keiparis of the plaice
 dissawit in this maner scho causit certaine men that knew
 of hir purpois to haif sum hors raddye to carie away the
 saidis cofferis to the schoir of leith quhair the cofferis wer
 20 imbarcatt togidder with hir sellff. And sua scho passed
 fordwart vnto Stiruilling and was past ane greit pairt of
 the watter vpward or euer the keiparis of the castell cuild
 perceawe thame sellffis disauit and quhan the gouernour
 vnderstwdd the samyn he come suddainlie furth of the
 25 castell of Stirwilling with all his forceis and resaweit the
 king and his mother with gret joy and blythnes and es-
 temed the queine hielie that scho haid attemptit so hie
 and wychtie ane purpois with gret danger of hir lyffe and
 haid brocht the samyn to ane prosperous fyne baith for
 30 the weillfair of the realme and alswa the king hir sone.
 Thairfoir the governoure callit all his freindis and assis-
 taris to ane counsall vpone the thrid day heireftir and
 said to thame in this maner 'Quhat troubillis be Intol-

The quein be
 gret slicht
 convoyis hir
 sone fra the
 chancellor
 out of the
 castell of
 Edinburgh
 to Striveling
 to the gov-
 ernour.

¹ This is a mistake of all the MSS. White Kirk in Haddington,
 the well-known place of pilgrimage, is meant. No one would go to
 Brechin by Leith. See Notes.

The gover-
nouris com-
plent wpon
the chan-
cellar.

Fol. 2 b.

' larabill arrogance and quhow money diuers oppressouris
 ' to our gret rebuik and schame we haif susteined hairtlie
 ' freindis evirie ane of zow knawis perfyrtlie seine Schir
 ' Williame Crichtoun captaine of Edinburghe was pro-
 ' mowit now alledging to be chancellor of the realme and 5
 ' keiping of our prince for nocht onlie he hes maid the
 ' haill landis perteneing to the king tributtares to him quha
 ' is ane hich officair bot als wald haue oppressit ws with
 ' confwsserabill¹ tyrannie and sa sould have usurpat all
 ' honnour riches and autoritie and we brocht to pouertie 10
 ' scham and vthir miserie giff he haid haldin fordwart his
 ' wicked purpois and intent. Hes he nocht lauborit evin
 ' seinsyne without ony punischment of wicked limmaris
 ' and perturbaris of the commonweillis to compell all men
 ' to obey his chairges : hes he nocht lauborrit also to set 15
 ' furth and drywe all matteris beith publick and priuat lyk
 ' as he haid beine supreme magistratt apprivit be the
 ' vottis of this realme. Bot² doubt gif this nobill woman
 ' our souerane mother throw hir gret wisdom and pru-
 ' dence and speciallie be the favour of the almychtie god 20
 ' haid nocht helpit ws all the schunar we sould haue tholled
 ' schairp persecutioun nor ony of ws culd perceawe. Scho
 ' past to the chancellor in Edinburghe aganis my will in-
 ' deid becaus I knew the³ subtillitie sa weill that he hes
 ' ane merwellous foirsicht of all kynd of suspitioun and of 25
 ' ony kynd of craft or fraude that may be⁴ ony way redownd
 ' to his hurt and dampnage ; zit with ane merwellous con-
 ' seit scho hes taine away hir sone and brocht him now to
 ' ws, quhairby I wnderstand that the wysest man is nocht
 ' all sickerrest nor zit the hardiest man maist happie. 30
 ' Now the chancellor nochtwithstanding all his wisdom
 ' and foirsicht with greitt schame hes lost the king vndir

¹ Onswfferabill? The *z* is probably a miscopy of an original with *z* as last letter of the preceding word *wihti* (see Glossary), and the long *f* and *f* are easily confused.

² Without.

³ His.

⁴ By.

- ' the collour of quhais authoritie he over ran evirie man
 ' lyk ane greddie and vnsaceabill¹ tyrane with out regard
 ' of all ciuill ordour or humanitie quhat euer he purpoisit
 ' to do he set it out vnder the pretence of the king
 5 ' quhairby the puir peopill sould tak the grettar feir and
 ' dreidour to dissobey him bot now his chance is both
 ' foull and miserabill and evirie man will lauche him to
 ' scorne. And be the contraire to ws we haue gret
 ' honnour and that the rather we haue in our handis the
 10 ' king quhilk we desyred aboue all creature in earth. Be
 ' of guide couraig thairfoir and the mischeif, slawchtar,
 ' baneisment troubbillis and vexatiounis quhilk the chan-
 ' cellar thocht to haue done to ws lat ws vysch the samyn
 ' to him. Lat ws also tak vp sum men of weir and evirie
 15 ' man eftir his power send secreit messagis to his freindis
 ' that thay may all that favouris ws conveine togethar
 ' quyetlie the thrid² eftir this in Edinburgh airle in the
 ' morneing swa that the chancellor sall nocht knaw ws, ffor
 ' to come for the seaging of the castell quhill we haif the
 20 ' seige evin belltit about the wallis. Foirdwart lat sie,
 ' sua ze sall haue subiect gif our hairtis serwe ws³ all that
 ' would have arrogantly oppressit zou. Bot I say for
 ' the perrell and oppressioun that ze haue beine in on
 ' the ane pairt The commoditie fridome and opportunitie
 25 ' of tyme on the vther pairt with the gret honour and
 ' glorie that will follow thairvpone sould perswad zow mair
 ' nor my wordis can do we inlaik na thing bot hardiment
 ' and curraig and chance and fortoun quhilk we think to
 ' sey will supplie the rest.' Quhan the governour haid
 30 said thir wordis evirie man with ane glaid hairt and will
 promiseit to assist him with all the strenth and albeit

The governour counsells to tak wp men of weir to seige the castell of Edinburgh for evill will of the chancellor.

¹ Insatiable.

² *I.e.*, the third day.

³ The words in brackets are not in MS. I, but in Freebairn's Ed., which Dalzell follows, and seems necessary to the sense. Dalzell has made alterations, which are not necessary, and he omits the words, "Forwards let ws sie," which are in the MSS. and in Freebairn's Ed.

Archbaldy¹ Erle of Douglas wald concur with the chancellor in this contraire and the queine promiseist to furnes the men of weir of wictuallis out of hir awin girmellis indureing the tyme of the seig. Attoure scho said 'that
 ' na man misterit to tak feir of the Erle of Douglas that he 5
 ' wald cum to support the chancellor for [he]² haited him
 ' so hichlie that he wysched na thing mair nor the rwine
 ' of lord Crichtounis hous and his posteritie rutit out al-
 ' utterlie.' Throw this way evirie man tuik the better
 curaig and promiseist to do all thing that lay in thame for 10
 the performeing of the governouris command and chairge ;
 and thaireftir the common³ dissolue and evirie man past
 hameward to mak thame reddie to the effectt foirsaid.
 But now we will returne to our first purpois.

Fol. 3 a.

THE II CHAPTER.

Heir beginnis the secund chapter quhou the chancellor persaued
 himsellfe to be disaith in the taiking away the prince frome
 him. And quhou he desyreit the Erle of Douglas to be of
 his factioun and tak his pairt And quhat ansuer the Erle of
 Douglas send to him againe. And quhou the castell of Edin-
 burgh was seigit be the gouernoure The communing betuix
 the chancellor and the gouernoure.

The chan-
 cellar sendis
 to lord erle
 of Douglas
 for his sup-
 port.

The chancellor persauand himsellfe sa [done] craftelie 15
 disawit be his foes and als persaweand that thair was na
 plaice almeist to be reconceilled with his onfreindis he
 thocht that thair was na thing to follow thair wpone in
 respectt of the loss of the king bot vtter ruwyne and
 distructioun of his hous kin and freindis and thairfoir 20
 tuik purpois to send ane message to Archbaldy Erle of
 Douglas and desyre at him to haue support aganis the

¹ Baldy is still occasionally used in the Scots vernacular for Archibald.

² Omitted in MS.

³ Commons.

- gouvernour and queine quhome he supponit schortlie to cum to invaid him quhilk gif he wald do he promiseist faithfullie to mak the said Erle mutuall support and sould stand his freind leillie and trewlie by all vtheris quhan
- 5 it sall chance him to haue ado with his enemyeis. This message scantlie endit Erle of Douglas with ane Iyrefull countenance lykas he haid beine wood and furious ansueris him againe in maner following 'It is bot littill
- 10 'skaith I think for me, albeit sick mischeivous traitouris 'as William Crichtoun and Allexander lewingstoun that 'ze call governour mowe weir contrair vtheris and als it 'becumis nocht the honnorabill estait of nobill men to 'help ony of thame albeit ilk ane of thame had wrackit 'vther Swa that thair war nocht sick ane thing as the
- 15 'memorie of ony of thame heirestir to our posteritie. As 'to mysellff thair is na thing mair plesand to me nor to 'heir of weir and discord betuix thay Twa wnhappie 'tyranttis and namelie quhair the begining of thair discentioun is nocht foundit vpoun ane guid caus bot vpone
- 20 'ane schamefull and wicked ground. Wuld god I nicht 'sie ane miserabill mischeiffe to befall thame beith seing 'thay haif baith deserwit the same condinglie throuch 'thair awin ambitioun falsheid pryde and haitterent ffor 'I know it is veray iust judgment of god that deceitfull
- 25 'tyrantis settand thair haill purpois and intent vpone mischeiff and wrack of vtheris according to thair demerittis 'salbe punished in the sicht of the warld and speciallie 'thay haue so oft offendit baith nobill men and simple 'men of guid lyffe and conversatioun.' Shone be this the
- 30 chancellor had resaut this ansuer the gouernoure had beltit the seige about the castell and invaidit the samyn swa schairplie that nocht being prowtydit nor weil forseine in tyme thairfoir within the castell that the chancellor tuik purpois thair throw to rander the castell in
- 35 the governouris handis and to bring this mair cassie to effectt he requestit the gowernour be ane herauld to gif

The erle of
Douglas an-
suer.

Fol. 3 b.

him twa dayis trewis that he micht come furth to the
 feildis befor the zettis to talk and intercommoun with
 him vpon sindrie affaires concerneing the common
 weill and als promeist be the faith of his bodie to schaw
 him that thing quhilk micht redound to baith thair weil- 5
 fairis and secuiretie contraire vtheris that haitit thame
 baith as ane. The gouernour glaid of this message
 accompanyit with ane small number of his freindis as
 was conuenit betuix thame and met the chancellor at
 the plaice appointit quhair the chancellor rewelled the 10
 schairpe ansueris of the Earle of Douglas that he haid
 send to him the tyme he socht support to eschew the
 gouernoures present wraith. And albeit he said he
 wysched na thing mair nor that ilkane of thame sould
 distroy vther, Quhairfoir said he seine this wickednes 15
 and euill is equallie manefast to ws baith and in the
 meantyme gif it sall chance¹ ws to continew ony fordar
 in this feid it sall redound to his auantage and to our
 gret skaith and schame quhairbe we tua salbe ane facill
 pray to the Erle of Douglas our common enemye. And 20
 thairfoir I wald we hade regarde to the weillfair of our
 sellfis and freindis gif our discentione haue ony fordar
 prograce it wilbe monyfold mair noysum to ws nor gif
 we had weiris with our onfreindis. And as to mysellfe
 I remowe all rancour of mynd seikand frielie with the 25
 boddome of my hairt zour peace and kyndnes and is
 content baith to rander my sellff and the castell vnder
 quhat conditionis ze pleis to prescryue to me willinglie
 to be ane trew faithfull seruand and subiectt to the prince
 and obedient to zour sellff so lang as ze beir the gouer- 30
 nance of this realme eftir the adwyce of the kingis coun-
 sallouris and zouris. The gouernour hard thir vordis
 verrey plesandlie and haid guide hoip of better to follow
 heirvpon thinkand weill of this present discorde put to
 rest and the commonweill put to quyetnes he sould mair 35

¹ Chance.

cassielie repres all iniureis within this realme and thairfoir
 with ane hairtlie continance requestit the chancellar to
 be myndfull to do as he said and gif he keipit promeis
 trewlie he sould cut of all the wickit memberis per-
 5 turbaris of the commonweill and reull the realme frome
 thence with gret tranquillitie and paice. Than bot ony
 fardar sa schone as he haid put him sellff in the king
 and governouris willis and delyuerit the keyis of the
 castell in signe and taikin of the randereng thairof frielie
 10 he requestit the beneuolence of the haill nobillietie
 present for the tyme quha held him fra thyne furth
 nocht as ane enemye bot as ane principall pillar of
 the common weill.

[THE III CHAPTER.]¹

Hou Schir Williame Crichtoun was resaut be the gouernour in the
 Castell againe : And quhat familiaritie was betuix thame : And
 quhou Schir Allane Steuart was slaine be Thomas boyd and
 quhat come to that thairthrouch : The deceis of the Erlle of
 Douglas : And quhat conditionis his sone was of quho succedit
 eftir him.²

Efter this the gouernour was resaut in the castell with
 15 gret triumphe and mirth and thair Schir Williame Crich-
 toun resaut ane gift againe baith of the Castell and chan-
 cellar[y] lyk as he haid of befoir. Throuch the quhillk
 sick amitie and freindscheip daylie increassit betuix the
 gouernour and the chancellar and amangis thair freindis
 20 in everie syde that all men supponit the samyn for to
 indure for ever and euer onbrokin. In this mean tyme
 quhill the cuntrie was walterit to and fra in this maner
 thair was na vther thing bot thift reiff and slauchtar in
 the south and west of Scotland ffor Schir Thomas boyd

Fol. 4 a.

¹ Omitted in MS. I.

² There are no sidenotes in MSS. to chapters III.-V.

slew Allane Stewart lord of Darlie,¹ quha or he dieit
 ohteanit the supperioritie of the lennox fra the king, at
 powmathorne thrie myllis fra glasgow for auld feid that
 was betuix thame the thrid zeir eftir the deid of king
 James the first, quhilk deid was requytted schone thair- 5
 eftir ffor Allexander Stewart to rewenge his brotheris
 slauchtar manfullie sett vpone Schir Thomas Boyde in
 plaine battell quhair the said Schir Thomas was crewellie
 slaine with money valzeant men on euerie sydd. It was
 fochin that day so manfullie that baith the pairteis wald 10
 reitir and rest thame sindrie and dyueris tymes and
 recounter againe at the sound of the trumpat quhill at
 last the wictorrie inclynit to Allexander Stewart as said
 is. And swa the heill southvest of Scotland was deuydit
 in twa pairtis and nevir tuik rest quhill the deceis of 15
 Archbaldy Erle of Douglas in the hot fewer at lestarige²
 the zeir of god I^m four hundreith threttie and nyne zeiris
 To quhome Williame his sone succedit ane zoung man
 of fourteine zeris of aige gottin vpone Mauld lyndsay
 dochter to the Erle of Crawford quhome the said Arch- 20
 baldy mariet at Dundie sum tyme with sick triumphe
 and pompe that nevir the lyk was seine at na manis
 mairiaige. This Williame was the sext beltit Erle of
 that hous of Douglas he was ane zoung man of singular
 guid appeirance in the begining. Bot alaice the tendar 25
 zouth gif it be nocht brocht vp in the fear and dreiddour
 of god is so eassielie corrupped that it inclynnes rather
 to wyce nor vertew and that throw the mischewous com-
 panie of harlottis and flatteraris quhilkis ar the maist
 vnhappie and wicked pest that evir man of quhatsum- 30
 evir estait and conditioun he be of may be infectit with
 for gif this zoung gentillman haid cum in godlie and
 honnest companye bot doubt he haid beine ane man of
 singular guid wit and manheid bot he hantit proud and

¹ *I.e.*, Darnley.

Restalrig, a village between Edinburgh and Leith.

vngodlie menis counsallis and thairby he to the gret
 contemptioun of the kingis authoritie at all tymes accom-
 panyit abone his estait. Quhair evir he raid he was
 convoyit with ane thowsand horsmen at sum tymes twa
 5 thowsand or ma. Amangis¹ (quhome) he maintenit a
 gret companye of thewis and murthiraris and wald bring
 thame to Edinburghe or ony vther townis of sett purpois
 in the kingis sicht to lat him vnderstand his michtie
 power that he may rais attour he thocht him sellff sick
 10 ane man and frie fra the iniuries of all enemyis gif he
 representit the samyn arrogance that his father did wsse
 of befoir. And swa he nocht onlie inbracit the heill
 forme and maner of his fatheris conditionis bot als sur-
 monted his pryd and hicht aboue the expecktatioun of
 15 ony man. He eikit his houshald meikill mair nor it was
 af befoir in his fatheris tyme and als be the perswatioun
 of flatteraris he ordanit syndrie wickit tyrantis out of all
 cuntreis to depend vpon him quhair throw he micht be
 the mair dreid and awfull to euerie man quhill at the
 20 last he tuik sick conseatt of him sellff within his awin
 boundis and that be vaine flatterrie of his dependaris
 that he thocht na man within the realme micht be his
 fallow or companioun ffor it is said he thocht bot ane
 small matter to mak knichtis and thairfoir to adwance
 25 his michtie power he creatit senatouris of the parliament
 within his awin boundis as he haid beine ane king.

¹ "Amangis quhome" is perhaps the true reading. Boece has
 "inter quos."

THE IIII CHAPT.

Schir James Steuartis assistance to the erlle of Douglas: and the occatioun thairof. And quhou schir James Steuart and his brother was put in presoun and the occatioun thairof. And hou they war relaxit againe. Hou the chancellor was offendit at the proceedingis of the governour. Ambassadouris send to france be the erlle of Douglas: The king of france mynd touart the erll of Douglas.

Fol. 4 b.

Schir James Steuart brother to the lord of lorne quha had mareit king James the firstis wyff assistit to the erlle of Douglas and that through sum discentioun that was betuix him and the gouernour and chancellor. Be quhat occatioun thay discordit can no man tell: It is 5
supponit he thocht seing the cuntrie swa dewydit as said is to haue had sum reull in the realme alsweill as ony vtheris be ressoun he had mareit the kingis mother. The gouernour to repres Schir James Stewarttis in-
sollence tuik him with his brother and cust thame baith 10
in presoun dredand that gif thay had resortit lang in the erlle of Douglas companie that he sould haue grettar difficultie to repres thair insollence and tyrannie. The queine persawit to be hichlie commoweit and offendit
at hir husband and his brotheris Impresounment was 15
wardit also within the castell of Stiruilling be the gouernour quhilk was in his awin keiping at that tyme detenit thair and newer relaxit quhill thair was ane conventioun
meid of the heill nobillitie in quhais presens it behoweit
hir to mak hir purgatione that scho was frie of all 20
misrewlle commitit be hir husband nor gave na counsall thairto and als gif evir it haid chanced him ony maner of way to troubill the realme or molest ony of the subiecttis thairof that scho sould nocht be participant thairof
in tyme cuming. Eftir this the said schir James and his 25
brother was lattin furth at the request of the chancellor

and Schir Allexander Seattoun alias gordoun the first
 erlle of Huntlie of that name obleist thame and became
 cawtionaris that sick enormeteis contraire the king and
 his gournour sould nocht be commitit in tyme cuming
 5 vnder the paine of four thowsand markis nor zit vsurpe
 the common weill. Albeit the gournoure punisheit
 and correctit thir men according to thair demereittis zit
 he punischit with ane grettar rigour vtheris richt honor-
 abill and ancient men for soborar or bot for ane licht
 10 suspitioun that he tuik of thame but ony decreit or
 inquisitioun of thair peiris, for ather he compellit thame
 to compone for thair sellffis gif he suspectit thame to tak
 in ony Innovatioun¹ or ellis but ony tryall of thair cryme
 or innocencie sould incur² his danger or indignatioun
 15 quhilk was veray hard in respectt he was gournour of
 this realme. Besides³ of thame vtheris that war manieifest
 oppressouris war nocht onlie thollit to pass ower bot ony
 punischment of thair wickednes bot als was remitit
 althocht thay had commititt nevir so gret crymes. This
 20 was done without the chancellaris counsall quhair throw
 he was hichlie offendit ffor he thocht veill be this forme
 and fassoun of the gournouris beith he and his author-
 itie sould be contempnit and the commonweill without
 regard wickitlie to be ovirthrawn Bot he oppressit
 25 the anger of his hairt quhill he saw better occatioun and
 opportunitie of tyme and thairby tuik purpois to pas
 hameward to Edinburghe thair to contene him sellff
 quhill he was forder adwyssed. All this tyme the gouer-
 noure remanit with the king and his mother in Stirwill-
 30 ing and retinit ane gret gward of men of weir as vsse is

¹ Innovatioun vel vivâ suspicioun novarum rerum (Boece). MS. I, which reads "Invocation," is corrupt from mistakes of the transcriber or ignorance of Latin. Freebairn gives the sense, "If he suspected them to make any innovations or else without any trial," &c.

² Freebairn's Ed. reads "incur."

³ I reads "Be" = besides.

Fol. 5 a.

in Scotland in all sick troubles tymes about him and
 albeit he vnderstwd the chancellor to be ane man of
 hiche spreit and curaige nocht willing to seit¹ with so
 mony wrangis as he had gottin onrewengit gif his power
 wald serue thairto zit nocht the les in respectt he was 5
 gouvernour haveand the king in keiping and thairfoire all
 the realme wald and sould obey him he regardit na man
 rewlling all thingis at his pleasour but ony adwyce or
 consultatioun of vtheris nobillis in this realme. Quhan
 sick thingis was adoin William erlle of Douglas send 10
 Malcolme flemeine of Cummernauld and Allane lauder
 ambassadouris to Charllis the Sevint of that name king
 of france to gif him the Duikrie of Twvin² perteneing to
 him in herretaige quhilk his guidschir quha was slaine at
 the battell of Wernot³ for the defence and libertie of 15
 france joysit and bruikit of befoir and promeist faithfullie
 that quhatsumevir was contenid into the chairtour maid
 thairvpone that he sould fullfill the same exactlie lyk as
 his foirbeiris did befoir him. Charllis mvweit of gret
 zeall and luife that he buire towardis the kingis and 20
 thair legis grantit glaidlie to thair requeist and message
 and gave to thame the heill renttis and landis in france
 that his guidscheir had of befoir. Vpone the vthir sydd
 the said erlle of Douglas ambassadouris in his name
 gawe thair aithes of fedilitie to the king of france and 25
 his successouris to all thingis concerneing his pairt as
 said is.

¹ "Seit" = sit (?).² Tourraine.³ Vernolium (Boece). The battle of Verneuil, fought 17th August 1424.

THE V CHAPT.

Hou the Earlle of Douglas was mowit to tyranie : of grett oppressioun maid be the yllismen : of gret creuelltie done be the men of the yllis : of gret dearth in Scotland and the occatioun thair of : and also of gret pest in this cuntrie at that tyme Gret familiaritie betuix the gouvounour and the Erle of Douglas, hou the Chancellor past to the park heid of Stiruilling to apprehend the king : the chancellaris resoun to the king : hou the king was convoyit to Edinburghe.

The message sped with sick happie succes as we haue schawin to zow allraddie causit this erlle of Douglas beand of tender aige to be puffit vp with new ambitiou and grettar pryde nor he was of befor as the nature of
 5 zouth is, and als the prydfull tyrantis and flatteraris that was about him throch this occatioun spurit him to grettar tyrannie and oppressioun nor ony man vont to do befor in ony aige. Bot this oppressioun and mischeiff rang nocht onlie in the southwest pairtis bot also the men of
 10 the yllis invaidit syndrie pairtis in Scotland at that tyme baith be fyre and sword and speciallie the lennox was heill ovirthrowin. The principall of the men of the yllis war lauchland maitland ¹ and Murdow gibsone twa notabill thewis and murtheraris. To resist thir crewell mur-
 15 theraris and traitouris Johne Colquhoun of lus gatherit ane companie of men and focht at loch lummond besydd Inch mirrine quhair he being ovirsett with ane gret multitwde of men was slaine with money of his folkis fechtand manfullie to deid and few of the men of the yllis war
 20 slaine at that wictorrie Traittouris became so proude and insolent that thay brunt and hereitt the kirkis quhair euer thay come and spairit nather auld nor zoung bairne

¹ I, but the MSS. which Freebairn followed read "Maclean (or Macleod)," and Dalzell has also Maclean, which is probably right. See Notes.

nor wyffe bot crewellie wald burne thair hous and thame
 together gif thay haid maid ony obstickle or ellis gif thay
 meid na debait without considderatioun and pitie wald
 cuit thair throttis and thairfoir carrie away thair geir
 and wairis with thair wyffis and bairnes quha nocht wit- 5
 ting of sick ane curssingis¹ wer crewellie muredrest and
 stikkit in thair beddis but ony regard of auld or zoung.
 Thus thay raiged throw the realme bot ony respectt to
 god or man. In this zeir quhilk was in the zeir of god
 I^m four hundreith threttie and nyne zeiris thair rais ane 10
 gret dearth off wictuallis within this realme pairtlie becaus
 of the laubouraris of the ground that nicht nocht saw
 nor wine thair cornis throcht the tumult and cummeris
 in the cuntreis and pairtlie quhilk was maist appeirand
 to be trew was the verie wraith and yre of god to caus 15
 ws know our sellffis and throcht that scourge to prouock
 to amendiment of lyffe. Thair rang alsua ane horribill
 pest at that tyme in this cuntrie for all men that infectit
 thairwith dieit the same day they tuik it but ony remeid
 or help. Attour albeith thir thrie plaigues and scwrges 20
 rang amangis ws zit neuertheles sum men meid thame
 nevir to amend thair lyffis bot rather became daylie
 worss, dyueris vtheris that pleinzeit vpone the enormiteis
 that thay sustenit gat litill or na redres, quhairfoir the
 peopill began to warie and curs that evir it chanceit 25
 theme to leiwe in sick wicked and dangerous tymes.
 It was than quhisperit throchout the realme that the
 gouvernour was the haill caus of all mischeiffe that rang
 for the tyme within this realme alledging that seine he
 gat the gouvernement evirie man supponit that he buire 30
 grettar favour to bluidie mischeivous tyrannis nor it
 became him, and for the haitrent that he had to the

¹ Freebairn reads "incursionis" and Dalzell "cursions." There
 seems something wrong in the reading of I, "ane curssingis."
 Cursing very probably means *coursing*=*incursion*, and the correc-
 tion, "incursingis," seems admissible.

chancellor he drew also to his assistance and familiaritie
 the erle of Douglas and mentenit him onlie for the chan-
 cellaris subuerssioun and ruwyne bot quhou schone he
 knew the same perfyttlie and that evirie man menit that
 5 it sould redound to his gret hurt that the gouvernour and
 the Erlle of Douglas war confidderit he began to considder
 and to pance thairvpone verie earnnestlie and tuik purpois
 to do sum hardie witie actt quhairthrow he sould ather
 himsellff kin and freindis haif out of this presentt perrell
 10 or ellis be hereit and perrische all for euer quhill at the
 last quhair he haid suire knowledg quhair the king was
 at his pastyme and quhat folkis convoyit him be explora-
 touris he accompanyit with certaine choissin men past his
 way to the park of Stiruilling vpone ane mirk nicht and
 15 gave command to his freindis and thay that come with
 him sellffe to the number of ane hundreith armeit men
 sould come bot ane small companye and at diuerss pas-
 sageis to eschew all suspitioun that ony nicht consawe
 concerneing the purpois gif thay had beine mett. Vpone
 20 the morrow in the morneing the chance happnit better
 nor ony man supponit ffor evin at the breking of the
 day the king come out of the castell to hunt and pas his
 tyme convoyit with ane small companie of hors men as
 his wsse was. Or evir he cuild persawe the chancellaris
 25 folkis lyand in the wait for him he was environit and cir-
 cuatt round about with thame quha al togeddar salutit the
 king with gret reuerence and humillitie quhilk beand
 done the Chancellar requeistit his graice effectuouslie
 as he wald be sa guide as to delyuer him sellff furth
 30 of that presoun quhairin the gouvernour maist wickitlie
 dissaweit him to the gret skaith and damage of the
 commonweill exhorted him thairfoir to pas to Edin-
 burgh or ony vther pairt of Scotland quhair evir he
 pleissit and he sould convoy him furth of all menis
 35 danger aganis the hairtis of all thame that vald the
 contrair Attour it becummeth ane prince to leiwe frielie

Impyreing abone vtheris and nocht subiectit to ane
vassellis correctioun or chastisment for that was the
will of thame that wyscheit his weilfair. Thir vordis
said the king began to smylle quhair throw thay vndir
stude the king to be content of thair cuming and glaid 5
to gang with thame and thairfoir hynt his hors be the
bryddill and convoyit him to Edinburghe. At this tyme
sum of the kingis serwandis and vtheris that come out
with him maid obstickill and debeit bot the gouernouris
eldest sone Allexander lewinstoun forbadd thame to mak 10
Fol. 6 a. ony Impediment Sayand it was ane vaine purpois to
strywe with sa money armet men and speciallie quhair
thair was na danger and it was better at that tyme to
susteine ane schame albeit thair was nane and mair
necessar to gif plaice thair nor to attempt the thing 15
that was far aboue thair strenth. It is the law and
curs¹ of fortoun that he is neirrest perrell and decay
that seittis presentlie hichest vpon the quheill And
be the contraire he will chance to be illustrat and ex-
tolled quha be experience is alluterlie deiectit and 20
cassin down. Sone eftir that the king had taine the
gait to Edinburgh thair mett him ma nor four thowsand
armet men to assist him be the chancellaris convoy gif
ony man wald haue inuaidit him and resawit him with
gret honnour. The gouernoure gat word the king was 25
plaiceit in Edinburghe.

¹ "Curs" = course (?).

THE VI CHAPT.

The gouvounouris absence quhen the king was taine : the gouvounouris
 consulltatioun with him sellfe : And also his consulltatioun
 with his freindis. Hou the gouvounour past to Edinburghe.
 The meitting betuix the gouvounour and the chancellor, and the
 gouvounouris ressoyn to the chancellor.

In this mean tyme of the kingis taikin it chanceit the
 gouvounoure to be ane dayis jowrnay out of Stirvilling at
 that tyme. Bott quhen he gatt vord thairof he sped him
 to Stirvilling againe with all diligence richt solist in his
 5 mynd quhat sould be done for this wexit him mair nor all
 the troubillis that he had of befoir and was the mair
 crabbit with him sellfe beand estemed with all men
 within the realme ane man of singular guid wit and foir-
 sicht that he sould haue beine so negligent and sleuth-
 10 full in keiping of the king quhairbe his onfreindis had
 gret occatioun to haue him in dirissioun. Attour he
 brunt the mair for anger within him sellff that he was sa
 meschant in this behalf he leaveand his familiaris and
 freindis with the king quha knew nathing of this vn-
 15 happie fortoun that had chanceit him quhilk all his
 enemyis desyreit aboue all thingis baith day and nicht.
 And as he beleiwit na thing mair nor ane falsatt amangis
 thame sellffis ¹at hame in respect of his enemeis fa[cill
 pray] the houre and tyme sa iustlie keipit and the
 20 [kingis] glad depairting but ony debait or I[mpediment].
 Quhen he had pansit² in this maner wp [and doun] and
 ressonit himself for his slou[thfulnes] to adwyse how he
 sould eschew all [danger present] and to come and consid-
 der that it was wnsickir to comit his lyfe and honoure

The gower-
 nours con-
 sultatioun
 with himself.

¹ MS. A begins here but is torn, and the words in brackets are taken from MS. I. A has from this point been followed as probably the oldest MS., but all important alterations or additions in I are noted.

² A has "passit" and I "redarguit."

in the binding wp [of] bandis witht the Earle of Douglas who was bot a zoung man withtout knowledge and experience of sic hight and wightie materis, following¹ the counsall of waine gredie flatteraris rewand ewerie man that he might owercome but law or ressonne, 5 throw the quhilk ewerie man that servit the commone weill estemed him as ane manifest enemie and nocht ane trew ledge of this realme and sa he thocht that gif he wald fullelie leif the chancelar and wther his faithfull freindis and collegis witht the Earle of Douglas in con- 10 tempt of the chancelar who wolde haue wraikit thame baitht of befor, it sould be ane redy way to cause himself, kin and freindis be dispytit and lyghtlieit be the wholl nobilietie and be depyrit of his gowernance to his great dishonour and schame at the last, his bairnes 15 kin and freindis wraikit allutterlie and himself compellit to leif the realme for ewer. Schortlie he consulted witht his freindis quhat he thocht best to be done in this matter. The matter lang ressonit to and fra be men of good experience they thocht nothing better nor to des- 20 semble all offences that was bygainne witht all quarrellis and debaitis betuix the chancelar and him to be sett assyde and to be at wntie and concord as they war befor. The gowenour thocht this counsall werie goode and sueit and thairfoir be all menis expectatioun,² past 25 his way to Edinburgh accompaneit with ane small number of folkis and that namlie be the draught and counsall of tua godlie and wyse prelattis beand in Edinburgh for the tyme W^{me} Henry Lyghtoun [bischope] of Aberdeine and Johnne James³ bischope of [Mur]ray quho being 30

The gowenours consultation with his freindis.

The gowenour passing to Edinburgh.
Fol. 1 b.

¹ "Followand," I.

² A has "meanis exceptatioun," but I "Expectatioun," and Boece, "Complurium præter expectationem," shows I is right.

³ I has same reading, but Boece "Joannes Innes et Henricus Lychton." Pitscottie has corrected Boece, for the Bishop of Moray at this date was John Winchester.—Keith, 'Catalogue of Scottish Bishops,' p. 85. See Notes.

baitht allsweill as ane intertinit [als weill] witht the
 governour as chancelar in all tyme bygaine maid greit
 laubouris and trawellis to bring them to peace and con-
 cord whill the last they brocht them together in S. Geillis
 5 kirk woyd of all waponis and airmor with ane certaine of
 thair maist spetiall freindis that war about tham, [and the
 Governour began]¹ in maner following. 'Quhen I was in
 'Companie sindrie and diuerse tymes with wyse and pru-
 'dent men weill beseine in historie baitht now and than²
 10 'ofttymeis I hard them say that sober goodis and geir
 'with peace and concord growis ay mair and mair to great
 'substance at the last and be the contrair right potent
 'men throcht ane small discentioun hes bene brocht to
 'ane wtter wraik and heirscheip and nocht onlie haue we
 15 'this in antient historie in wther realmeis bot as we haue
 'experience of the same daylie amangis ws our sellwes
 'quhat skaith and dampnage by the displesour of our
 'heartis quhilk is worst of all, haue we baitht sustenit
 'quhat lose of goodis and geir our fameliaris and freindis
 20 'haue had sene the beginning of our discentiouns, as I
 'beliue thair is leifand men can tell; of truth we haue
 'nether strength nor rightis that we had of befoir, nor
 'zeit ar we in sa honourabill estait, other witht nobillis
 'nor with commouns as we war bot be the tyme of con-
 25 'coird among ws; thir ciuell wearis and discentiouns mak
 'ws baitht as one odieous to the pepill and because it
 'demensis our fame and honouris quhilkis mair pertenis
 'to ws nor our liues, I wald we tooke exampill of the
 'thingis bygaine and nocht of the dangeris that ar to
 30 'come. I ame, suith, the more offendit that we tua, to
 'quhom the great gowernance of this Realme is maist

Fol. 2 a.

¹ The words in brackets are omitted in A, and I has same omission; but Boece says, "Tum ut conventum erat, gubernator viros, inquit, eruditissimos."

I has "auld" and "new," which is a better translation of Boece, "Veterum atque recentium historiarum sedulos lectores."

Office of
Magistratis.

' gainand and thairfor was gevin to ws be the consent of
 ' the haill nobilietie, sould be haldin as moking stokis to
 ' everie man and alls estemed as prydefull and ambitious
 ' tyrantis and to be the onlie cause of sa greit thift heir-
 ' scheipis stouth-reif and slaughter quhairfor the haill 5
 ' realme may be ane easie pray to our enemeis for they
 ' desyre nothing more nor our discentioun daylie behald,
 ' and quhill we be baitht rootted out allutterlie throw the
 ' quhilk all lawis and justice sould be contempnit and
 ' everie man that pleissis sall put hand in the kingis awin 10
 ' persone or ellis sall abose all governance and autorietie.
 ' Remember thairfor that the nobilietie hes put ws in this
 ' place quhill the kingis maiestie come to perfyte age
 ' to [hauld]¹ this realme in tranquilietye on everie part, to
 ' repres all seditious persouns and defend innocentis frome 15
 ' the tyrannous or be our² discentioun the Realme is
 ' wraikit and betraissit and nocht reullit and governit as it
 ' sould be. I beseik the thairfoir gif thow hes ony loue or
 ' fawour to the Realme or prence thow will renunce all
 ' rancour of hart quhairthrow the common weill is wraikit 20
 ' and lat ws be conceillit³ againe to our awin freindscheip
 ' that was betuix ws, for freindscheip is the most happie
 ' band that⁴ can be maid for the weillfair of our realme
 ' or contrie. Withtout the quhilk⁵ no man privat nor
 ' publict may be profietabill to himself or zeit to the 25
 ' commone weill and thairfor lat all iniuricis be sett assyde
 ' haweand the weillfair of this realme affixit befoir our eyis
 ' and that thow sould grant the rether to this my requist
 ' I forgiue all wrangis done to me, allis I sall repair all

The gower-
nour remittit
all offensis
done to him.

¹ B "hauld" = hold, which makes the sense clearer.

² I so reads, but A has "your."

³ I "reconceilled," which appears the right reading, but perhaps *conceillit* = conciliated.

⁴ This is the reading in I, which is better than A, "ane happie band as."

⁵ This also is the reading of I, which seems preferable to A, "without this thing."

- ' wrangis and offencess done be me ¹; I sall mak no wther
 ' Iudge bot thy self to repair all thingis at thy awin plesour
 ' and will. Attour the king sall remaine in thy gower- Fol. 2 b.
 ' nament in keiping whill he come to perfyte aige because
 5 ' his father quhen he was on lyfe committit him to thy
 ' cure and charge; and as my awin part I desyre na mair
 ' bot ilk ane of ws loue ane anuther hairtlie as it becommes
 ' ws to do and that the nobilitie witht the commons of
 ' this realme may sie and wnderstand ws to be faithtfull
 10 ' governouris and mantenneris of equitie and iustice, the
 ' quhilk gif we do not bot dissent² amang our selffis, re-
 ' gairding our awin prevat wining mair nor the weillfair of
 ' the realme then our awin geir and substance sall wan-
 ' ische away, our selffis and bairnes put to wraik³ and that
 15 ' quhilk is worst of all the king sal be in danger and tint
 ' betuix them, [his]⁴ treasuris and riches sall come to
 ' nocht and small awaill and for our prydfull vaine ambi-
 ' tioun the realme come to easie and facile pray to our
 ' enemies.'

THE VII CHAPTER.

The Chancellaris answer to the Governour. Hou the governour and the Chancellar was finallie appointed in all matteris and purposis. Ane parliament sett. Hou the peopill was under the tuitioun of murtheraris. Hou thair was writtingis send to the Erlle of Douglas be the Counsall.

- 20 Quhan ⁵ [the governour said in this maner as we have
 already declared vnto you The Chancellar maid ansuer

The chan-
celars ansuer
to the gover-
nour.

¹ In A the word "me" is struck out and "to the" substituted, which is evidently wrong, and the reading of I, "be me," is right.

² B, I, and A read "dissart." Not known to Jamieson, and probably a mistake.

³ So in I. A reads instead of "put to," "and that to the great wraik."

⁴ I and A read "and the" for "his."

⁵ A reads "Quhilk," I "Quhan," which is right, and continues with the words in brackets.

in maner following]. 'It is nocht wknawn [to] the ledges
 ' of this Realme that I detistit in all tymes bygaine sedi-
 ' tioun and weiris¹ my haill laubouris and deliegence to
 ' eschew the samin efter my power, and as to this pre-
 ' sent discord newlie raissit amangis ws, quhilk is inventit 5
 ' throw prydfull and waine ambitiou, gladlie witht myne
 ' hart I wald it war sa sloknit furtht and sett assyde that
 ' thair sould nocht be so mekill as ane spark or any kynd
 ' of memorie thair of in tyme coming, lest it sould throw
 ' small occatioun efterwart ryse and kindill greater hait- 10
 ' rent nor ewer was amangis ws. I know perfyttlie sa lang
 ' as discord or latent haitrent ringis amangis ws thair sall
 ' newer be grace nor riches withtin this realme and thair-
 Fol. 3 a. ' foir I might nether refuis baith the thankfull and honour-
 ' abill conditionis to my self and also necessar to the 15
 ' weilfair of this realme, and speciallie quhair they cum of
 ' free will nocht coacted nor compellit² for I desyre all
 ' mennes amitie and kindnes and spetiallie of them that
 ' bourdeth witht the governance of the common weill, zeit
 ' is it nocht decent that ether of ws decerne wpoun this 20
 ' matter [nor zet prescribe]³ ane forme and fassone to
 ' the aggrement of the present discoird, for it is contrair
 ' to all law and resson that ony minister the law vnto him
 ' self; by that quhat ewer the ane decerne the wther salbe
 ' discontent thair witht and plenze that the samin was 25
 ' done by all the heidis and talking that was amangis
 ' thame. Necessar thairfoir it is, I think for me, that sum
 ' prudent man equallie for ws baitht and favorar of the
 ' common weill be cheissing of baitht the parties at quhais⁴
 ' arbeitement and sentance we sall repair all offences by- 30
 ' gaine with all wther thingis concerning the advancement
 ' of this countrie for all men that ar of that fawour thairto

¹ "Weiris=wairis"—i.e., "use my whole diligence." See p. 39, l. 2.

² So in I. A reads, "sum will not be coacit or compellit."

³ These words, which the sense requires, are inserted from I.

⁴ A reads wrongly, "in how be."

' will nocht onlie be [cairfull] of this counsall and spend
 ' his goodis [and geir]¹ bot allis they will wair thair lyffis
 ' in the advancement and weillfair of the samin and speci-
 ' allie they that ar placeit abone wtheris as ane perfytt²
 5 ' exampill of administratioun of equitie and justice.'

Thus on this wyse all thair freindis on baitht the sydis
 that stude about begane to extoll and ruif³ them baitht
 witht great thankis gevin that they baitht regairdit the
 common weill samekill and preferit the samin to all
 10 previe quarrellis and debaittis. Then baitht the parties
 war com[prom]mittit be thair aithis to stand at the
 de[liverance] of the arbitratouris chossin be thame
 [baitht]⁴ quha schortlie brocht them both till writie [and
 concord]⁴ and finallie sa freindlie confiderat that [ather
 15 of]⁴ them appeirit never to faill the [other agane].⁴

Againe schortlie efter thair was ane parlieament at Fol. 3 b.
 Edinburgh to mak statutis for repairing of the common
 weill to the auld estait. At this parlieament sa money
 and wnnumerabill plaintis was gewin in quhair of the lyke
 20 was never sen befor, thair was so money wedowis,
 bairnes and infantis seiking redres for thair husbandis
 kin, and freindis that was crwellie slaine be wicked and
 cruell murthereris, siclyk money for heirschep thift and
 reif that thair was no man bot he wald have ruth and
 25 petie to hear the samin; Schortlie murther and slaughter
 was come in sic delayance⁵ among the pepill and the
 kingis articles come in sic contemptioun that no man
 wist quhair to seik refuge wnles he had sworne him self
 ane servant to sum common murtherar or bludie tyrant
 30 to mantaine him contrair the invation⁶ of wtheris or

¹ These words are supplied from I to fill a blank in A.

² So I. A has "prettie."

³ The word "leif" is struck out and "ruif" interlined in another hand. I has "luif." Probably ruif, in the sense of "ruff" = applaud, is right, for Boece has "laudare."

⁴ Blanks in A are supplied from I.

⁵ "Dalliance" = "long delay." See Glossary.

⁶ Invasion.

ellis had gevin largelie of his geir to saif his lyfe and
 gif him sum peace and rest. Bot quhen the Lordis of
 parlieament had consultted lang tyme how and in quhat
 maner the offences sould be mendit and repairit and allis
 persawing the Earle of Douglas to be principall cause of 5
 all thir enormiteis and wicked mischevous tirannieis and
 be ressonne of his riches kin and freindis they could
 nocht reprowe his tyrannie be strength or might and
 thairfoir wrait plessant writtingis purposing to cut him
 of by slyght, subtiltie and craft, requisting right effec- 10
 tuouslie the said earle and his brother to com in for
 assistance of the common weill; withtout him his kin
 and freindis the realme [culd nocht]¹ be goodlie rewllit,
 for sen they abstinit [fra th]e¹ gyding of the samin it was
 allutterlie wraikit [and cumit]¹ to nocht. Sic collouris 15
 and painttit wordis they [send this]¹ gentillman to draw
 him in the snair albeit they menit no thing more nor his
 deid and revenge. Sua the Earle being gevin on the
 ane pairt² to conques glorie and honour of hiin self and
 namelie to his kin, nocht wnderstanding na cullorit 20
 wordis and offeris that nane sould presume aganis him
 and thocht no thing sould be done withtout him his kin
 and freindis, and allis wpoun this wther part be in-
 formatioun of sum avarisious courteouris and gredie
 flatteraris that dependit wpoun him haueand regaird 25
 to thair awin privie profite mair nor the maisteris fame
 and honour, he tuik porpois to obey the lettres and
 come fordward to the king in Edinburgh accompanit
 with his brother Dawid quhome he never sufferit to pase
 ane futebraid frome him self and wtheris his maist 30
 honest freindis bellueing no falshoode to mischance him
 efterwart in respect of his hartlie messaige that come to
 him fre the maistratis³ and lordis of parlieament.

Fol. 4 a.

¹ Words in brackets are supplied from I, as A is torn.² I seems the simpler reading. A inserts after "pairt," "gredienes to gather geir."³ Magistrates.

THE VIII CHAPTER.

Hou the Chancellar met the Erle of Douglas and convoyit him to Crichtoun : hou the Erll of Douglas tuik the Chancellaris admonitioun in guide pairt. Hou the Erll of Douglas was forwarnit be his father. Hou the Erle of Douglas enterit in the Castell of Edinburghe.

Quhen this earle was command fordwart on this wyse, the chancelar on sett purpois raid fourtht to meit him and to remowe all suspitioun out of the earleis mynd, and requested him werie earnestlie to ryde to Crichtoun
 5 with him and thair to pas his tyme ane day or tuo, to the quhilk the earle of Douglas consentit werie gladlie and remanit tuo dayis werie weill treit and intertenit with his kin and freindis, quhair the chanceleir suore be his great aith and hailie sacrament thair was in Scotland no wther
 10 except the kingis maiestie that he faworit sa weill as the Earle of Douglas and wold esteme him fre thyne furtht equallie witht the governour of the realme by ony wtheris. This zounge gentill man fosterit with sic fair flatteraris was allurit in this maner to pase to Edinburgh. The chance-
 15 lar as hie that had na privie desait na malice hide, nor Fol. 4. b.
 latent hatrent in his mynd witht ane heartlie couenance, in this maner [said] 'Sen sa it is that the king hes¹ givin
 ' and grantit [zow] large greit riches and rentis withtin
 ' this realme and [far abone the]² pissance of wtheris
 20 ' zour freindis and nichtbouris I will exort zow witht all
 ' my hairt as him quhais house, haill kin and freindis ar
 ' mar deir to me nor all the rest in Scotland my awin
 ' exceptit, to stand obedient to the kingis lawis and statutis
 ' quhom it pleassit the eternall god to rigne abone ws at
 25 ' this tyme and remember the high fortune that ze ar

¹ So I. A has "is."

² I omits words in brackets, but requires insertion of "zow" in line 18 to make the passage run smoothly.

'promovit to the greit dependance (of Vasallis)¹ and
 'landis of manrentis witht wther great strength and powar
 'quhilk neid nocht to be raknit at this tyme, ar nocht
 'committ to zow that ze sould be mair insolent thair of
 'thinking thairby to oppres inferieouris or yet misken the 5
 'maiestratis appoyntet be the plesour of god and consent
 'of the nobilietie bot rather gif the king hes gevin zow
 'all thir forsaidis of his awin benevolence and plesour it
 'becomes zow to haue him in all honour and reverence,
 'obedience to his charge and plesour, and abone all 10
 'thingis to defend the commone weill nocht regairding
 'lyfe land nor goodis for mantening of the same in peace
 'and rest; thairfoir cause all enormities and crymes com-
 'mittit in tyme bygaine to be refoundit and randerit witht
 'in zour boundis and suffer nocht the poore simpill pepill 15
 'to be owercome and reft be strang mischevous tyranns,
 'nor stope no man to be brocht to the kingis maiestie
 'that is ane maniest trespasour or ane lymmer bot be
 'contrairie² first to minister iustice withtin zour boundis
 'as becomes³ zow thairefter not onlie to thoill wtheris to 20
 'be punischit bot allis to come witht zour haill strength
 'and force to bring all wickit boutcherous⁴ and manifest
 'oppresseris of the poore to be adiudgeit and thoill con-
 'dinglie according to the lawis wtherwayis it will redound
 'to zour great dishonour hurt and schame to the wraik 25
 'and heirscheip of zour goodis and geir and that quhilk
 'is worst of all to the wtter exterminatioun of zour
 'house kin and freindis of the quhilkis sen I favour⁵
 'sa weill I wald nocht that ze war the author nor zeit
 'that ye sould obscure nor bleak⁶ the honourabill 30

Fol. 5 a.

¹ I inserts these words. Pitscottie has here expanded the text of Boece.

² *I.e.*, "on the contrary."

³ A has "became," which is wrong.

⁴ "Bouchouris" I.

⁵ A has "follow," I "favour."

⁶ I has "blek," Dalzell reads "blott." The sense is "black or blot out."

'factes of martiall deidis and the honour in ciwill gov-
'ernment quhilk zour forbearis conquest to zour pos-
'terietie.'

The zoung gentillman of zoung¹ inclienatioun gif he
5 had bene weill accompanit, he tuik the chancelaris
admonitioun in goode part, provydand² to repair all
thingis that he had consawit and to obey and serue the
kingis maiestie witht dew honour and reverence bot
knew nane of the chancelaris fraud and gyle who thocht
10 that this realme sould be at greattar tranquillietie gif the
Earle of Douglas and his brother had bene cutted of
sudenlie.³ Efter⁴ they come to Edinburgh withtout
ony wnderstanding quhat was devyssit for thair distruc-
tioun. Sum men iudgit [that na]⁵ goode [was] to come of
15 the weyage⁶ and through the frequentt message baitht
command and gangand betuix the governour and chan-
celar and thairfoir gaue consall that nane of them sould
enter at that tyme in the castell of Edinburgh or at the
leist gif he enterit best it war to send his brother bak
20 againe hame and nocht to break thair fatheris consall
who inhibit thame that they zeid never baitht togither
quhair thair was ony appeirance of fraud gyle or danger
leist it sould be thair wraik of thair selffis and thair
houssis. The earle gif na credit to sic corectouris,⁷
25 saying he had experience of the governouris and chan-
celaris faitht and lawtie in sic caceess and as to the chan-
celar he had sa intertenitt and treated him that he could

Fol. 5 b.

¹ I also reads "zoung," but the MSS. which Dalzell has fol-
lowed, "guid,"—perhaps an alteration of copyists, to avoid the
repetition of "zoung," or it may be that "zoung" has been repeated
by mistake.

² I reads "permittand," which seems right.

³ This passage is almost identical in language with the passage
which Dalzell prints, Appendix, p. 625, as from the oldest MS.

⁴ "Efter this" I.

⁵ These words, which are necessary to the sense, are supplied by I.

⁶ I reads "weyage" = voyage. A has "weavage."

⁷ I has "coniecttouris," but the reading of A is preferable.

dread no ewill nor falshoode at his hand. Sic quyet
 rwmor spread throw the haill companie that caussit schir
 Dawid Douglas persuadd the earle his brother to returne
 hamewart againe dreadand mischeif to follow vpoun
 this haistie freindscheip for the quhilk the earle reprovit 5
 his brother werie scherplie, saying, it was nocht decent
 for him to gif earis to sic waine wnhapie flateraris quho
 was the werie occatioun of all desentioun and discord
 amangis nobillmen sa lang as they had place and thair-
 foir gaif command witht right scherpe threttnings and 10
 braging wordis that no man in his companie menitt sic
 thing lat be¹ to speik of the samin. Bot behald heir ane
 notabill cace, the narrar that ane man be to ane perrell
 or mischeif he rinnis the mair heidlangis thairto, and hes
 no grace to heir them that giffis theme consall to eschew 15
 the danger; the Earle of Douglas being ane zoung
 gentill man of good inclienatioun, wyser perchance nor
 ony wtheris of equall aige witht him wald nether gif
 eairis to his godwillaris nor favoraris nor zeit was he con-
 tent witht them that gaif the consall to returne hame- 20
 wart againe bot repruiffit thame heightlie, quhair throw
 sindrie nobill men witht sad drerie and quyit contien-
 ances followand him durst not speik na forder. It may
 be weill said of this man that saifgaird it self,² albeit it
 wald could not preserue this man from destructioun 25
 and rewvyne and sa semmes continuallie provocand
 this man to his deid. Bot³ [he] daylie spuris his horse
 and come fordwart to Edinburgh and enterit in to
 the castell quhair be feinzeit and coullorit continance

Fol. 6 a.

¹ "Lat be" = much less.

² I follows A. The sense is obscure, and is not made clear by Dalzell's reading. "It may be evil said of this man albeit it wold it culd not preserue this man from destructioun and ruine, and sua semis continuallie provokin this man to his deid." "Saifgaird itself" is a translation of "Salus ipsa" in Boece—*i.e.*, "the Goddess of Safety herself." All the MSS. omit the quotation from Terence in Boece. See Notes.

³ B and I "Bot forder delay"—*i.e.*, "without further delay."

he was resawit witht great ioy and gladnes and bank-
 catit reallie¹ of all delicattis that could be gottin and
 never² that he sould tak ony suspitiouns or desait to fol-
 low thair wpoun. Then at the last money of the earleis
 5 freindis being [skailed]³ of the toune and opertunitie
 serwant, witht consent and adwyse of the governour
 who come then of sett porpois to Edinburgh.

THE IX CHAPTER.

Hou thair was ane bulles heid presentit before the Erle of Douglas.
 The slauchter of the Erle of Douglas and in quhat zeir : the
 chancelloris answer to the king concerneing the Erllis slauchtor.
 Hou William Erle of Douglas dieit without successioun. The
 Mairiage of the fair mayden of Galloway upone gros James
 sone. The mairiage disuadit be the Erle of Angus and the
 Knicht of Dalkeith. Mairiage on guid fryday. Conflict betwix
 The Sherrife of Perth and Johne Gormak the Shireff maior.

The chancelar efter the great cheir was maid at the
 denner and coursses taine away⁴ and presentit ane bullis
 10 heid befor the earle quhilk was ane signe and taikin of
 condemnatour to the death ; bot this earle and his
 brother behalding this money fauld treassone witht sade
 mynd and werie continance start wpe fre the bourd and
 maid them to leip at sum place quhair they might ony
 15 wyse win out. Bot then, fre hand, ane companie of
 airmed men buschit out round about them quha break-
 ing all kynd of law and hospitalietie leade thame out to
 the castell hill witht Schir Malcome Fleming of Cumber-
 nald and vther wyse gentill men thair familiaris and
 20 assistaris and straik thair heidis fre thame. This was

¹ *I.e.*, royally.

² I reads, "hou, that he suld tak na suspitiounes of ony dissait to follow thairupoun," which makes better sense.

³ A wrongly has "killed," &c.

⁴ I reads: "Than quhan the denner was and all the delicatt meassis and coursis taine away."

done in the zeir of god I^m foure hundretht and ellevin¹ zeiris. It is said the king being of tender aige lamentit and grat werie sair quhen he saw the men of weir bind the earleis bandis and his brotheris with cords and prayit the chancelar for godis saik to lat them allone and saif 5 thair lyues for ony plesour he wald desyre of him; and thair for the chancelar bostit the king right scharplie saying it was for na privie haitrit that he bure to the Earle of Douglas and his favoraris and friendis that he sould thoill the death that day according to his de- 10 merittis, bot because he was ane plaine enemie to the kingis awin persone and ane manifest tratour to the common weill, and sa lang as they war on lyue the realme wald newer be at peace and rest bot gif hie war cuttit of the contrie sould be at greater tranquillietie. 15 Then fre hand, but ruth or petie thir gentill men war hurlat furtht and execut as said is.

Fol. 6 b.

The Earle of Douglas dieit without succesioun.

Fre thyne furtht the realme was sum part quyeter for ane certaine tyme nor it was of befoir albeit nocht lang efter this Williame, succedit his vncle² [James father 20 brother] to [this William] the Earle of Annerdaill³ and Lord Abernethie,⁴ quho was callit gros because he was corpolent and growin of body, for this Williame had no bairnes of his body nor brother to succed to him. This James was the sevint Earle of Douglas and was no les 25 haitit be the legis of this realme nor ony of his predicesouris because withtin schort space slaughter and heirscheip rang allis fast in his dayis and speciallie withtin his boundis as ewer it did befoir. Nocht that he mantenit ony theiffis or murtheraris bot because he 30 punischt them nocht, for he thocht ewer to haue ex-

¹ B and I have "fourtie aucht yeiris." The true date was 24th Nov. 1440. See Notes.

² The words in brackets are from I, and supply a blank in A.

³ So I also, but it should be Avondale. Boece calls him "Baro Abercorn et Comes Avendaliæ." See Notes.

⁴ Abercorn.

cussit him self for his grownes and wnhabilitie. Wtheris
 thocht that albeit he had never ryssin out of his bede
 he sould haue had sic men about him at his command
 as suld haue suppressed all oppressioun and murther
 5 withtin his boundis; bot he leiffit nocht lang for he
 deceissit in Abercorn the thrid zeir efter he was maid
 Earle. This James had sevin sonns to quhom the eldest
 succeidit be taillzie of the landis of the earledome of
 Douglas bot the landis that was wntaillzied fell in
 10 herietage to ane sister of the said Willieames forsaid
 viz. the landis of Galloway and thairfoir scho was callit
 the fair maidin of Galloway. Thair fell allis to hir
 Wigtoun, Annerdail, Ballveinie and Ormond. It is to
 be wnderstand that this James callit gros James, fol-
 15 lowand the inclinatioun of money wtheris gredie to
 conques great rentis to his posterietie nor he had him-
 self, thinkand it was wicious¹ to denude the auld herie-
 taig of ane house be the contrair it was wosdome to
 apply² the dominiounis left be thair foirbearis and
 20 thairfoir to compell³ all thair landis forsaidis withtin
 and togidder, and to the effect procurit the paipis dis-
 pensatioun to marie his eldest sone wpoun his brotheris
 douchter, sister to the said William. Be this cause but
 doubt the haill landis sould be wnitit in ane, zeit not
 25 withtstanding the rest of the Douglassis skynnrit,⁴ thinking
 the marieage to be wnlesum as they thocht that our⁵
 great riches and landis ower large war odious to be
 wnder ane king quhilk witht in schort tyme sould be
 exterminious⁶ of surname and rutting furth⁷ perpetualli
 30 of the house. The principall of the Douglas that dis-
 swadit the marieage and annexatioun of the landis was
 the Earle of Angus and Schir Johnne Douglas of Dal-

The fair
Maidin of
Galloway.

Fol. 7 a.

The marie-
age of the
fair maidin
of Galloway
witht gros
James sone.

The marie-
age diswa-
dit be the
Earle of An-
gus witht
the knyght
of Dal-
keytht.

¹ I "wickitnis."

² I "ample."

³ I "couple."

⁴ I "skinnerat," an old Scotch word "scunnered" = took fright,
not yet obsolete.

⁵ "Our" = over.

⁶ Extermination.

⁷ "Rutting forth" = roofing out.

keytht knycht baitht dissendit of the Earle of Douglas
 house. Quhene ane hes over mekill geir ether it pro-
 voikis the possessouris thairof to attempt sum wngodlie
 porpois, or ellis for ane littill cryme or ane light sus-
 pitioun that kingis and princes takis of thame sumtyme 5
 that they ar brocht to utter distructioun and confutioun.
 Bot this Earle James namet gros James was nothing
 movet witht thir wordis and allis wnderstanding that the
 king him self was to put inhibitioun to this marieage
 betuix his sone and his brotheris doughter he haistit the 10
 samin witht greater diligence nocht spairing the tyme
 foir-biding¹ as was the wse then, and caussit sollempnis²
 the band of matrimoney; ffor the pepill, movet witht
 scrupulositie because it was the wse that frequentit,
 jugeit³ and said that sic ane marieage could never be 15
 prosperous and happie quhilk was of treuth and the
 pepill nocht begyllit of this oppinioun. Mony nicht-
 bouris feidis raise on ewerie [pairt]⁴ and that the reader⁵
 be this William sone to the said James or ellis be his
 assistaris and namlie throw Johnne Gormak ane Atholl 20
 man ane of the principall suorne tyrantis to the Earle
 of Douglas, who witht ane great companie of bloody
 murderaris⁶ sett wpoun Schir William Ruthven of that
 Ilk schereff principall of Perth to haue slaine him self
 and raissit ane bargane and [reft]⁷ ane brigand theif of 25
 Atholl fre the kingis iustice quhome the schereff wald
 haue iustifeit. Bot this Schir William Ruthven seing
 the danger come so suddenlie upoun him was mekill
 abassit and prayeit his freindis and gentillmen that was
 witht him for the tyme to tak ane goode part witht him 30
 and nocht to thoill themselfis to be murderist witht ane
 menzie of wniversall theiffis, and it was sa lang fouchten

Fol. 7 b.

Conflict be-
 tuix the
 Schereff of
 Pertht and
 Johnne
 Gormak.

¹ I has "foir-bidding." See Notes.² A has "solemnities."³ I. The reading of A "in greit" is corrupt for "jugeit."⁴ B and I insert.⁵ I has "rather."⁶ I has "bouchouris."⁷ This is an emendation of Freebairn and Dalzell, necessary for the sense. A reads "was," which is wrong, and I omits.

witht dout-some chance quhill at the last the schereff
was wictor and Johnne Gormak witht xxx in companie
manfullie slaine, wpoun mydsymer day¹ I^m foure hun-
dertht xliiij zeiris.

THE X CHAPTER.

Ane combat betwix Sempill and Coubrethe: how the erlle of
douglas was judget to be mowvar of discord. The erlle of
douglas past to Stirvilling to the king. Ane remissioun grantit
to the Erle of douglas and alls maid² principall of the secreit
Counsall. The chancellor denudit him selffe of his office: And
the Governour also. The governour and chancellor summond.
Hou the governour and chancellor send ane writting to the king.

- 5 Schort quhill efter this thair followit ane wther trubill
at Dumbartane to no les damage to the contrie thane
the wther. Robert Sempill and Patrick Gallbraith being
deput to the kingis self who than was xiiij zeiris of aige,
haueand the governance of this realme in his awin hand,
10 to keip the castell of Dumbartane as principallis, begane
to stryue amang thame selffis quhilk of them could be
principall capitaine thairof and quhen they could not
aggre in wordis they pullit out suordis and faught right
cruellie quhill at the last Robert Sempill was slaine and
15 that Patrick Gallbraith being werie familiar witht the
earle of Douglas tuik the castell in keiping but ony
farder delay. The earle of Douglas begane to muse
wpoun the slaughter how that he was iugeit as principall
mover of baith the combattis³ throw all the haill realme
20 and the court, thinkand thair could no goode come of
thir thingis at last, quhene the kingis maiestie come to
perfyte aige gif he amendit nocht in tyme and thairfoir
tuik purpois to pase to the king in Streveling to gett ane

The combat
betuix Sim-
pill and Gal-
braith.

The earle of
Douglas
iudgit to be
the mover of
discord.

Fol. 8 a.

¹ St John the Baptist's day (Boece).

² *I.e.*, who is also made.

³ Gormack with Ruthven and Galbraith with Sempill.

The Earle of
Douglas
come to the
king in
Stirling.

The remis-
sion re-
mittit to the
Earle of
Douglas.

Fol. 8 b.

The chan-
celar denudit
him self of
his chan-
celarie.

remissioun of all thingis and begane to leif ane better
lyfe in tyme coming; sua being accompanit witht ane
great number of folkis past to the king in Streveling and
thair at the first comming fell on his kneis and patt him
self and all that he had in the kingis will desyring re- 5
missioun of faultis committit be him and that he might
haue licence to await wpoun his maiestie bot as the
soberest courteour in his graceis companie quhilk gif
he wald do of his gracious marcie he promist to [be]¹
allis serueabill as ony man wnto this realme and allis 10
suore the great ayth that he sould persew all theiffis
and brigandis at the wtermost of his powar. The king
witht the great humanitie of this nobill man offrand him
self willfullie in the kingis handis nocht onlie remittit his
offences bot allis maid him principall of his secreit coun- 15
sall and wssit him maist fameliar of any man for ane
lang tyme, thairfoir this William being famelliear witht
the king buire him self werie plessantlie to everie man
and did nothing bot that quhilk apeirit to all men to be
weill done for the weill fair of the countrie, sua creipand 20
peace and peace in to the kingis consait tairriet wpoun
opertwnitie of tyme to be revengit wpoun his enemeis and
namelie wpoun Schir William Chrichtoun Chancelar who
sa mischevouslie had put doune his friendis² Williame
earle of Douglas and his brother Dawid. Quhill the 25
Earle appeassit his anger on this wyse, the chancelaris
partie persauing weill that he was offendit at him
denudit³ him self of the chancelarrie and past his way
witht his kin and freindis to Edinburgh thinkand that he
might maist easalie beand in the castell eschew the dan- 30
ger and iniurie that the Earle of Douglas was prepairand
for him and furnische the castell witht mwnitioun men

¹ I inserts.

² "Enemeis" struck out and "friendis" substituted by different hand. I had originally "enimeis," and altered it to "eamis"—*i.e.*, uncles.

³ I. A reads "dewydit."

- and wictuallis stronglie. It is to understand that this gentillman not allone feirit the Earle of Douglas bot also the governour dreadand him in the samin maner denudit himself of all offices and chairgis that he buire except
 5 the keiping of the castell of Stirling and departit haistelie of the Court. Then the Earle of Douglas, be quhais moyen and conwoy the haill realme and court was gydit, thowch[t] he had suffiecient tyme and oppertunitie to revenge all iniurie done to his freindis of befoir,
 10 caussit sumond Schir William Creichtoun sum tyme chancelar, Schir Alexander Lewingstoun sum tyme governour witht his tua sonns Schir Alexander and Schir James, knychtis, all be ane herald to underly the law for sic crymes as the kingis maiestie is to lay to thair chargis
 15 witht certifiecatioun gif they compeirit nocht that they sould be denunceit as tratouris to our sowerans hienes horne; besyd this he thought gif they compeirit that he sould gett his will of them. The nobill men being sowmond as said is wrait againe ane ansuer to the king
 20 devyssit be all thair consentis, saying, 'that thair was 'nothing more deare to them nor the weillfair of the 'kingis persone and the stabilietie of this realme redy 'witht sic obedience and service as become subiectis 'to do to thair princes, bot because they knew thair
 25 'deidlie enemies who rewlit the court wirkand all to 'thair confutioun and wtter rewvine lyklie to obtaine his 'wickit intent part throw the greit favour that the king
 30 'buire to the Earle of Douglas and part throw the great 'pissance, they sould be owerthrowin gif they come in, 'thairfoir it was expedient for them to gif place and leif 'the furie of thair enemeis quhill¹ all iniwrieis war sett at 'rest and miessit² and the contrie weill in tranquillietie

The governour denudit him self of his office.

The governour and chancelar summonit.

Ane writting send be the chancelar and the governour to the king.

Fol. 9 a.

¹ I has "quhill"=until, which seems right. B "set asyd and at rest and the common weill," &c., and Dalzell follows B.

² I "at rest and messitt," *pp.* of *v.* "mese," to assuage. See Glossary.

' and peace and then they sould do sic honour and rewer-
 ' ence as become them dewlie for lawboraris weill fair and
 ' trawell of the realme for it is werie wnluklie to commit
 ' thame selffis to the present danger quhilk they knew
 ' perfytlie to come in. Attoure as to the kingis com- 5
 ' mandement and charge it was thocht it was wnworthie
 ' manteinners of theiffis and murtheris [should have]¹
 ' bene surrogatit in thair placeis who was constitut and
 ' callit to the governance of the realme be the wittis²
 ' of the Lordis of parlieament [and] rewllit the samin 10
 ' witht the fawour of all good men quhill now that the
 ' kingis maiestie is destitute of sic nobill men faworaris
 ' of the common weill be the consall of potent and am-
 ' bitious [tirrantis]³ laborand day be day to promot all
 ' mischevous tyrans to honouris and dignatie to the 15
 ' heavie damage of the common weill and dreadfull
 ' terrour of kingis liegis of the realme.'

THE XI CHAPTER.

Ane parliament proclaimit for forfaltting of the governour and chan-
 cellar. The seige of Brantoun⁴: how the chancellor meid in-
 coursionis upon Corstorphin and the Erle of Douglas wrait to
 the Erle of Craufurd and otheris to mak heirschipp upone
 bishoppis landis. Censuris of haly kirk weliependit.⁵ Discord
 for ane office: hou Allexander Lyndsay gatherit ane companie
 of men. The battell of Arbroith: the Erle of Craufurd slane
 raikleslie: labor for peace. The number that was slaine: hou
 Innerquharritie died: murther in all pairtis: James Steuart
 slaine.

The parlie-
 ment pro-
 claimed for-
 falttouris of
 the gov-
 ernour and
 chancellor.

How sune the Earle of Douglas persaifed thair heigh
 contemptioun of his autoritie he caussit proclame ane
 parlieament to be haldin at Stirling quhair the forsaidis 20
 personns war forfaltit and denuncit rebellis to the

¹ "Should have," perhaps omitted.

² I has "wottis" = votes (?).

³ I and B insert "tirrantis," and Dalzell follows B.

⁴ *I.e.*, Barntoun. See Notes. ⁵ *I.e.*, made light of or despised.

croun and gaif charge to Forster¹ of Corstorphing for
 to inbring all thair movabillis to the kingis wse quhilkis
 war escheitit. Efter this all men war chargeit to pas
 fordward witht displayit banner be oppin procliema-
 5 tioun to inwaid thir men allis common tratouris to the
 croun, and sa ane airmie of men being gadderit they
 seigit the castell at Brantoun² in Lowthiean quhilk was
 randerit fre hand sa sune as [they saw]³ the kingis
 standart, and the men was lattin pase frelie fortht witht
 10 bage and bagage and the castell cassin doun to the
 ground. To revenge thair⁴ iniuries Schir William Creich-
 toun collectit ane great airmie of his kin and freindis
 and first brunt the haill landis of Corstorphing and
 cairriet away the haill goodis and geir that might be
 15 gottin and thairefter inwadit the Earle of Douglas witht
 fyre and suord and brunt all the corne and corne zairdis,
 welages and tounes quhairewer he come and sicklyk he
 did in the landis of Abercorne and tounes of Blaknes
 witht the castell thairof and cairriet away great prayis of
 20 horse and scheip and nolt out of all thir tounis. Bot
 the Earle of Douglas persaiffing the chancelar boustert
 wpe and steirit wpe be his freindis to his heave damage
 and skaitht amangis quhom he suspectit principall James
 Kennidie bischope of Sanctandrois sister sone to King
 25 James the first and thair for send writtingis to the Earle
 of Craufurd and Alexander Ogillbie of Innerquaritie tua
 spetiall courteouris [his] freindis to make heirscheip
 wpoun the bischopis landis and geif they mycht appre-
 hend him self quik to keip him in presone witht in irons
 30 quhill forder adwertisement.

Fol. 9 b.

Incursions
 maid be the
 cancelar
 aganst Cor-
 storphing
 and the
 Earle of
 Douglas.

The Earle of
 Douglas
 wrait to the
 Earle of
 Craufurd and
 wtheris to
 mak heirs-
 cheipe on the
 bischopis
 landis.

This charge they fullfillit and herreit nocht onlie the
 bischopis landis bot also the haill landis adiacent thairto
 and brocht great pryssis of goodis out of Fyfe unto

¹ Forester of Corstorphine.

² B has "Brankstoun," I "Crichtoun," which Dalzell follows;
 but Brantoun or Barntoun is right. See Notes.

³ B inserts "they saw," I also.

⁴ I has "thir."

Sensouris of
hollie kirk
viliependit.

Fol. 10 a.

Discord for
ane office.

Alexander
Lyndsay
arrayit ane
companie.

Angus. As to the bischope he committit himself in
saifgaird thinkand it become him nocht to be ane fichter¹
bot zeit he thocht it expedient to wse his awin autorietie
upoun sic as inwadit him as said is, and thairfoir sow-
mond the Earle of Crafurde and led upoun [him] ane 5
sentance of curssing for his contemptioun of the censouris
of hallie kirk quhilkis the Earle heiglie weliependit as ane
thing of no strength witht out dreadour of God or man.
Lang efter, quhen the Earle was laborand werie delie-
gentlie to reconceill his sone Alexander Lyndsay and 10
Alexander Ogillvie forsaid to the auld freindscheip keipit
betuix thair freindis befoir, he was slaine and as salbe
schawin heirefter his sone Alexander Lyndsay succedit.
This discord fell betuix them for ane baillzerie of Ar-
broith quhilk pertenit to Alexander Lyndsay, bot Alex- 15
ander Ogillvie, quhidder it come of his awin ambitioun
or gif it was the Abbottis plesour it was not certane
wsurpit the baillzerie to him self and pat this Alexan-
der fre the samin. Quhair foir being on this way robed
of his lyfe² he gadderit ane companie of his freindis 20
and spetiallie the Hammiltouns quho assistit him for
the tyme [and tuik the way thinkand he sould debait
it be strength quhilk he could nocht do be the law.
Alexander Ogillvie on the wther syde gadderit ane great
companie of men amangis quhome it chancit Alexander 25
earle of Huntlie to be for the tyme]³ and come fordwart
witht displayit banner and arrayit battell to Arbroitht to
tak the samin againe be force quhilk being schawin to
the Earle of Crafurde being in Dundie for the tyme
lyand, to stope all mischeif he come postand to them in 30
all haist. Skantlie was he turned quhene baitht the
airmieis was redy to joyne and thyk togidder zeit he
stopit his sone Alexander to mak ony onset and quhene

¹ See Notes.

² "Troubillit of his richt," I; so B. "Lyfe" = livelihood.

³ I omits words in brackets.

- he was com in proper persone towart Alexander Ogillvieis
 folkis to tak and intercommon freindlie upoun all de-
 baittis betuix his sone and them, and ane suddart,¹ nocht
 knawin quhat he was nor quhair for he come, strak him
 5 in at the mouth witth ane speir and throw-out the nek
 and sa he dieit incontinent in ane goode action,un,
 laborand to put Christiane men to peace and rest [and]
 conquist ane goode commendatioun of all men albeit he
 was werie insolent all the rest of his lyfetyme. Quhilk
 10 quhene his sone and freindis beheld they war sa cur-
 ragit thai suddenlie ruschit wpoun thair enemies witth
 greit iyre²; bot they wpoun the wther syde resistit the
 price³ and held of their adwerssaries right manfullie for
 ane lang tyme, ffor at the last, the Laird of Inerquartie
 15 principall deidlie wondit and ane wther great part of
 the maist walliezand men in the throt of the battell
 slaine [and] they gaif baikis and in the fleing money of
 thame was slaine amangis quhome Johnne Forbes of
 Pitislego, Alexander Barklay of Garlie and James Max-
 20 well of Teiling Douncane Cammell of Cammellis-father⁴
 William Gordoun of Barnefeild,⁵ all barrouns, witth
 diuerse wtheris gentill men. Thair was ane hunder
 slaine wpoun the wther syd. The earle of Huntlie
 being destitut of his folkis in this maner hoirssit him self
 25 and fled away to saif his lyfe. Innerquartie was taine
 and brocht lewand to Feniven⁶ quhair he deit witth in
 schort tyme thairefter be ane straik he gat in the syde.
 The morne thairefter the gentillmen war honourabillie
 burieit in the kirk zaird.
- 30 This battell was strikin in the zeir of god I^m iiij^c xlv
 yeiris, bot efter this thair followit na thing bot slaughter
 in this realme in ewerie part, ilk ane lyand wait for

The Earle of
 Craford
 slaine rak-
 leslie crav-
 and for
 peace.

Fol. 10 b.

The number
 that was
 slaine.

Innerquartie
 taine and
 dieit thair
 efter.

Murther in
 all partis.

¹ Soldier.

² I has "iyre," B has "wreth," but badly written, so probably
 a blunder.

³ I has "preace" = press (?).

⁴ Boece has "Barcla a Grantuly," "Connall a Connalsith."

⁵ I has "Burrowfield," and so has Boece.

⁶ Finhaven.

James
Stewart
slaine.

Fol. 11 a.

wther as they had ben settand tinchellis¹ for the murther
of wyld beistes, amang quhome Robert Boyde of Dow-
quhell captaine in Dumbartan lay wait for James Stewart
of Auchmento² who was bot sextene men in tryne, and
schortlie or ewer James Stewart had knowledge that ony 5
man besett his gait, ane companie of airmeit men
buschit about him and slew him cruellie ane lyttill peace
fre kirk patrick and thairefter fre hand tuik his wyfe out
of his awin house and brocht hir captiue to Dumbartane
and [be the]³ convoy of ane preist who falslie promist 10
that scho sould thoill no skaitht. Bot quhene scho per-
saueit hir self mokit in this maner throw high displesour
of hir husbandis slaughter scho pairtit wntymouslie
witht ane deid bairne and dieit hir self the thrid day
thair efter. 15

THE XII CHAPTER.

The seige of halis : the seige of the Castell of Edinburghe. Hou
Schir James Steuart was baneist. And hou queine mother
dieit. The marriage of king James the Firstis dochteris. Hou
many bairnes queine mother buire to Schir James Steuart.
Hou the Chancellar was send to the Duik of gildiris for
marriage of his dochter on the king. The governour his
eldest sone, and certaine othis taine and impresonit : hou the
governouris sone was heiddit and hou he maid a wrisoun.

Attour Archebald Dunbar seigit the castell of Haillis
in Lowtheane and at the first assault he wan the samin
and slew them all that he fand thairin. He schortlie
thairefter was beseigit be James Douglas in quhois⁴ will
be put⁵ himself and the castell but ony farder debaitt. 20

Innumerabill slaughteris war maid this zeir in Anner-
dail for the pepill hes ewer bene and zeit ar gevin to
nothing more nor to slaughter. Schortlie mischeif rang

¹ Pits or snares. Dalzell not understanding has "themselves."

² I has "Auchmenoune," Boece "Auchnanetoun."

³ I inserts these words. ⁴ I has "quhais." ⁵ I has "pat."

sa continuallie in all partis that money gentillmen of this
 realme seing thair was no regaird be the king nor the
 Earle of Douglas forces¹ who was principall gydder to
 the court, contenned thame self and thair freindis withtin
 5 strong fortrassis and left thair goodis that might not be
 kept witht ane strength to the theiffis and revers to tak
 them as they thocht goode thinkand gif they saiffit thame
 selffis they had suffiecence quhill ane better fortoun.

In this nixt zeir thair efter, the king, be the Earle of
 10 Douglas consall seigit the castell of Edinburgh nyne
 monethis² all togither bot at the last Schir William
 Creichtoun randerit the castell wpoun thir conditionis
 that he and all that assistit him sould haue remissioun
 for all thair offences bygaine, and hie him self to be
 15 reconceillit to the kingis fawour efter the auld maner.

The castell
 of Edin-
 burgh seigit.

The castell
 gevin wpoun
 certane con-
 ditounis.

The castell being randerit as said is was reformit againe
 new better nor it was befor. Soune thairefter ane par-
 lieament was sett for to be haldin at Peirth³ to consult
 wpoun all thingis appertening to the commone weill in
 20 the quhill Schir William Crichtoun was resawit againe
 to the kingis fawour and maid chancelar againe of new
 be the consent of the hail parlieament zeit he mellit him
 nocht witht na publict effairis bot baid ane better tyme
 quhill he sould haue bene purgit be ane assyse for all
 25 kynd of suspitioun concerning the kingis maiestie.

Fol. 11 b.

The same zeir James Stewart knyght that marieit the
 kingis mother was banist because he spake sumtymes
 raschlie that the realme was ewill gydit quhilk redounded
 to the defamatioun of the Earle of Douglas. This
 30 Schir James Stewart witht in ane schort tyme thairefter
 was tane wpoun the sie witht Flemingis witht sum

¹ I. A has "frettis," which makes no sense.

² I also has "monethis," and so has Boece, but the Auchenleck Chronicle "oulkis" = weeks. See Notes.

³ The Parliament of Perth was held on 14th June 1445, and there is no mention of the restoration of Crichton, but the record is imperfect.—A. P., ii. p. 9.

earleis baitht of Scotland and Ingland and led captiue
 to Flanderis quhair he dieit witht in ane schort tyme
 thairefter and his wife, King James the secondis mother,
 dieit efter him heirand also of hir husbandis deceis and
 was buried in the chairterhous besyde hir first husband, 5
 King James the first to quhome scho buire aught bairnes,
 of the quhilk thair was tua sonns, viz. King James the
 second, the wther Alexander who dieit ane infant and
 sex daughteris all honourabillie marieit albeit thair fol-
 lowit na great successioun of thame. The first, callit 10
 Margarit was marieit wpoun the Dollphin of France
 callit Lewes the sevint, sone to Chairlis¹; the second
 Dame Helene mairieit wpoun the Duche of Barteinzie²;
 the thrid wpoun the Lord of Campheir and thairefter
 wpoun the Duik of Astriche³; the fourt wpoun the 15
 thairefter witht the ; the fyft wpoun the Earle of
 Huntlie callit George [witht quhom he pairtit, and begat
 ane daughter wpoun hir quho was marieit wpoun the
 Earle of Arroll, and pairtit witht hir be the king hir
 broderis consent and thairefter Earle George marieit the 20
 Earle of Arrollis dochter of quhome come Earle Alex-
 ander, Earle Adame of Sutherland witht diuerse wtheris]⁴
 the sext marieit wpoun the Earle of Mortone. The
 queine buire to Schir James Stewart thrie sonns, Johnne
 who was maid Earle of Atholl, James Earle of Buchane 25
 who was called Earle James, the thrid Androw bischope
 of Murray.

The mariage
 of King
 James the
 First
 daughters.

The queine
 buire to
 Schir James
 Stewart thrie
 sonns.

Schortlie quhill heirefter, Schir William Creichtoun
 chancelar⁵ be the convoy of Chairlles the sewint, king
 of France was send to spous Margareit the Duik of 30

¹ So B and I, but it ought to be Lewis son of Charles VII. Boece has "*Ludovicum Franciæ Delphinum*."

² Brittany.

³ I reads, "the fourt vpone the Duck of Austruche, thairefter vpone."

⁴ The clause in brackets is an addition to Boece. It is in I and B as well as A. As to the confused genealogy, see Notes.

⁵ Boece adds, "*Joannes episcopus Dunkeldensis* Nicolas Otterburn *Canonicus Glasguensis*."

- Gilderis dochter to be brocht hame ane wyfe to King James the Secund. The gentill woman was grantit glaidlie and honourabillie conwoyt be the Lord of Campheir Mercus of Bergie,¹ Earle of Naissoue, the
 5 bischope of Camere and the bischope of Loudge.² Attour thair come ane prence of Ramistoun witht wtheris diuerse nobill knychtis and squyeris. The marieage being solemnizet thair was ane parlieament haldin at Edinburgh, of the quilk be the consall of sum
 10 ambitious flatteraris Schir Alexander Androw³ Levingstoun of Callender sum tyme governour Alexander his eldest sone Robert Levingstoune,⁴ baitht descendit of the house of Callender, James Dundas and Robert Bruce of Clakmanan knychtis war taine nocht witht
 15 standing that they war reconceillit witht the kingis maiesty, and had to dyuerse places and cassin in pressone. And ower that all the nobillis and lordis of parlieament requistit the king to relax them zeit in heigh haitrit that the courtcouris had consauit against
 20 thame prevatlie⁵ all supplicatioun law and ressonne they war keipit close in irones quhill the sevint day of December, and the sevint day brocht to Edinburgh quhair⁶ Alexander Levingstoune sumtyme governour, James Dundas, Robert Bruce, payit great sowmes of money
 25 and thaireftir [were] wairdit in Dumbartane and the rest was heidit. It is said that this Alexander quhene he was wpoun the skaffold turned him to the pepill and maid ane singular goode wriesone deplorand the mutabilitie and wnstabillnes of fortune exhorting⁷ 'all gentillmen
 30 ' and nobillis of this realme to tak ane exampill be him

The chan-
celar send
to the Duik
of Gilderis
for marage.

The marie-
age being
[solem-
nizet] the
governors
eldest sone
and certane
wthers is
taine and
inpresonit.

The gover-
nouris sone
beheidit.

Alexander
Leving-
stounis
wrisoun to
the pepill.

¹ " Marques of Berge," I. See Notes.

² I has " Leug," probably " Liege." B and I " out of Ravas-
toun." Ravenstein is meant. See Notes.

³ I omits " Androw."

⁴ I adds " Thesawer and David lewistoun."

⁵ B " contrair to," which seems right, but I follows A.

⁶ I. A has " for."

⁷ B and I insert " exhorting."

' of the fragill felicitie of this warld¹; at tyme² his father
 ' [be singular goode men of witt and prudence]³ was
 ' chossen governour of this realme and quhair⁴ he buire
 ' sum freindis and chargis prosperislie witht sa great
 ' commendatioun of all men, that his father loweit 5
 Fol. 12 b. ' him abone all creatouris bot zeit be change of court
 ' his father himself and freindis war scharplie persewit
 ' that it was force⁵ to draw thame to strengthis for the
 ' defence of thair lywes and preserving them selffis to
 ' better fortune quhill⁶ at the last thair innocencie 10
 ' tryit they war in ane maner resortit to the kingis follow-
 ' aris⁷ quhill indurit not lang for schort quhill efter be
 ' fallis sugestioun of flaterand courtieouris thai war wairdit
 ' againe. Now, his fader was wardit himself adiudget
 ' nocht be neutral men of sinceir and goode conscience 15
 ' bot be his deidlie enemeis to wnderly ane schameful
 ' deid as he had bene ane tratour and thairfoir prayit
 Greit offices in greatest danger. ' all the nobill men not to desyre great offices in court
 ' albeit that appeirit baitht honour and commoditieis
 ' for they that are prommottit to the highest places 20
 ' quhene they slyd they gett the grettest fall and quhene
 ' they ar put doune gif they be luffit on the ane part be
 ' goode men for thair worthe behaviour they sall be re-
 ' prochit on the wther part be the wicked and wngodlie.
 The wordis being said he fell doune wpoun his knies 25
 and streikit forth his craig⁸ to the sword, ane lament-
 abill sight to behald, and was beheidit, to the great dis-
 plesour of the pepill.

¹ I and A "wardill."

² This passage seems badly translated, but means "That at one time" = "ante aliquos annos," Boece.

³ I omits words in brackets.

⁴ "And quhair" = in which office.

⁵ B "force to draw them" = they were compelled.

⁶ "Quhill" = until.

⁷ "Reconceilled to the kingis fawour," B; "restoirit to favouris," I.

⁸ I has "crag"—i.e., neck; Boece "collum"; A has "arme" by mistake.

THE XIII CHAPTER.

Hou the quene pairted with bairne : hou thair was the bodie of ane young chyld found. Incurstionis meid in Ingland be Scottis men : hou dunbar was brunt : hou Schir James Douglas raised ane armye. Hou the Erldome of Murray come to the Douglas be mariage. James Erle of Douglas promoveit to the lordschip of Ballwenie. Repititioun of diversitie of surnames yat joysit the erlledome of Murray. Hou the herritrix of fendraucht was mareit upon Allexander Dunbar. Mairiage betwix the Erle of Murray and Catherin Settoun. The lands of fendraucht gevin to the Crichtounis. Hou na man durst reproche the Erle of Douglas proceedingis.

The zeir following the quene pairtit witht bairne bot na man knew be quhat reassone. The bairne was born quick and deceissit witht in schort space thairefter.

The quene
pairtit witht
bairne.

The same zeir the ryall wallis of Dumfermling war
5 cassin doune. Thair was ane body of ane zounge
chyld found in ane kaise of leid wumpillit wpoun
sandell allis fresche wncurrupt and as of cullour as
the first houre at¹ [it] was burieit. It was iudgit be
thame that was curieous of auld antiquitieis to be ane
10 sone of quene² [Margaret] quha deceissit in his in-
fancie.

The body of
ane young
chyld found.

Attour the peace and trewis witht Ingland expyrit the
same zeir and thairfoir the Scottis maid dywerse incur-
tiouns and raidis in Ingland, waistand all witht fyre and
15 suord quhair ever they come. The earle of Saillisberrie³
being Lutennent and wairdane for the tyme wpoun the
Inglich border, to revenge thir iniureis againe, invaidit
Scotland wpoun the wast borderis wnto the ane part
and brunt the toune of Dumfreis, witht diuerse wtheris
20 tounes and turnit hame againe witht goode prais⁴ of

Incursiouns
maid in Ing-
land be
Scottismen.

Fol. 13 a.

¹ "That," I. "At" in A is the older form, which was becoming rare.

² B inserts [Margaret] and I "Margrettis."

³ B has "Shrewishberrie," I "Surreberrie"; Boece has "Salisbury."

⁴ I has "pray."

Dunbar
brunt.
James Douglas
raissit ane
airmie.

The earle-
dome of
Murray
come to the
Douglas be
mariege.

James Earle
of Douglas
promovit to
the lordship
of Ballvanie.

Fol. 13 b.

guidis and bestieall, and allis the earle of Norththum-
berland¹ ower the wther part comet wpoun the east border
and brunt Dunbar. And in the same zeir James Douglas
brother to the Earle of Douglas nocht willing to be in
ane Inglischemans commone for ane ewill turne, gadderit 5
ane companie of choissin men and brunt the toune of
Annick out of the quhilk he gaderit ane greit pray baitht
of men and goodis or he returnit in Scotland bot the
presonaris of baitht the realmes war interchangit and
randerit againe, man for man on baitht the sydis. Sic 10
heirscheip was maid at this tyme on everie syde that
baitht the realmes war constranit to tak peace ffor sewin
zeiris to come. In the meane tyme quhene sic thingis
was in doing, the Earle of Douglas haueing the haill
gyding of the court, laborit daylie to promove² his 15
freindis to honour and dignatie [and] obtenitt fre the king
the ward and marieage of³ Dunbar, zoungest dochter to
James last earle of Murray of that name, to Archebald
Douglas his broder and sa maid him Earle of Murray.
This James deceissit but ony airis maill of his body and 20
sa the landis come to this femeill be devotatioun⁴ of the
king. This William Earle of Douglas nocht content of
this agmentatioun to his house promovit James his
brother to the lordscheip of Ballvanie and George⁵
Douglas to the earledome of Ormond in parlieament 25
quho was also declairit and choissin principall consal-
louris of this realme. Bot sindrie suspectit that this
sudand accis to heigh feliecietye sould haue ane schort
decay, for sen they sawe the Earle of Douglas so covatus
to make wpe his freindis and so inordinatlie to promove 30
his freindis to landis and lordshipis ffor the strengthen
of his awin house quhair throw he suddenlie thocht to
mak ane bar to the king him self gif thair chancit ony

¹ I "Northumurland."

² I has "remove."

³ I inserts "Annas," B has blank. As to peerage by marriage, see Notes.

⁴ I has "donatioun."

⁵ See Notes.

wallter of court and thairfor ewerie man iudgit that suddand and prosperous succes sould haue ane schort end.

Bot now sen it is chanceit ws to speik of the translation of the house of Murray fre the Dunbaris to the Douglas I think it expedient to speik of diuersietieis of surnames that hes wssit the samin witht great laud and praise sen king Robert the first of¹ name ewin into this present tyme who buire thame selffis right wyslie and
 10 manfullie baitht in peace and weir in all tymes. Robert Bruce gaif then this earledome of Murray to his awin sister sone Schir Thomas Randall of Strauchdoun knycht cheif of the clanne Allane quhois warkes can testifie his lyfe in the withtin book² rehearssit befor in the same
 15 historie and failzeing of him and airis of his body that it sould returne againe to the croune. This Thomas had tuo sonns bot I can not [tell]³ quho was thair mother, the eldest callit Thomas quha succeidit to his fatheris place the wther callit Johnne, quho but ony successioun of
 20 thair body was boith slaine at the battell of Dumbaine⁴ in Stratherne fightand manfullie to the deid for the defence of this realme invaidit be the Inglischmen our auld enemies. He had allso doughteris of quhome the eldest was callit blak Annas be ressone scho was blak skynnit.
 25 This Annas was ane woman of great spreit mair nor became ane woman to be, quho was marieit wpoun Patrick earle of Marche. The secund was callit Geillis and was marieit wpoun Johnne broder to the earle of Marche and buire to him George, quho succeidit to his
 30 father broder herretablie to the earle[dome]⁵ of Marche; ane wther sone callit Johnne, ane man of singular bewtie and wertew. This Johnne for his surname and manheid

Repetisiouns of deverassieties of surnames that hes joyssit the earledome of Murray.

¹ B and I "that."

² This refers to the first edition of Boece, this MS. being really a rendering of the continuation in Ed. 1574. I has "fourteine" instead of "withtin book."

⁴ Thomas fell at Dupplin, 1337; John at Durham, 1346.

³ I.
⁵ B.

Fol. 14 a.

The herietrix
of
Frendreich
marieit
Alexander
Dumbar.

Marieage
betuix the
Earle of
Murray and
Katherine
Seytoun.

was marieit wpoun king Robert the secundis daughter,
promovit to the earliedome of Murray, ffor it is returnit
in againe to the kingis house be ressonne that it faillzeit in
the airis maill of Randall, and this was the first of Dum-
baris¹ [quho begat Thomas Dunbar], quho succeidit to 5
his father and ane wther nameit Alexander Dumbar quha
mariet Mauld Frasser herietrix of Frendreich. This
Thomas Earle forsaid had ane sone callit Thomas the
fyft earle of that name and surname quha dieit without
issue of his body, and so James sone to Alexander his 10
father brother gottin wpoun Mauld Fraser forsaid suc-
ceidit in his place. This was the sext Dunbar Earle of
Murray quha was allso Laird of Frendreich. This James
begat wpoun Issobell Innes, dochter to the Laird of
Innes, Alexander Dumbar ane man of ane singular spreit 15
and curage. This Issobel was hand fast witht him and
deceissit befor the marieage quhairthrow this Alex-
ander² was worthie of ane greater leving nor³ might
succeid be the lawis and prattick of this realme. Efter
this Issobel deceissit this James earle of Murray marieit 20
Katherin dochter laughfull to Alexander Setoun as is
supponit the first earle of Huntlie callit Gordoun, quho
buire to him tuo dochteris. The first was marieit wpoun
Schir William Creichtone air to the Lord Creichtoun
forsaid and gat witht hir the lordschipe of Frendreich in 25
toucher. The youngest was marieit on Archebald (earle
of) Douglas quho was promovit to the erledome of
Murray as said is. Bot this Archebald being convict
and forfeitit be his maiestie⁴ the earledome forsaid
returnit to the kingis handis againe. 30

Bot lat ws returne againe quhair we left this William
Earle of Douglas beand so insolent throw the hie pro-

¹ B and I "who begat Thomas Dunbar." See Notes.

² I inserts "albeit he."

³ I omits "nor" and has "nocht" after "might." "Succeid" = follow.

⁴ I adds "for lesemaiestie."

motioun¹ of his freindis that he begane to attempt sa
 money² as plaine flateraris allowit his doingis or was redy
 at his command to execute sic mischeif as was his
 plesour. He commandit and promovit them, ze money
 5 of them frome meane estait to great riches and dig- Fol. 14 b.
 nitie abone thair degries; bot quhatsumewer he³ was so
 hardie to reproche his doingis, for it gainestude sum
 menis conscience, how sune it came to his eairis he
 caussit thame to be adiornit to wnderly the law quhair
 10 he being iudge and partie spoillzeit them saiklislie of
 thair lyues. And be the contrair sa money as dependit
 wpoun him albeit they had never bene so gilltie, they
 war owersene or ellis he gat thame frie respettis and
 remissiouns of all offences, quhairthrow they beand bur-
 15 dinnit wiht sic liecentious prerogatiues abone wtheris,
 they put no difference betuix wrang and right, suppres-
 sioun, revisching of wemen, thift, sacreledge, and all
 kynd of mischeif but delayance.

No man
 durst re-
 proche the
 Earle of
 Douglas
 proceedingis.

Slaughter
 and murther
 done at the
 command of
 the Earle of
 Douglas.

THE XIII CHAPTER.

Slauchtar and murthure at the comand of ane douglas was enemye
 to stop iustice. Spoliatioun of kirkis and chappellis. Hou the
 bischope of Glaskow was movar of mischeiffe; hou he was
 sumond be ane Thundar; the Secund woice of the thundar.
 The Third Voice of the Thundar. The maiden of France.
 The mariage of Henry the sext. The duik of Glosister hangit.
 Hou the King of Inlandis armye was defeit be the commonis:
 certaine courteouris delyverit to the commonis: hou the chan-
 cellar wreit to the commonis of Inland: hou the commonis
 past hame. Hou henry gair captaine was heiddit.

Schortlie it was so lesum to ane dependant wpoun, ane

¹ A has "promottin."

² The translation seems corrupt, but so is the text of Boece.

³ So also I. The sense requires "whoever," which, perhaps, is the meaning of "quhatsumewer he."

Douglas to slay and murder for sa fearful¹ was thair name and terribill to everie innocent man that quhan ane mischevous lymmer was apprehendit for ane cryme no man durst produce him to the kingis iustice gif they allegeit that he murderest or slew [at] ane Douglas² 5 [command]. Throw his unequall punisching of innocencie and great favour that he buire to the tyrannis and malefactoris ewerie man begane to hait his cruelltie for he regairdit³ no man [nor] the loue nor favour of the pepill bot he glorieit to be dread of all men. To theif 10 and reiver he was ane sicker targe, and be the contrair ane plaine enemie to good men thinkand it was ane great plesour to spullzie thame of thair lywes and weill wone goodis, to herie thame of thair geir; and nocht onlie spullzeit he thame of thair places and slew thair freindis 15 quhome he favorit nocht but all equitie and law, bot also spullzeit kirkis and chappellis quhair ever he come and committit the jewellis thair of to his prophaine use and profitte. Sua all goode men behuiffit to keip silence and durst not cry out wpoun his tiranie. 20

Spolieatioun
of kirkis and
chapellis.

Fol. 15 a.

At this tyme James Kennedie bischope of Sanctt-androis, ane man of singular wertew and prudencie, held him self werie quyit awaitand wpoun ane better fortune, thinkand it was follie to stryue against the stryme haue- and great hope that great crewalltie that was expressit 25 sould haue ane sudden end.

Bischope of
Glasgow
mover of
mischief.

This tyme thair fell ane horribill⁴ cace to Johnne Camproun⁵ bischope of Glasgow principall rewwlar of the prince and his reularis to all mischeif and innocent

¹ I has instead of "secreitlie" in A "fearful was their name," and instead of "trewlie" in A "terribill," which is no doubt right.

² I has "at ane Douglas command," which is correct, and agrees with Boece.

³ I "nothing the lyffe nor favour of the pepill."

⁴ B, which here agrees with Boece. A and I have wrongly "honourabill."

⁵ John Cambroun—i.e., Cameron. See Notes.

slaughter done in thir trubliſſ tymes, ane marvalus ex-
 ampill to all mortall men to withtdraw thame ſelfis frome
 all wicked counsaill¹ abuse and wicked tiranie, for he
 conſelled thame [to] exerceis ſkarting² and oppreſſioun
 5 wpoun the realme as he had himſelf wpoun the poore
 tennentis of Glasgou ſa that quhene the powar divyne of
 God had permittit him to ower rin and ſkurge the pepill
 on this [wayis]³ for ane certane ſpace he thoct to put
 ane end to his wicked tiranie. At the laſt on zoull evin
 10 quhene he was ſleipand thair come ane thunderand woyce
 out of heawin cryand and ſowmmondand him to the ex-
 treme iudgement of god,⁴ quhair he ſould gif ane compt
 and raking of all his cruell offences but forder delay.
 Throw this he wakened fourtht of his ſleip and tuike
 15 great feir of the novelltie of ſic thingis wknawin befor
 bot zeit he beleifit this to be na wther thing but ane werie
 dreame and nocht trew wairning for the amendement of
 his curſſed lyf, zet he called for his challmer chyld and
 cauſſit him to lyght candillis and to remaine a quhyle
 20 beſyd him quhill he recoverit the feir and dredour that
 he had taine in his ſleipe and dreming. Be he had
 weill taine ane booke and rede thair wpoun ane quhyle
 the ſamin woyce and wordis war hard witht no les feir
 and dreadour nor was befor quhilk maid thame that was
 25 preſent that tyme about him to be in dreadour ſa that
 nane of thame had ane word to ſpeik to ane wther, think-
 and no les nor ſuddane miſcheif haſtilie to befall thame,
 and fre that tyme ewin fre hand the thrid tyme⁵ thir
 ſame wordis war more wgſumlie crayit nor befor. The
 30 biſchope randerit his ſpreit haſtielie at the plesour of god
 and ſchew⁶ out his toung maiſt wyldlie as he had bene

Fol. 15 b.

The ſecond
woyce of the
thunder.The thrid
woyce of
thunder.¹ B and I have "counsaill," which ſeems a better reading.² I "ſcatting" = "ſkaithing"—*i.e.*, injuring.³ I inserts "wayis," which is required for the ſenſe.⁴ "Ad ſupremi iudicis tribunal" (Boece).⁵ I inserts "quhat tyme or how ſchounne."⁶ I "ſchot."

hangit wpoun ane gallous, ane terriebill sight to all
 cruell oppressouris and murtheraris of the poore. But
 allace the wicked ingyne of man boudin¹ wpe witht all
 consait of malice dreadis never the terrabill iudgement
 of God, nor zeit the guid and godlie man neidis ceis to 5
 imbrace his infinitt grace and mercie.

Discoird in
 Ingland.

Bot to our historie, Albeit the realme of Scotland was
 trublit and afflictit on this maner zeit the realme of Ing-
 land stude in no better estait nor thair nichtbouris did,
 ffor Henrie the Sext being ane bairne of sex zeiris of age 10
 crounnit of France and Ingland thair fell ane discoird
 betuix the Burgouns² and Inglischmen, baitht oppres-
 sand France witht weairis fyre and suord. Then throw
 the tyme, for the slaughter of the Earle of Saillisberrie³
 quho was slaine be the schot of ane gown wncertane hou 15
 or be quhat way. This slaughter and discoird was
 wtterlie profietabill for the Frensch men who was gov-
 erint and rullit in wearis be ane woman of excellen spreit

The maidin
 of France.

callit the maidin of France, ffor they thairby begane to
 be of better curage and to recower money of thair landis 20
 quhilk the Inglischemen had reft from thame befoir,
 and nocht onlie triumfit against them that is to say the
 Fol. 16 a. Inglischemen bot also became wictouris ower quhatsum-
 ewer pepill or natioun witht quhom they had debaith
 or quarrell. Bot the Inglischemen thinkand to augment 25
 thair strength be ane new allieance and affinitie mairieit

The marie-
 age of
 Henrie the
 Sext.

this zOUNg King Henrie the Sext wpoun the Dwike of
 Loranis⁴ doughter and lightlit the honourabill marieage
 witht the Duke of Oringis⁵ douchter quho was promissit
 in marieage to him of befoire, sua in contracting of new 30
 freindscheip they lost the auld. Quhairat the Duke of
 Oringis tuik sic haitrent and indignatioun that witht
 nobillis freindis and familiearis [he]⁶ left the Inglisch-

¹ I "boudnit."

² I "Burgoundis" (Burgundians).

³ "Surriesberrie," I.

⁴ B and I "Loranis." A has "Florens" wrongly. See Notes.

⁵ B and I have "Orange."

⁶ B.

men and gaif ower the band betuix thame, and thair-
 foir fre hand as the infortunat chance of worldlie
 effairis befallis, that mischeif followis wpoun mischeif,
 thair raise ane marvalous sedietioun in Ingland and
 5 discord amang thame selffis, ffor money of the nobillis
 invyand the impyre and governance of the Duke of
 Gloscester quho was chossin protectour in Ingland
 during the kingis minorietie gadderit to ane conven-
 tioun quhair they tuik him and put him in pressone
 10 for that night and wpoun the morne they brocht him
 out and hangit him schamefullie wpoun the gallows as
 he had bene ane commone theif. The principall moveris
 of this seditioun was the Duke of Buckinghame, the
 Earle of Bewment and the constabill of Ingland, bot
 15 how sune this wyld act was devoullgat throw the realme,
 the Duk of Gloucester's¹ kin and freindis gadderit and
 invadit all partis witht fyre and suord quhairfor the
 Earleis of Bedfurd Simmersait, Chorseberrie² quho was
 destitute of the defence of Normandie³ to gainstand
 20 thair enemies in France being destitute of thair kin
 and freindis and men that was baitht in Ingland and
 in France was compellit to withdraw thame selffis hame
 wart and so they lost the nobill tounne of Rowan witht
 mony wther goode touns in Normandie. How sune
 25 thir nowellis war spread in Ingland the commonis of
 Ingland witht no les mischeif nor the rest choissit
 them ane Ireland man⁴ callit Henrie to be ane cheif-
 tane, and then came fordwart purposing to come to
 Loundone bosting right highlie to be revengit wpoun
 30 the nobillis of that realme. The king being sum part
 deiectit in so great a warieance gadderit ane airmie of
 all kynd of pepill to weir bot ony ordour and send
 thame furtht to repres the proudnes of the commons,

The Duke of
 Gloscester
 hangit.

Fol. 16 b.

¹ B and I. A has "ambassadouris" wrongly.

² I "Schirosberrie," and B "Shrewsberrie."

³ I reads "Moyen" instead of "defence of Normandie."

⁴ I "Iyreland land man callit Henrie." See Notes.

The kingis
airmie defeat
be the
enemieis.

Certane
courteouris
deliuerit to
the com-
mones.

Fol. 17 a.

The chan-
celar wrait
to the com-
mons of
Ingland.

The com-
mons past
hame.

wpoun quhome the commons ruschit sa fercelie that
they wanquist thame witht small difficultie.¹ Thairefter
they past to Loundoun quhair they desyrit sum especiall
courteouris to be randerit in thair handis and spetiallie
the Lord Gray the thesawrar, the bischope of Saillis- 5
berrie and the Lord of Dudlie²; sua thir men was
gevin to thame to dispone at thair plesour thinkand
that throw the sacrefice of thair enemieis liues³ all the
rest might eschew the present danger. Bot thir com-
mons-pepill cruelltie in ane maner was sufferit⁴ witht 10
the slaughter of the Lord Gray and thaireftir they
wairdit the rest in strang haldis and fortressis. Bot
sa sune as the Lord Gray was execut, fre hand they
begane to spoillzie the toune and slew all the citinaris
but ruth or pettie that maid ony defence for thair geir. 15
This and siclyk wther cruellties maid the governouris
of Ingland werie solist and fierce thinkand gif they
pat nocht remeid haistelie thairto⁵ [thair laubouris],
wniversall commons sould ower rin them as they had
done the rest. Efter lang consullatioun they tuik 20
porpois to cause the chancelar wryt to the commoneis
and thair Capitane prayand thame to skaill thair airmie
quhilk gif thai stanchit thair uproir they promissit thame
fre remissioun of all offences by past and allis to pro-
move thair Cappitane Henrie to great honour and 25
dignatie. The pepill war sune be thir fair plessant
wordis pleasit quho also efter the heigh furie ower
past thame they desirit to be at hame to red them
selffis of sick cummeris and enormitieis as they had
enterit in befoir. Sua Henrie thair capietane being 30
left be thame, quhom⁶ they accompanit so heighlie to

¹ B and I.

² B and I. A has "Diplin." Boece, "Baronem a Doubly."

³ B "these menes liues," and I "thir menis lyffis."

⁴ So also I, but the sense requires "surfeited" or "satisfied."

⁵ B "haistalie thairto, thir commones." I follows A. The passage is corrupt, the words "thair labouris" being superfluous.

⁶ I "for quhais caus he attemptit so hiche oppressioun," &c.

oppressioun and mischeif, was taine and beheidit for
his tirannis and interpryces,¹ and his taker gat ane
thowsand pund starling to his revaird.

Henrie the
capitane is
taine and
heidit.

THE XV CHAPTER.

Provocatioun of weiris maid be the Inglismen. Remeid for staying
of forrane persecutioun. Hou the armye of Scotland invaidit
England. Hou thair was ane new armye send to the bordouris.
And quha was thair cheftaines: libertie grantit to conques.

² Then the nobillis seing that so lang peace had generit
5 so great riches amangis the commons quhair throw they
became so proud and insolent that they perturbit the
contrie. Efter lang consultatioun they thocht no thing
better nor to wraike them and that witht extreme weiris
quhairfoir they begane to gar Humbere, Cumbere, and
10 Northt-humberland³ to provoike the Scottis. As it
hes bene the wse sen ewer this yle of Brettane was in-
habitit be Scottis or Inglischmen that quhene ewer they
had weiris witht thair enemeis thay could never be so
easie drawin fre all ciuell discoird and be the contrair
15 being at discentioun amang them selffis thai war com-
pellit to desist thairfra be moving of extreme⁴ weiris.
Sua [the]⁵ Inglischmen as said is, [deputit to that effect
invadit] the bordouris baitht witht fyre and suord and
hierieit and tuik away great riches baitht of men and
20 goodis, and sa money Scottis men as maid defence to

Provoca-
tioun of
weiris maid
be the Ing-
lischmen.

Remeid for
staying
of forrand
persecu-
tioun.

¹ I "temerarius enterpryesis."

² I begins new sentence and chapter here.

³ I has "Humbrie, Cumbre, and Northumarland." "Humbere"
or "Humbrie" for a district of England = Yorkshire, is singular.

⁴ "Extreme" = distant, or a mistake for "enterne." Boece has
"externum."

⁵ B inserts "the," and has "the Inglismen as said is invaidit the
borderis." I inserts "the," and has "deputit" for "departit," and
the rest as in B, which is preferable to A, "departit away to the
effect in waird."

Fol. 17 b.

The airmie
of Scotland
invadit
Ingland.Ane new
airmie of
Ingland
send to the
bordour.Manis witht
the reid
hand.Libertie
grantit to
conqueis.

resist the Inglischemen was all cruellie slaine. The
 Scottismen knawand weill the intentioun of the Inglisch-
 men and be quhat consall maid be¹ thame was brokin
 and allis the occatioun quhairthrow the weir begane, to
 revenge the great iniurieis done to them they gaderit 5
 ane great companie of men and invadit Ingland in the
 same maner burnand and slayand quhairer they come,
 and returnit hame againe witht great pryce of men and
 goodis. Sua the contrieis being invadit on this maner
 on ether syde and daylie trublit with slaughter and heir- 10
 scheip as said is the land of Cumber² was allutterlie
 waistit and distroyit, for the Scottismen invadit that
 countrie witht greatest cruelltie be ressonne they war the
 first provokaris of the weiris and battel. Bot how sune
 this was schawin to the nobillis of Ingland they collectit 15
 ane airmie of men of weir to the number of fourtte
 thowsand men and send them to invaid Scotland witht
 greater expeditioun nor was beleueit. The chiftaneis
 and lutennentis of the airmie was the Earle of Northt
 thumberland and Magnus Reid maid knycht of the Ordour 20
 who was so brocht wpe in his zouthheid in the weiris of
 France, and thairthrow had so great knowledge and ex-
 perience of the same weiris and weirle effairis and allis
 ellustrat witht sic manheid that he was callit baitht [the]
 Inglischmen fader in chewellrie quho was nameit [by 25
 the Scottismen] Manis witht the reid hand.³ It is said
 that this man had sic haitrent at Scottismen that he
 desyrit in great anger and wraith at King Henrie sa
 mekill of Scottis ground as he might conquis in Scotland
 be the slaughter of the inhabitantis thairof and expelling 30
 of them quhilk was grantit to him.

¹ I "between."² I "Cumbrie."³ B and I have, "called be the Englismenes fader in the weiris wha was called by the Scottismen Magnus with the reid main." Boece has "rubente jubâ," so it ought to be "Magnus with the red mane or beard," which the transcriber of A misunderstood for "hand." Boece calls him "Auratus eques." See Notes.

THE XVI CHAPTER.

Hou George Douglas was luiftennent to Scottis men. The dispositioun of the battell of Sark : George Douglas to the Armye : hou multitud makis nocht victorie : hou the pepill tuik purpois to flicht. The pepill comfortit be thair captaine: Magnus redis navie slaine. The number that war slaine. Craigie Wallace deidlie woundit. The Erle of Ormond banckitit: the kingis harring¹ to the Erle of Ormond.

- In this meane tyme the Scotismen war right diligent to prepair all sic thingis as was necessar for thair releif to quhome George² Douglas Earle of Ormond was maid Lutennent quho gat knowledge be the exploratouris that
- 5 the Inglischmen was come in Annerdail and had transportit thair arme ower the watter of Sulluay, and had stentit thair palliezieouns³ wpoun the watter of Serke. Efter that they had campit on this wyse, wpoun the morne efter past to the countrie and hierieit and slew
- 10 quhairewer they came bot knowledge that the Scottis airmie was approchand sa neir them, they tuike great feir and caussit thame all that was burnand and slayand, as said is, to retein be sound of trumpit to the camptis againe quhair they past thame selfis in arrayit battell.
- 15 In the wangaird Manis witht the reid navie⁴ was placed; in the reir gaird was all the Waldmen⁵ placed to quhome Johnne Apmiroun⁶ was maid Cheiftane, ane man of good report and good spreit in warldlie effairis; and the Earle of Norththumberland was in the midell
- 20 gaird⁷ witht the [rest]⁸ of the multitude of the men of weir. Wpoun the wther syde Scottismen placeed them selfis craftelie for George Earle of Ormond was in the

George
Douglas
Lutennent
to the
Scottismen.

Fol. 18 a.

The disposi-
tioun of the
battell of
Serke.

George
Douglas
airmie.

¹ "Harring" = harangue.

² B and I [Hugh].

³ I "pauillzonis."

⁴ I and A have "maine."

⁵ B "Welshmen," I "Velchiemen." See Notes. As to Magnus and the mistake as to his name, see Notes.

⁶ B "Openorone," I "Pennyroun."

⁷ I "middell ward."

⁸ B and I insert "rest."

staill¹ him self, the Laird of Craggie Wallace ane nobill
 knycht of sowerane manheid was wpoun the right wing
 of Lord Maxwell and the Laird of Johnnstoun wpoun
 the left wing, witht ane choissin companie of thair
 freindis and money wther walliezeand gentillmen of this 5
 realme. Sune be² the airmeis was arrayit the Earle of
 Ormond said to his folkis after this maner,—‘I requist
 ‘zow maist waliezeant camppieounis effectuslie to re-
 ‘member it is nocht for no wrangous quarrell that we
 ‘haue assemblit our selffis this day to airmur bot rather 10
 ‘for our awin defence and souertie of our selffis frome
 ‘the iniurieis of our enemieis and thair tirannie [quhome
 ‘it is pleissit for this present to invaid ws but ony caus or
 ‘prowocatioun]³ made be ws euerie ane of zow wnder-
 ‘stand sufficientlie that they haue done the samin of 15
 ‘befoir, quhilk at the last⁴ is redoundit to thair hech
 ‘displesour and disadwantage for we haue experience
 ‘that quhene we haue bene wniustlie invadit be thame
 ‘that the infinit favour of God quhilk hes bene ever redy
 ‘to the iust hes caussit the victorie to inclyne to ws by 20
 ‘expectatioun of mans ingyne; and ze may be assurit
 ‘that the victorie standis nocht in the multitud of men
 ‘bot in singular curage drectit witht ane iust querrall
 ‘and godis providence. Think no wther thing bot cer-
 ‘tane victorie gif that zour will and purpois be to defend 25
 ‘zour contrie wyffis and bairnies ffrome the tirannie of
 ‘zour enemeiis.’

Multietude
makis not
victorie.

Fol. 18 b.

The pepill
tuik purpois
to fle.

Thir wordis being said the truiumpitis soundit to joyne
 the airmieis, bot at the beginning thair came sic ane
 schour of dairtis and arrowis wpoun the Scottis wangaird 30
 that throw suddane feir they tuik the flight and porpossit
 to fle. Then Craggie Wallace thair capitane began to

¹ I “steill.” See Notes.

² “Sune be” = soon after.

³ So I. A omits.

⁴ I has “leist.” B, “ye all know that in doing so abefoir it has
 turned to our disadvantage and displeasure.”

- reproche thame for thair febillnes, saying ' It is nocht the
 ' dewtie of waliezeant campieounis to feir at the sight of
 ' thair enemieis and to deiect thair curage befor they
 ' come to straikis. I exort zow thairfoir rusche forwardt
 5 ' wpoun zour enemieis witht ane manfull contenance and
 ' gif ze persewere¹ bot ane littill space think no wther bot
 ' siclyk wictorie in zour handis sen zour actioun is good
 ' for the defence of the libertie of zour contrie. Follow
 ' me thairfoir and ze sall sie how hapie it is to put zour
 10 ' lyffis in perell resisting² of our enemieis and deliuering
 ' of our selffis frome thair tirannie and bondage.' Be
 thir words war said his men was sa inrageit and ruschit
 sa furieouslie wpoun the Inglisch wangaird witht exis
 speiris and halbertis and maid sa great slaughter at the
 15 first tocoming that they put the Inglisch men cleane abak
 fre thair standart and compelled thame at the last to
 tak the flight. Manis Reidman nothing feired of this
 disadwantage bot rather bowdnit and kindlit witht this
 disadwantage and the greater ire nor became sa wyse
 20 ane cheiftane did proceid wpoun Craggie Wallace think-
 and to slay him, bot his men³ did so kinlie that witht
 small deficulitie they slew him cruellie and all his gaird.
 The rest of Inglischemen had no better fortun.
 Quhene the clamor raise amang the Scottismen that
 25 Manis Reidman was slaine the Inglische cheiftane to
 quhom all Inglischemen pat thair haill hope and confie-
 dence of thair weill fair and felieciety, thair come sic
 dreadour and feir wpoun thame that they might nocht
 lang sustene prece of the Scottischemen bot gaif bakis,
 30 wpoun quhom our men followit werrie scharplie. Money
 was slaine at the thik of the battell but money ma in the
 flight ower the watter bridnit⁴ witht the filling of the sie

The pepill
conforted be
the captan.

Manis Reid
hand was
slaine.

Fol. 19 a.

¹ I, which is better than A, "persave," or B, "persew."

² So I and B, "resisting"; A has "resting," perhaps a contraction.

³ I has "bot his enterprys was in vaine for the Scottismen In-
uironit round about him so kinelie," &c.

⁴ B "boldned," I "boudnit."

The number
that was
slaine.

Craggie
Wallace
deidlie
wondit.

The Earle of
Ormond
bankittit.

The kingis
haring to the
Earle of
Ormond.

Fol. 19 b.

caussit money to lose thair lyffis and so perischt in the
watteris. Wtheris seand this and doubting quhither they
sould feght and die witht honour or fie witht schame war
cruellie slaine wpoun the watter bankis. The battel was
fouchin witht great cruelltie. Thair was slaine in it 5
ma¹ Inglischemen and the governour in the vangaird
and ellewin wtheris nobill men knychtis of the order,
and of the Scottismen ma nor sex hunder. Thair was
taine in this battell John Pennyntoun² and Robert Heir-
intoun tua nobill men Inglische knychtis and allis the 10
Earle of Norththumberland sone be quhois convoy his
father was horssit and eschewit his enemeis, was taine
and ane great number of wtheris and brocht captiues in
Scotland, quhair was sic aboundance of riches silluer
and gold gottin in the feild that never was the lyke sene 15
in na mans tyme befor. The spoillze was partit amangis
the Scottismen efter the rait of airmes. Craggie Wallace
was deidlie hurt in the feild and dieit the thrid moneth
thair efter.

The Earle of Ormond efter this victorie returnit 20
hame againe witht great triumph and inpresonit the
principall of the capietanis withtin the castell of Louch-
mabane. Efter this he was treitit and bankitit witht the
kingis maiestie witht great magnificence. It is said
during the tyme of bankit the king maid ane hairing³ to 25
him and William Earle of Douglas his brother, saying,
' Now my lordis I beseik zour lordschipis to remember
' how happielie all thingis succedit and quhat honour
' comes throw wyse and seage counsall be the hie feliecitie
' and renoune that chances to all subiectis quhene they ar 30
' rewllit gladlie and wnder the obedience of ane king or
' prence; and be the contrair quhat mischeif befallis them

¹ I "thrie thousande."

² A "Appeirincollin," B "Johne Openorone," I "Johne Penny-
toun." See Notes.

³ I "hairing" = harangue.

- ' that runes owerheid to ony porpois witht out regaird or
 ' foirsight to god or man. It becommes all favoraris of
 ' the commone weill to conqueis all men that ar thair nicht-
 ' bouris to be thair freindis and to schew thame self witht
 5 ' all strength strang enemeis quhene they ar wrgit [to]¹ bat-
 ' tell be thair fais for in sa doing the princes [hes]² plesour
 ' to rulle and governe and the subiectis leiffis in peace and
 ' rest fre frome the iniurieis of thair enemies and tirannie
 ' of oppressouris. And know in that the conditioun and
 10 ' fassoune of all the Douglassis sen the beginning hes ben
 ' in this wayse as this is and as I suppone to be in tyme
 ' comming bot dout. Thair is no thing sa deir and ples-
 ' sant to me as nobill men of the bloode of Douglassis
 ' quhilk I favour abone all thingis inteirlye witht my hart,
 15 ' sua that ze wald schaw zour selfis na war myndit in the
 ' correctioun of theiffis and murderaris nor ze haue provin
 ' waliezeantlie baitht first and last for the defence and
 ' libertie of this realme ; for gif theiffis and murderaris be
 ' nocht repressit the poore anes and the commons can
 20 ' haue³ no lyfe quho ar the werie wphald of the nobillis,
 ' ze, quho perchance ar zour awin kin and bloode albeit
 ' throw base estait thai be degenerat, and beand Christans
 ' and particiepant witht zow of the favour of god and
 ' obedience to the samin prence to quhom ze ar subiect
 25 ' and thair for I exort zow to proceid in the renoun and
 ' fame quhilk ze and zour forbeirraris hes conquist in
 ' tyme past.'

Commenda-
tion of the
Douglas.

¹ I and A has "be" wrongly.

² So B and I. A has "princes" and omits "hes."

³ B, "cannot leue in peace and rest nor haue no lyfe wha ar the upholderis."

THE XVII CHAPTER.

Promeis of Obedience in Scotland. Hou it was discernit in Parliament that thay wald revenge the battell of Sark : civill discord in ingland : peace for thrie yeiris. James Auchinlek slaine be ane callit Colvill : hou the Erle of Douglas revengit the slaughter of Auchinlek : hou the Erle of Douglas past to Flanderis. The Erle of Douglas peregrinatione and resaving within Rome.

Quhene the king had said, the earle thankit his maiestie witht great reverence promitand to perseveir in all thingis as he had commandit and never to tholl reif nor slaughter wnpunist in tyme to come nor zeit any kind of iniurieis nor offences committit ether 5 aganis riche or poore to lat the samin pase wnrevangit. Sua thir nobill men tuik thair leif and past hame to thair wyffis and bairnes, convoyit witht thair kin and freindis witht great triumph¹ and gladnes. Efter this the Lordis of Scotland stude ane lang tyme 10 in great quyitnes nor was befoir. Bot quhene the word of the sorrowfull battell came to Londoun it maid all the nobillis and pepill of the contrie wondrous affrayit ; zeit that thai sould nocht appeir to be allutterlie deietit of thair wonted curage, they decernit in parlieament 15 to revenge this great slaughter maid laitlie in the battell of Serk. Bot quhene they gatherit ane airmie to send in Scotland weill furnischit witht all kynd of weweris² and munitioun, thair raise suddenlie ane ciuell discentioun and discoird amang them selffis quhair of the 20 lyke was never hard nor sen of befoir. The Duke of Zork the Earle Marche Warvick and Saillisberrie witht money wther great nobillis of the realme conspayirit against King Henrie the Sext, quhairfoir they dissembelit thair ire witht the Scottismen to ane mair 25 convenient tyme. And look, how bussie thai war to

Promise of
obedience.

Fol. 20 a.

Quietnes in
Scotland.

Decernit in
parlieament
to revenge
the battell
of Serk.

Civill dis-
cord in
Ingland.

¹ I adds "mirth."

² "Weweris" = "vivers"—i.e., provisions.

wex ws witht battell beand at quyitnes and rest, sa
 thay war all solist to procure our peace being troublit
 witht weiris amang them selffis, and send ane ambassa-
 dour to intreit peace witht the king of Scotland, quho
 5 be the advyse of the nobillis grantit the samin foir thrie
 zeiris thinkand it was nocht best to refuse it seeing the
 Inglischemen attentatis was suffiecientlie be the hand of
 god in the last battell punischid. This peace was maid
 in the zeir of god 1450¹ zeiris.

Peace for
 thrie zeiris.

- 10 In the samin zeir Schir William Colvell knycht, sett
 wpoun James Auchinlick ane neir freind to the Earle
 of Douglas and slew him witht diuerse of his freindis
 because he had susteined sindrie iniurieis be wrangis
 of this James and never maid redres thairof, nocht-
 15 withstanding that the said Richart² requirit him sindrie
 and diuerse tymes to the same effect. Bot the Earle
 of Douglas tuik sic high indignatioun at the slaughter
 of his freindis that he maid the sollempnit aith never
 to ceis quhill he war revengeit thairof and sa he
 20 gaderit ane companie of men and first hierieit all the
 landis pertening to the said Colvill, and thair foir seigit
 the castell quhair he was, quhilk schortlie was wone and
 the said Richart and all them that was withtin slaine and
 the house spoillzeit. Thair was money in the contrie
 25 that commendit the Earle of Douglas interpryse for
 the revenge of his freindis quarell gif he had bene sa
 deliegent in punisching of murtheraris and theffis and
 reveris that murtherat and oppressit the poore commons
 but rwth or pettie, bot money had expectatioun that this
 30 tyrrane sumtyme sould haue ane end that wexit them
 all tymes sa cruellie.

James Auch-
 inlick slaine
 be Collvell.

Fol. 20 b.

The Earle of
 Douglas
 revengeit the
 slaughter of
 Auchinlick.

At the last the Earle beand sa inrichit both throw
 his awin great rentis and budis conquest in court and
 all throw the great extortioun³ of the puire pepill and

¹ B and I also. See Notes.

² B "Sir William," but I has "Richart."

³ So I, but A and B wrongly "exortatioun."

The Earle
of Douglas
past in
Flanders.

Fol. 21 a.

Dyuers men
accompanit
the Earle of
Douglas.

be that the great importance that befell him throw the
owerseing of the theiffis and murtheraris, he tuik por-
poise to wisit wther contrieis to advance his mightienes
in sa far that he thocht no man worthie withtin this
realme to behald his waine prodigalietie. Sua Johnne 5
Douglas Lord of Bavanie, ane man maist lyke to
his awin conditiounis of ony creature, being constitut
procuratour and owersiear of all effairis belangin. to
him in Scotland in his absence and all necessaris
thingis being prepairit conforme to his estait tuik 10
his weage towards Flanderis being accompanit witht
his brother Mr James Douglas, ane mane of singular
erruditioun and weill sene in devyne lettres brocht
wpe lang tyme in Paries¹ at the Scollis and [quha]
luikit for the bishoperick of Dunkell and thair² [after 15
for the earledome of Douglas, bot the king because
that] the earle being sa lang marieit nocht haueand
bairnes was despairitt to haue procreat or getting
ony childerin in tymes comming. Thair was in the
companie money wtheris nobillis and knychtis amang 20
quhome was the knycht and lordis of Hammelltown
Ghrame Salltown Setoun Oliephant men of great fame
and estimatioun. Thair was wtheris of lawer estait,
sic as Caulder, Wrquhart, Cambell, Forster, Lawder,
knychtis and gentillmen quhois convoy maid this 25
earle so proud and insolent that he representit ane
kingis magnificence. Quhene he come³ of Flanders
he past in France and out of France to Itallie and
sua fordvard to Rome, bot the Romanis haweand
knowledge of his comming mett him witht ane hon- 30
ourabill companie and ressawit him werie princelie
withtin the toune.

¹ I B has "Parreis," and A "parteis." As to James Douglas, see Notes.

² I omits all in brackets. "Bot" perhaps here means "without."

³ I, "quhaireiur he come out" = whenever.

Bot withtin tuo monethis efter hend his departing
 sum of the nobillis of the realme inwyand the Earle
 of Douglas his promotioun with great rentis and
 dominious, and wtheris oppressit witht his tyrannie
 5 of befor, began to delet¹ his proudfull ambitioun and
 disdainning of the pepill and heigh offence sustenitt be
 everie man the tyme of [his]² great credit in court, bot
 mony³ seand place gevin to men that pleissit to pleinzie,
 begane day be day more and more to compleine wpoun
 10 his tyrannie.

The Earle of
 Douglas
 compleint
 on his
 absence.

THE XVIII CHAPTER.

Hou Johne Lord Ballwaine procuratour to the Erle of Douglas was
 sumond and dissobeyit : hou John Lord Ballwaine put him
 sellfe in the kingis will and keipit nocht his promeis. Hou the
 Erle of Orknay was send be the king to Galloway to tak up
 the Erle of Douglas rentis : hou he dissobeyit : hou the king
 past to Galloway. The Castell of Douglas cassin down : hou
 the Erle of Douglas returnit heime. The Erle of Douglas
 thankfullie resavit by the king : hou the Erle past to Ingland.

Bot the king as became ane wyse prence gaif no sud-
 dane credit in this earleis absence and thairfoir thocht
 expedient to send ane herrald to sowmond Johnne Lord
 Ballvanie executour to the Earle of Douglas as said is to
 15 ansuer to sic complementis as was gevin in on him, his
 cheif kin and freindis. Bot seing he was sumthing
 stuburne to obey the command and charge gevin to him,
 the kingis maiestie commandit ane companie of men of
 weir to bring him agains his will, at quhilk tyme sum
 20 persuadit the king to handill him regourslie sen he had
 anis begun, wther wyse everie willane sould contempt
 the kingis autorietie they seing na haistie punischment
 foir dissobedience. Bot the king nothing movit witht
 thair sayingis thocht nocht best to punisch sic thingis in

¹ "Delate"—*i.e.*, inform against.

² B and I insert "his."

³ B and I have "mony." A has "ony."

Fol. 27 b.

his anger bot rather to repair all thingis gentillie leist
 that gif he wald haue bene regorus thair sould come
 greater inconvenience and callametiéis wpoun the com-
 mone weill, and sa caussit accuse him and speir at him
 quhat excuse he had to repell his pointis¹ of dettay and 5
 iniuriéis as was laid to the Earle of Douglas charge
 and wtheris that was of his consall and dependance.
 Quhilkis poyntis quhene he could nocht gudlie collour
 thame he put him self in the kingis will, quho chairgit
 him to restoir to ewerie man his awin efter as he mycht 10
 gif² tyme and oppertunitie. Zett how sune he esscheivit
 in this wyse and was frie at the kingis handis he keipit
 never ane word that he had promessit for the repairing
 of his offenceis as he was commandit, following the con-
 sall of the Earlies of Ormond and Murray quho albeit 15
 they durst not oppinlie zeit they subornit him quyitlie to
 dissobediēce, and allis wtheris wickit flatterrars to
 quhome cevill dissentioun was ewer plessant for by it
 they thocht they had ane woluptous lyfe, and be the
 contrair na thing was sa odious to them as peace and 20
 rest. The king heirand of his prudenis caussit the Earle
 of Orkney chancelar for the tyme to pas in Galloway³
 and gather wpe all the rentis in they partis to the kingis
 proffit and to mak collectouris to that effect, attour to
 gif everie man command in they contrieis to refound the 25
 skaythtis and iniuriéis done be thame of befoir and to
 eschew fre all offending of thair nichtbour in tyme com-
 ming. Bot quhene the Earle of Orkney past to Gallo-
 way and Douglasdaill to the effect forsaid accompanit
 witht ane small number of folkis nocht onlie was he dis- 30
 sobeyit in his charge bot also mokit and iniurrit be the
 Earle of Douglas freindis familiaris. The king being
 provockit be this to heigh anger and wraith caussit ane
 herald sowmond all men quhatsumewer of hie or law

The Earle of
 Orkney send
 be the King
 to Galloway.

The Earle of
 Orkney
 dissobeyit.

¹ I and B. A has "promis" wrongly.

² B "get."

³ B "and Cliddisdaill, I "and liddisdaill." A follows Boece,
 "Vallem or Douglas." See Notes.

- degrie partenand or favorand ane Douglas to underlay
 the law and to declare the dissobeyaris the kingis reb-
 ellis quhois tyrannie he thocht to represe witht fyre and
 suord. Sua the king accompanit witht ane airmie past
 5 to Galloway, at quhois comming the theiffis and mur-
 theraris tuik sic feir that they fled to strongholdis and
 strengthis for saiftie of thair lyffis. Bot the king send
 ane great part of his airmie to persew thame quho gat na
 wther thing bot was repullsit werie contemptieuslie, at
 10 the quhilk the king tuik sa great anger that he seigit all
 the fortalices and castellis of the contrie amangis quhome
 he wan the castell of Lochmabane, and Douglas, and
 because the castell of Douglas was so deficill to win he
 caussit cast doune the same to the ground, bot Lochma-
 15 baine was garnischit witht men of weir and nocht cassin
 doune because it was hastelie randerit; and albeit he
 tuik sindrie in his favouris efter they war randerit in his
 will zeit he delt thair landis and goodis to thair credit-
 ouris and complenaris quhill they war satisfieit of the
 20 thingis taine fre thame, quhairof the misdoaris war con-
 vickit. The king nochtwithstanding of this rebellieoun
 and dissobedience was not mair cruell in the punisching
 thair of nor he was at the beginning. At the last the
 Earle of Douglas beand at Rome gatt word and it maid
 25 him to be affrayit and thairefter tuik porpois to come
 hame in Scotland bot far fre the magnificence he
 passit away; for how sune this word come in the Erlis
 earis they partit sindrie wayis, sum came throw Flan-
 deris and sum come to France. The Earle gat saif cun-
 30 dit to come throw England, bot quhene he was marchand
 neir the Scottis bordour, he send Mr James befor him,
 his brother, to the kingis maiestie to know the kingis
 mynd towardis him. The king sieand this zoung gentill
 mane sa obedientlie intreating his brotheris peace, re-
 35 ssaffit him werie hamlie sayand he desyrit na mair of the
 Earle of Douglas in tyme comming bot that he wald pun-
 ische murtheraris theiffis and robberis in that partis quhair

Fol. 22 a.

The king
passit to
Galloway.The Earle of
Douglas cam
from Rome.

Fol. 22 b.

The Earle of
Douglas
ressawit
thankfullie
be the king.

he buire autorietie and rule, and namelie in Annener-
daill. The Earle of Douglas efter this came hame him-
self and was resawit richt hairtfullie be the king and
remittit ¹ all byganis and than he resawit all fortallices
and strengthis againe out of the handis of the kingis men 5
of weir and [was] thairefter haldin in sa gryt estimatioun
and favour witht the king that he was maid Lutennent
genrall of the realme, bot he stuide nocht lang in this
credit, foir fragill fortoun changis the consait of men in
sic maner that it standis never ane moneth at ane por- 10
pois. Sua schort quhyle efter, he past to speik witht the
king of Ingland witht out knowledge of the king of Scott-
land his awin prince, and as he alledgit to be repairit of
sindrie skaithis and damage sustenit be the frequent
incursiouns of the Inglischemen of befoir. Bot the king 15
of Scotland was grittumlie commovit throw this passage
in Ingland nocht onlie ingerit ² be himself [and] lightlieit
be the Earle of Douglas, bot also he thocht somme quyt
draught to be drawin betuix the Earle of Douglas and
the king of Ingland to his great dishonour and offence. 20

The Earle of
Douglas
past in
Ingland.

THE XIX CHAPTER.

Hou the Erle of Douglas returned haime out of Ingland : hou The
queine meid intercessioun for the Erle of Douglas : wrang narra-
tioun maid to the Erle of Douglas : haistie credence givein to
flatteraris. The Schancellaris slauchter deuyssit be the Erle
of Douglas : hou Schir William Crichtoun was in perrell and
counsallit be his sone : hou Schir William Crichtoun compellit
the Erle of Douglas to leave Edinburgh. Confederance betuix
the Erle of Douglas and othiris errlis aganis the king.

The Earle of
Douglas

The ³ quhilk quhene the earle wnderstude that the

¹ I has, "of all thingis bygainie quhairfoir he promiseissit fayth-
fullie to wait and rewle all thingis within his boundis and the
kingis command and pleasour and than," &c.

² B "injayrit," I "ingyrit."

³ "This erle fairsaid being in ingland quha wnderstanding the
king of Scotland his master to knaw of all his quyet doings," I.

- king knew of his quyt doingis he tuike porpois and come
 right humlie to the king, seikand pardone for his fault
 promittand solemnlie newer to committ so great offence
 in tyme comming, ffor quhome the queine and nobillis
 5 maid great requist to forgif him. The king being movit
 be thair desyre ressaueit him againe in his faworis as he
 was of befor bot dischairgit¹ him of all his offeices and
 dischairgit him of ony administratioun thair of and thair-
 foir placeit in the Earle of Orknay and Schir William
 10 Lord Creichtoun in thay offeices quho was at all tymes
 fund faithtfull and obedient subiectis. The Earle of
 Douglas was [so] heighlie offendit witht this that he haittit
 the kingis counsallouris as his deidlie enemies and spetiall
 Schir William Creichtoun for auld feid betuix thame,
 15 allthocht sum flatterand courteouris feinzeit the Earle of
 Douglas that he hard Schir William Creichtoun quhene
 he was takin amang his freindis saying ' I awove oppinlie
 ' that the king did not his office lyk ane trew and faithtfull
 ' prence nocht onlie that he tholit the Earle of Douglas to
 20 ' eskaip witht his lyfe unpunischit bot also reconsellit sic
 ' ane wnhappie man to his favour sua oft againe quho had
 ' deserwit ane thowsand deidis for his wickit tyrannie ;
 ' mair, it had bene goode for the commone weill of Scott-
 ' land that the Earle of Douglas witht his haill kin and
 25 ' freindis had bene rooted out of memorie, cleane stram-
 ' pit away. Wtherwayis gif this be nocht done² sa lang as
 ' he or ony of them leiffis he was assuirit that nether wald
 ' the king ring lang in peace and rest abone this realme
 ' nor zeit the subiectis obey to his artickillis as becomes
 30 ' ane commonweill institut and ordanit to be gydit witht
 ' lawis and iustice.' The Earle of Douglas heirand this
 gaif credit to sic wickit fallis reportis of ane idill lounie
 that he had no wther scheift to conqueis his leving bot
 [except] waine trattillis to saw discoird amang nobillmen,
 35 bot zeit he suppressit his irefull mynd and consallit witht
 his freindis how and quhat maner he sould distroy Schir

returning
hame.

The queine
maid inter-
sessitioun
for the Earle
of Douglas.

Fol. 23 a.

Wrang nar-
ratioun maid
to the Earle
of Douglas.

Haistie
credit
gevin to
flateraris.

¹ I "depryweit."

² B and I. A has "goode."

Fol. 23 b.

The chance-
lars slaugh-
ter put to be
executit be
the Earle of
Douglas.

Schir
William
Creichtoun
in perrell and
consellit
be his sone.

Schir
William
Creichtoun
compellit
the Earle of
Douglas to
leif Edin-
burgh.

Fol. 24 a.

William Crichtoune, for gif he war cut of or slaine he
thocht weill it was bot lyttill defecultie to obtaine the
kingis favour witht all the offices he had of befoir. Sua
throw the waine wordis of this wickit and wnhappie
flaterar thair kindlit ane fyre that was nocht abill to be 5
sloknit out in na mans tyme levand in thir dayis. At
the last the Earle of Douglas being advertissit be sum
spyis that Schir William Creichtoun had sett ane day to
come to Edinburgh thocht to put his wnhappie purpos
to executioun and to that effect he suburnit sum blody 10
tyrantis to ly in ane quyt place neir hand by his gait
awaitand for the slaughter. Wpoun the morne airle in
the morning, Schir William Creichtoun knawand nothing
of this watching for his distructioun chanceit neir be the
same place quhair the bucheris lay quha brak about him 15
witht sic ane reird and clamour he knawand no sic thing,
he was allutterlie abaissit and affrayit, bot being admoneist
be his sone ane zounge walieand mane witht sum wtheris
his freindis to remember wpoun his auld wontit curage
and nocht to tak feir seing it was force¹ ether doe or flie, 20
and the proverb is, 'Fortoun helpis the hardie' bot no
remeid can be fund for febillnes, he defendit so walie-
antlie quhill ane of thir briggantis was slaine and ane
wther deidlie wondit. And at the last seing he might 25
nocht make his partie goode he tuik the flicht witht his
folkis towart the castell of Creichtoun ffor saiftie of thair
lyffis and sa eskaipit that perrell, but was nocht lang
wnrecompenceit, for he gadderit ane great companie of
his freindis and assistaris and come fordwart to Edin-
burgh to be revengit wpoun the Earle of Douglas devyser 30
of the foirsaid consall, quho was remaning thair witht
ane small number accompanit, witht out ony suspe-
tionnis of Schir William Creichtounis gaddering and
thairfoir it was force to him to leif the toune and flie to
saif him self or ellis bot dout to be in perell of his lyf 35
witht all them that was in companie.

¹ I.e., necessary either to do or fly.

Thir mutuall iniurieis and dispytfull consaittis movit
 on ewerie syde exasperit baitht the parties in wtheris ire
 and haitrit that the ane of thame appeirit suddenlie to
 bring the wther to destructioun and rvine. Throw this
 5 discentioun the realme was devydit in tua partis and
 factiounis. Bot zeit the Earle of Douglas bearand
 werie hevelie that he was so schamefullie put out
 of the toune of Edinburgh be the desaitfull gadering
 of his enemeis, attour feirand that the king was nocht
 10 forgettfull of sa money offences done in tyme by-
 gaine and thair throw to be more [profietabill as]¹ fawor-
 abill to Schir William Creichtoune nor to him, he
 thocht to bind ane lige witht sic nobillis as wald
 be partie, zea and far abone it come to the worst
 15 baitht to his wnfreindis and to the king himself gif
 he wald declair him self in his contrair, and thair
 foir send quyit messagis to his freindis and speciall
 to the Earleis of Crawford, Rose and Murray to assist
 and debait aganis sic² dangerous invatiouns as pres-
 20 entlie appeirit to fall wpoun him. Quhilk being gladlie
 grantit, for all thir men, as ane, haittit Schir William
 Creichtoune witht the rest of the curteouris that was
 in credit witht the king, bot ony hope of recon-
 silieatioun, thair was ane confideratioun maid betuix
 25 thir Earles and thair freindis be ane solemn aith that
 the iniurieis done to ony of them or the soberest of
 theme or thair hadherentis,³ sould be equall pertiall
 to thame all, contrair quhatsumewer men in or fourtht
 of this realme, and to spend thair lyffis landis and
 30 geir to the wterance of the samin. Throw this cove-
 nant the Earle of Douglas grew so proud and sa
 insolent that they bostit in all partis quhairewer they
 come, to haue the rule and gyding of the realme
 aganis all mens will and so haue thair enemeis wtterlie
 35 exterminat.

Confeder-
 ance betuix
 the Earle of
 Douglas and
 wtheris
 Earleis
 aganis the
 king.

¹ B omits.

² I "dangeris and."

³ See Notes.

THE XX CHAPTER.

Hou Johne hereis was hereit be the Erle of Douglas : Johne hereis was hangit schamefullie. The tutor of bombie heidit be the Erle of Douglas : hou the Erle of Douglas came to Stirvilling at the kingis desyre. The kingis resoun to the Erle of Douglas. The Erle of Douglas proud ansueir to the king. The Erle of Douglas slaine be the king.

Fol. 24 b.

Johne
Hereis
hereit be
the Douglas.

Bot this ambitious and wain awancement¹ pairtlie was the cause that the king begane of new to hait the hous of Douglas and wtheris caussis was because sum theiffis of Douglasdail that had herieit the landis perten- 5
ing to Johnne Hereis ane nobill and faithtful subiect to the kingis maiestie at all tymes ; quhair of quhene this Hereis had oft and diuerse tymes complenit and sought redres thair of at the Earle of Douglas and could never gett remeid he tuik porpois to recompane the same be 10
wrang because he gat no iustice. Bot this attempt succeidit wnhappelie, for in the height² of Annerdail he was taine witth his compleces and brocht to the Earle of Douglas quhair he was cassin in irons and hangit schamefullie as he had bene ane theif, nochtwithstanding the king commandit in the contrair and wtheris messeris 15
send to the effect.

Johne
Hereis
hangit
schamefullie.

The king tuik werie heavie witth this heigh contempt bot superceidit³ for the tyme. Attour the poore pepill was sa owercum [and] burdaned witth importabill thingis and chairgis that thair was na lyfe for them and zeit, 20
nochtwithstanding, they durst nocht pleinzie nor lament thair awin misseorie in thir troublous tymes, and thair

¹ I adds here, "was nocht plesand in the sicht of god for waine pryde and ambitiousnes cumes nevir of god bot allennerlie be the Deuill quha is the maister of pryde. In the meantyme the king," &c.

² I "herrieing."

³ I "suppressit"—*i.e.*, suppressed his anger.

day be day mischeif begane mair and mair to in-
 tres¹ wther nobill men that was full of substance and
 had no will of discoirdis bot abhorit allutterlie thir
 ciwell wearis rysand amang our selffis and lamented
 5 quiettlie thir dangerus callamitieis quhilk lay nocht in
 our powar to quenche and slokin. For this mischeif
 daylie inressit samekill that all men tuik suspitioun
 that the Earleis of Craford Murray and Rose witht thair
 assisteris quhilk was the greatestt part of the realme
 10 haistelie deposit the king of his autorietie quhilk suspi-
 tioun being schawin to the king he tuik great feir thair of
 for he knew weill that thair factioun was allis potent
 gif they war not mair potent nor himself.² At this
 mean tyme the Erle of Douglas cuist him selff for to be
 15 stark aganis the king and thairfore socht and perswadit
 all men vnder his opinioun and seruitude and in speciall
 the gentillmen of galloway with kyll Carik and Cun-
 inghame and all vthir pairtis that war neir adiacent
 vnto him desyreand thame daylie to ryd and gang
 20 with him as his awin houshald men and serwandis
 and to assist him in all thingis quhatsumewer he had
 ado quhiddir it was richt or wrang or with the king
 or aganis him bot sum vthir wysmen seand the danger
 appeirand of the Erle of Douglas proceidingis contraire
 25 the king and his autoritie thairfoir wald nocht assist
 him nor tak pairt with him nor ryd nor gang with
 him nor be his man. Amang the rest of thir thair was
 ane callit makclalene for luife he buire to the king
 quha was tutour of bombie for the tyme and sistir
 30 sone to schir patrick gray quha was maister of gray and

I, fol. 18 b.

The erle of
Dowglas
perswadis
Kyll Carrik
and Cuning-
ham and sin-
drie wtheris
to tak pairt
with him.

M'Clellane
tutour of
Bumbie re-
fusis to tak
pairt with
the erle of
Dowglas
contrar the
king.

¹ *I.e.*, interest. I, A, and B read "inres"=increase, which seems wrong.

² A and B omit entirely the episode of Maclellan, and leave out the passage in the text from p. 89, l. 13, to p. 93, l. 2, which is from MS. I. Dalzell, who prints this in a note, says it is from the most modern MSS. consulted, but he has himself modernised the spelling.

principall seruitour to the king and captaine of his
 gaird. This makclalene for luife he buire to the
 kingis graice and to the ministratioun of justice wald
 onnawayis serue nor ryd with the Erle of Douglas
 contraire the king and his autoritie nor zit to oppres 5
 the common weill of the cuntrie bot keipit him quyetlie
 within his boundis doand na man na wrang. The Erle
 of Douglas seand this that this man wald nocht serue
 him as he desyreit come haistelie vnto his hous with ane
 gret number of men and seigit it and wan it and tuik him 10
 out of the samyn and had him to the castell of Douglas
 and cuist him thair in strait presoun. His freindis
 seand this passit to the court to Schir patrick gray and
 schew him the maner heirof desyreand him to laubour
 effectuouslie that his freind mycht be releiwit. The 15
 quhilk quhen Schir patrick gray hard the nowellis [he]
 was hevelie displeassit at the matter and passit haistelie
 to the king and schew him the maner quhow it stuide
 with his sistir sone desyreand the kingis graice effect-
 uouslie that he micht haue his suplicatioun to the Erle 20
 of Douglas for to delyuer to him his sistir sone quhilk
 the Erle of Douglas had in captiuetie and presoun for
 the tyme. The king grantit the same verray thankfullie
 and gart writt ane sueit lettir of suplicatioun to the
 Erle of Douglas for to delyuer the tutour of bombie 25
 to Schir patrick gray his eime as we haue schawin vnto
 zow. This wreittand beand subscryuit and signatit
 with the kingis signit [was] thaireftir delyuerit¹ to Schir
 patrick gray to wsse the samyn as he thocht caus
 quha passit haistelie with the said writting and sup- 30
 plicatioun of the kingis to the erle of douglas quha
 was than in the castell of douglas for the tyme sittand
 at his denner and heirand tell that schir patrick gray the
 kingis familiar seruant was lichtit at the zett. The erle
 merwellit meikill at the matter quhat that sould meine 35

I, fol. 19 a.

The erle of
Dowglas tak
the tutour of
bombie out
of his hwis
and putis
him in ward.

Schir patrick
Gray is ad-
vertesit of
his impres-
onment.

he deillis
with the king
and gettis his
supplica-
tioun to
the erle of
Dowglas to
releive him.

¹ I omits "was" and inserts "it" after "delyuerit" by mistranscription.

and gart incontinent draw the burdis and rais and met
the said Schir patrick with grett reuerence and humilitie
because he was the kingis principall captaine and secreit
serwant and familiar to his graice. Thairfoir the erle
5 resaut him with mair thankis bot all was vnder cullour
and disseitt for the erle had na favour to the king nor to
nane of his familiaris zit he inquyreit at the said Schir
patrick gif he had dynit quha ansuerit he had nocht than
the erle said 'thair is no talk to be had betuix ane fow'¹
10 'man and ane fastand. Thairfoir ze sall dyne and we sall
'talk together at lenth.' In this mein tyme Schir patrick
gray satt downe to his denner and the erle treatit him
and maid him guid cheir quhairof Schir patrick gray
was weill contentit beleiwand all thing to succeid weill
15 thairefter. Bot the erle of Douglas one the vthir pairt
tuik ane suspitioun and coniecttour quhat Schir patrick
grayis commissioun was and dreidand the desyre thairin
sould be for his freind the Tutour of bombie Thairfoir
in the meintyme quhan thay war at the denner crakand
20 of mirrie matteris the erle gart quyetlie tak out the
Tutour of bombie out of presoun and haue him to the
greine and thair struk of his heid and tuik the samyn
away fra him and syne covered ane fair claith vpone his
bodie that nothing micht be seine of that treassounabill
25 act that was done. In this meintyme quhan denner was
done Schir patrick gray presentit the kingis wreitting
vnto the erle quha reuerenced² and quhan [he] had red
it and considerit the effectt thairof he gave gret thankis
to Schir patrick gray sayand he was behaddin to him
30 that brocht sa familiar a wreitting fra his prince to him
considerin quhow it stuide betueine thame at that tyme
and as to the desyre and supplicatioun it sould be thank-
fullie grantit to the king and the rather for Schir patrickis

The tutour
of bombie
heidit be
the erle of
Douglas.

¹ Dalzell has "full," modernising the text.

² So I, but Dalzell may be right, "reverentlie ressavit" (received it). The text may mean "reverenced"=paid reverence to the king's letter. See Notes.

saik and tuk him be the hand and led him furth to the
 greine quhair the gentillman was lyand deid and schew
 him the maner and said 'Schir patrick ze ar come a litill
 ' to leit bot zondar is zour sistir sone lyand bot he wantis
 ' the heid tak his bodie and do with it quhat ze will.' 5
 Schir patrick ansuerit againe with ane soir hairt and
 said 'My lord gif ze haue taine frome him his heid
 dispone vpone the bodie as ze pleis' and with that
 callit vpone his hors and lap thairon. And quhan he
 was one hors back he said to the erle in this maner 10
 'My lord and I leiwe ze salbe rewardit for zour laubouris
 ' that ze haue wssit at this tyme according to zour demer-
 ' ittis.' At this saying the erle was verray wraith and cryit
 for hors Schir patrick sieand the erllis furie spurred his
 hors bot he was cheissit nar to Edinburghe or thay left 15
 him and had nocht beine his led hors was so tryed and
 guide he had beine taine. Bot quhen thir nowellis come
 to the kingis eiris he was heawelie discontentit thairwith
 baith of the slauchter and syne of the chessin of his ser-
 wand. To that effectt the king callit his secreitt coun- 20
 sall to adwyss heirvpone quhat was best to be done for
 to dauntoun this wickit man that cuild na wayis be
 stenchit fra reffe and oppressioun and slauchtar baith
 of gret men and small. The counsall adwyssit and
 concludit that it was best to flatter him and to bring 25
 him in to the counsall be fair hechtis and promiseissis
 And in the meantyme to puneis him according to his
 demerittis So the king maid him to forzett all faultis
 and enormeteis done be the erle of Douglas in tymes
 bypast desyreand no thing of him bot that he wald be 30
 ane guide man in tyme cuming and for that caus desyred
 him effectuouslie to come to the counsall makand him
 suire with all promiseissis that he sould be saillie pardonit
 and sum sayis he gat the gret seall thairvnto or he wald
 grant to cum to the king than the erle of Douglas send 35
 for in this maner as I haue schawin zou he come at the
 kingis commandement to Stiruilling quhair he was weill

I, fol. 19 b.
 Schir patrick
 gray the
 kingis famil-
 liar serwand
 cheissit be
 the erle of
 Douglas.

- resauit and intertenit be the king, and thaireftir callit him to the supper. Sa¹ he maid him to misknaw all wther preceidingis, as he had not knawin sic ane number nor suspitioun ryssin amang pepill, He send for the
- 5 Earle of Douglas and callit for him werrie humblie to Streweling to come and speik witht him and thair efter callit [him] to the supper and bankitit him werie reallie, thinkand gif it might be possibill ether witht gentillnes or goode deid to draw him fre his attempt that
- 10 he porpossit to do. At the last efter supper the king callit the Earle of Douglas to ane secreit challmer and put all men assyde except sa money as was wpoun the secreit counsall and his awin gaird, and they² said to him werie meiklie and gentillie as it had bene
- 15 bot ane sober offence that was commitit in cace of his prydfull mynd sould gainstand and stope him to inclyne to the kingis requist and exortatioun. 'It is 'gevin me to wnderstand that my Lord sayis thair is sum 'confideratioun maid betuix zow and ane part of the
- 20 'nobillis of this realme³ I pray zow thairfor to bruike sic 'bandis, leigis and societie that is nocht wount to be 'withtin ane realme wnder ane prince his autorietie and 'command, and that ze⁴ wald be sa goode as to remove 'all sic occatiounis as may cause the subiectis of this
- 25 'realme to tak suspitioun of zour evill mynd towart me. 'As to my self I knaw no ewill nor belewis nane occatioun of zow, it is werie wnsemant to do ony sic thing 'as is not consonant to the lawis of this realme and displesour⁵ of the kingis liegis for doutles it can not be
- 30 'withtout great sklander of the pepill nor zeit without '[the princes haitred]⁶ to committ sic thingis as sall cause 'the pepill to come withoutt ordour throw ewill exampill,

Fol. 25 a.

The Earle of Douglas come to Stirling at the kingis command.

The kingis resson to the Earle of Douglas.

¹ A and B begin here again.² B "then," I "thair."³ I here inserts, "my lord, sayis the king, that thair is betuix zow and the erle of Craufurde sum band and," &c.⁴ B "ye," I "ze." A has "hie" by mistake. ⁵ I "pleasour."⁶ The words in brackets are from B and I, and are necessary to the sense.

'be the quhilk the realme salbe abussit be everie man
'evin as they war ane pepill but law or iustice.'

The proud
ansuer of
the Earle of
Douglas to
the king.

Fol. 25 b.

This beand said witht money wtheris wordis plessant,
quhilk ar impossibill to rehearse, the Earle of Douglas
nathing movit [with]¹ the kingis great humanitie, ansuerit 5
againe werie proudlie, sayand, that he could nocht break
that band that was maid nor zeit wald he discharge the
samyn for no mans saying, and that for the great offen-
ces that the king had done to him, reprochand the king
werie arrogantlie that he had reprovit him of all his 10
offences. Zeit, nochtwithstanding of his proud ansuer,
the king exorted him to do nothing that was degenerat
fre the nobelietie of his forbearis for that was werie
wickit that he had begun, and was suffiecient cause to
tyne his lyfe landis and goodis, deservand forfalltour and 15
his memorie to be abussit and strampit fourtht for ewer.
At the last the king sieing that he could nocht speid²
witht fairnes, and allis dreadand that throw sa proudfull
ansueris that warse sould haue followit thairwpoun nor
was brutit of befor wnles haistie remeid war fund; and 20
sa he tuik ane heigh anger and thocht to do the thing
that was les skaith to the commone weill nor to trubill
the haill realme thairwith. And sa he pullit fourtht ane
suord and said, 'I sie weill, my Lord, my prayer can do
'nothing to cause zow desist frome zour wickit consal- 25
'louris'³ and thairefter immedeatlie strak him throw
the body with the suord, and thairefter the gaird heirand
of the tumult witht in the challmer ruschit and slew the
Earle out of hand. This slaughter was maid in the zeir
of god I^m iiij^c lij zeiris⁴ wpoun the xx day of Februar. 30

The Earle of
Douglas
slaine be
the king.

¹ I "with"; A has "in."

² I "could come na speid."

³ I has "consall and interprysse I sall caus zour uicked con-
speraceis to ceis, thairefoir," &c.

⁴ I here adds, "quhilk is to be lamentit that a prince sould haue
beine so temptit be his awin subiecttis efter sa mony godlie and
wyss exhortatiounis," and begins the next chapter, "Vpone the
twentie," &c. See Notes.

THE XXI CHAPTER.

Money gentillmen in Stirvilling. The burneing of Stirvilling. The Castell of Dalkeith beseigit. The seig dissolvit : hou the king send for the Erle of Huntlie : hou the Erle of Craufurd stoppit the Erle of Huntlie in his cuming : the battell of Brichine.

Thair was in the toune of Stirling money of the Earle of Douglas freindis with his brother James, the Earle of Murray the Earle of Ormond, my lord of Ballwenie, the Knycht of Kaidoch ¹ Lord Hammelltoun, ane mane of
 5 great estimatioun among the nobillis of the realme, witht money wther great gentill men werie potent baith of riches and freindis. Thir men how sune word came that the earle was slaine and word come withtin the toun they remanit that night and wpoun the morne they
 10 put James of Douglas in his brotheris place as was ordanit be the earle off befoir, quho maid ane lang Fol. 26 a. exortatioun to his freindis to seige the castell and to rewenge the unworthie slaughter of his brother witht the kingis leif. Bot ² they cust sindrie thingis in thair mynd
 15 quhilk was not possibill to them to do seing they had no inventioun gevand to the effect to seige the castell. Being sa strang they gaif the king wncomlie wordis, ³ The heiring of Sterling. sayand, they sould never obey nor ken ⁴ him againe as ane king or prence bot sould be revengit wpoun his
 20 cruell tyrannie or ewer they ceissit. Efter this they brunt and hierieit the men ⁵ of Stirling, and siclyk all wther landis belangand ether to the king or zeit to theme that wald nocht profes thair factioun they waistit

¹ I "Kedzow, James."

² I has, "Bot quhen thay saw it was nocht possibill to do seing thay had na monitioun ganeand for this effect, the," &c.

³ B "werie uncouthie," I "verrie contimelius."

⁴ B "acknowledge."

⁵ I "toune."

witht fyre and suord. Amangis the quhilk the haill landis
and cornes of Dalkeyth was distroyit and brunt and the
castell thairof beltit about witht ane strang seige and
maid thair solemn¹ aith never to pas thair fre into the
tyme it war maid equall witht the ground, for James 5
haitit and invyit Johnne Lord of Dallkeyth his freind
and kinsmane abone all wther tratouris and that because
he was baitht of his kin and surname quho nocht onlie
had refussit to assist his attemptes and interpryssis bot
also invadit all Douglassis witht extreme invy and haitrit² 10
This seige lastit langer nor the seigeris thairof luikit
ffor the men withtin defendit sa vaillzeantlie quhill the
wnfreindis irkit sa lang be valkin, hunger or wther
trubillis be the great slaughter of manie of thair folkis
and sindrie wondit so cruellie that they war constranit 15
to leif of thair porpois and sa they dissolvit the seige.
The king being hielie offendit witht thair arrogant
attemptis gaderit ane armie to punische thir conspira-
touris ffor thair temerarious interpryssis; bot quhene he
might nocht haue the upper hand wpoun them as bot 20
dout hie might nocht mak his partie good against them,
beand so stark ane airmie he left his intentioun quhill
ane better tyme.

The seige
dissolvit.

Fol. 26 b.

In the meane tyme quhen he was looking for the
comming of Alexander Earle of Huntlie quhome he had 25
chargit be ane herald and offiecer of armes allis requirit
werie effectuslie him to come in his defence, the said
Alexander obedient to his princes command and charge,
command fordward witht ane great airmie for the kingis
suport his gait was wnbesett be Alexander Earle of Cra- 30
furd who was allredy declairit³ the kingis rebell⁴ for
liesmaiestie because he contemnit the kingis autorietie
and impyre being sumond witht ane offiecer of armes to

The king
send for the
Earle of
Huntlie.

The Earle
of Craford
stopit the
Earle of
Huntlie in
his coming.

¹ I "solemnit."

² B omits; I has "yre" instead of "invy."

³ I has "beleiwit."

⁴ I adds "and tratour."

wnderly the law. The Earle of Craufurd assemblit the
 haill folkis of Angus witht ane great companie of his kin
 and freindis and clyantis and thairefter quhene the Earle
 of Huntlie was makand towart Angus, the Earle of
 5 Craufurd campit his folkis besyde the toune of Breichin
 quhair baitht the airmies command in wtheris sight and
 schot fordwart in arrayit battell wpoun wtheris. It
 was lang fauchin and with great cruelltie and wncertane
 victorie quhill that ane companie of fresche men come
 10 to renew the battell, takand the advantage of the bray
 syde, come so fercelie wpoun the Earle of Huntlieis
 wangaird quhill they war compellit to satill a littill abak.
 The quhilk quhene the Anguische men persawit that they
 war put abak and haueing¹ sa great ane wanttage they
 15 come more fercelie wpoun them nor they did of befor
 and namelie wpoun the place that was farrest chairgit.²

The battell
 of Breichin.

THE XXII CHAPTER.

Hou the Laird of bonnimone left the Erle of Craufurde: hou the
 Erle of Craufurd fled. Tua of the Erll of Huntlies brethir slaine.
 The Erle Craufurdis godlie desyre: the Erle of Craufurdis
 cruelltie: the burneing of the landis of Strabogie be the Erlle
 of Murray: hou the Erle of Murray left the Cuntrie. The toune
 of Forrest brunt. Ane parliament proclaimit. The Erle of
 Craufurd foirfalltit the Erles was sumond to underly the law:
 exploratoris send to Edinburge. Pacrates³ put on the kirk
 dures and the tennor thairof.

Bot⁴ at the last Johnne Collese of Bonymone being

¹ I "haveand avantage."

² I "plaice sarest chairgit."

³ Probably "placattis" = placards.

⁴ I tell the story with additions, thus:—

"The XXII CHAPT. . . . Bot in the meantyme ane captaine of I, fol. 20 b.
 the erll of craufurdis to wit Johnne Colless of bonimone quha had
 in gouernance thrie hundreith abill men weill arreyit and enarmyt
 and buire battell aixes and halbartis with wthir scharp weaponis
 this Johnne Colless fled frome the Erle of craufurde traterouslie and

Fol. 27 a.

The laird of
Bonymone
left the Earle
of Crafurde.

The Earle of
Crafurde fled
that night.

Tua of the
Earle of
Huntlieis
brether
war slaine.

sum quhat offendit at the Earle of Crafurde the day beffoir
because he wald nocht enter his sone into his landis the
said Earle being supreme thair of quhairat the said Laird
tuik sic dispyt that he come and left the Earle of Cra-
furde and passit out at ane syde¹ quhome moneist of the 5
abillist of the airmie followit. This Laird of Boney-
mone² was capietene to the airmie in quhais handis the
haill hope of wictorie stude that day. Bot the Earle of
Crafurde seing him self destitute and spetiallie of them
quhome hie maist trustit compellit him to flie for saiftie 10
of his lyfe and albeit the wictorie inclynnit to the Earle
of Huntlie zeit he gat nocht the samin withtout great
slaughter of his folkis. Tua of his awin brether was
slaine witht sindrie wther gentillmen and money zeamen
men of commons. Thair was slaine wpoun the Earle 15
of Crafurdis syde Johne Lyndsay knyght, his brother
witht money wtheris gentillmen gif they had bene
in ane better quarrell. Sua the Earle of Crafurde being
wincust in this maner, it is said³ that ane gentillman
causeit vthir to flie with him quhair throche he tint the feild and
that becaus this lard desyred his sone to be put in sic of his landis
quha war hauldin of the earle of craufurd with vthir commodities and
gaines that this lard of bonymone desyred at the Earle of craufurd
quha ansuerit him and said the tyme was schort bot baid him do
weill that day with him and prove ane wailzeant man and he sould
haue all his desyres and mair. Bot the lard of bonymone nocht con-
tentit with this ansuer passit fra him with ane greiffe and arreyit
his men and pat thame in ordour as he wald haue fochin maist
furiously bot quhen he saw his tyme cum that he sould haue
reskewit the erle of craufurd quha was fechtand than cruellie the
said captaine drew him sellff array [away] at ane sydde cowartlie
and maid na support to the said Erle quho seand this his men de-
pairtand fra him treasonnabillie be command and convoy of this
captaine he was constrainit to flie" [&c., as in A].

¹ I reads "towartlie and maid na suport to the said Earle and
aixmen."

² Now Balnamoon near Brechin.

³ This story is not in Boece. Pitscottie becomes henceforth more
original. Hitherto he has kept very closely to Boece. At line 16,
after the words "his brother," Ferrerius, the editor of Boece, notes,
"Hoc loco reperi in Autographo quatuor linearum lacunam." See
Notes.

followit him sa ferslie wpoun the chase that he draif in
 the midis of the preis of the Earle of Crafurdis folkis that
 war gaderit about thair maister to be his saifgaird in the
 midist of the flight and sa was compellit to pas witht
 5 them as he had bene ane mane of thair awin to the place
 of Phennevin¹ quhair he hard the Earle say that he
 wissit to be sevin zeiris in hell to haue the honourabill
 wictorie that had fallin to the Earle of Huntlie that day
 considdering the great favour that he had conquest of his
 10 prince for his releif and repressing of his rebellis. Wpoun
 the morne thairefter all the deid bodieis was burieit, ilk
 ane eftir thair awin estait; and albeit the Earle of Cra-
 furde was owercome, as said is, zeit he remanit in the
 contrie of Angus as [he] did of befoir and persewit all
 15 them that was nocht of his factioun witht great cruelltie
 waistand all thair landis be fyre and suord, namelie,
 them quho had fled fre him in the battell spoillzeand
 them of thair lyffis and goodis as they might be appre-
 hendit and cassin doune thair houssis to the ground.
 20 The battell was strikin wpoun the Assentioun day in the
 zeir of god I^m iiij^c liij zeiris.²

The Earle
 of Crafurdis
 godlie
 desyre.

Fol. 27 b.

The Earle
 of Crafurdis
 cruelltie.

In the mean tyme quhill the Earle of Huntlie was
 occupyit in this maner for the libertie of this realme,
 the Earl of Murray enterit in the landis of Strabogie
 25 and brunt the landis and tounis and hierieit the contrie
 witht all wtheris landis pertening to the Earle of Huntlie,
 quhilk was nocht lang wnrequitit for how sune he was
 victorious ower the commone enemeis of this realme he
 invaidit the landis of Murray witht greater cruelltie
 30 slaughter and heirschep nor was done in his boundis
 and landis at quhois comming the Earle of Murray witht
 his freindis and clyantis tuik sic feir be ressonne of the
 recent wictorie that it behuiffit him to fle the contrie for
 the saifgaird of his lyfe. It is said that the Earle of
 35 Huntlie came to the toun of Forrest³ and brunt wpe all

The heiring
 of the landis
 of Strabogie
 be the Earle
 [of Murray].

The Earle of
 Murray left
 the contrie.

The tounne of
 Forrest
 brunt.

¹ Finhaven.

² See Notes as to date.

³ Forrest.

the ane syde of the toune be ressonne it apperteinit to the Earle of Murray his kin and freindis bot spairit the wther syde be ressonne ane part thair of perteinit to his favoraris and good willaris.

Ane parlieament proclammit.

The Earle of Craford forfaitit.

The earleis was sumond to wnderlay the law.
Fol. 28 a.

Pakattis wpoun the kirk doore.

Schort quhill thair efter the king gart sett ane parlie- 5
ment be the consall of James Kennedie bischope of Sanct Androis quhair the decreit of forfaltouris led aganis the Earle of Craford of befor was newlie ap-
provit and ratiefieit againe and goodis and geir confiscat
and landis delt, himself delattit trator for his rebelloun 10
and his memorie abollist and scrapit¹ out of the book of armes for ewer. And allis James Earle of Douglas, the Earlies of Murray and Ormond Johnne Lord of Ballvanie James Hammelltoun of that Ilk, knycht, for-
said witht wtheris diuerse landit gentillmen was sowmond 15
to the parlieament to ane certane day to wnderly the law for certane crymes that was to be laid to thair chargis. Bot this was in waine ffor nane of them thocht to make obedience or compeirance; and allis wpoun the
night efter they send exploratouris to the toune of Edin- 20
burgh to spy the forme and fassoun of all thair proceid-
ingis quho at thair maisteris command affixt paccattis²
wpoun the kirk doore seillit witht the Earleis awin hand
and signit, beirand thir wordis in effect, 'the Earle of
' Douglas wald never obey command nor charge in tyme 25
' coming be ressoun the king was bot ane blodie mur-
' therar [and]³ of his awin bloode and breaking of the
' law of hospitalietie ane fallis wngodlie thrister of inno-
' cent bloode witht out iust quarrell or occatioun,' witht
money wther contumulus sayingis wnworthie to rehearse. 30

¹ B "blotit," I "scraipit."

² Carelessly written for "plakattis." B has "paipers," I "paccattis."

³ I omits "and."

THE XXIII CHAPTER.

Ane armye gadderit : the Erle of Douglas be dispensatioun of the Paipe mareis his brotheris wyfe : heirschip in all pairtis. The Erle of Douglas counsallit be his freindis to deseist : persuactionis to the Erle of Douglas quha wald nocht crave pardoun : ane of tua thingis choisin : flatteraris ever raddie to comand wickidnes. The Erle of Craufurdis cunsall to himselfe. The maner of the Erle of Craufurdis humiliatioun to the king. The Erle of Craufurdis orisoun to the king : confessioun of offence : Genealogie of the hous of Craufurd.

The king getting wit of this thing he tuik sa heigh disdaine that he gadderit ane companie of airmitt men to invaide his prydefull tyrannie,¹ and because it was the deid tyme of the zeir he could do nathing for re-
 5 pairing of his honour except he brunt the cornes and houssis and hierieit the contrie and slew sum spyis he returnit hame againe and deferit his purpois quhill the spring of the zeir. Bot zeit the Earle witht his assistance tuik lyttill heid of thir heirschipsis slaughteris or
 10 wtheris wrangis, was allis insolent as they had never bene afflictit witht sic misfortounis. And mair ower that the landis richis and rentis perteinand to his wmquhill broder sould nocht come wnder the handling of fremmit men the Lord² Douglas send to the paipe
 15 for ane dispensatioun to marie his brotheris wyfe to quhome ane great part of the landis fell throw deceis of hir husband besyde the landis that apperteinit to hir in herietage quhilk he could be na maner of way obtain and thairfoir withtout law or ony respect to god or
 20 goode conscience he tuik and marieit his brotheris wyfe to the effect forsaide.

Ane armie
gaderit.

The Earle of
Douglas dis-
pensatioun
to marie his
brotheris
wyfe.

Fol. 28 b.

In the spring of the zeir thairefter thise intissin³

¹ B "this tarrant," I "this prydfull tyraint."

² I "Erle of."

³ B "intestyne," I "intesting."

weiris witth in the boundis of the commone weill begane
to increse ay mair and mair and sa contineit tua zeiris
together, during the quhilk tyme the Douglas brunt and
hierieit all landis belangand to the king and his assist-
aris and allis to them that war nocht plaine of his fac- 5
tioun, and wpoun the wther syde the king and his
assistaris war leath to wse sic cruelltie for thair recom-
pance bot rather to break thair enemeis prydfull arro-
gance waistit and hierieit Annerdaill, Aitrick forrest,
witth all wther landis belangand to the wther factioun. 10

At the last the Earle of Douglas spetiall freindis sa
money as was left on lyfe during the said cruell wearis
being wexit and irkit sa lang throw frequent heirschipis
and surfeit¹ raidis drawing to extreme povertie, gaif con-
sall to thair cheif to leif and desist fre his seditious 15
dissobedience and humlie to desyre pardone of the
kingis maiestie and to rander him self witth out fraud or
gyle in his will and gentrice quho of his² honour appeir-
andlie could not deny the samin to him, ffor gif ane
king will denude himself of all clemencie consideratioun 20
and pettie thair was ane manifest signe and taikin of
his feirfull dread and terroure to everie man. Attour
they gaif the earle to wnderstand that the king being
sua wexit, as appeirit to them, throw langsum and
tidieous trawell taine of the appessing of the commone 25
weill, wald be allis glad to ressaue him in his favouris as
hie wald be to offer himself thairto and sa not onlie
sould he be reconceillit to his prince bot also might
conquise the freindschip of money wtheris as principall
author of all mischeif ringand in this realme. Quhene 30
his freindis had said this (witth money wther pleassant
wordis), he maid ansuer againe that he wald never put
his lyfe in that manis will and danger that had put first
doun tua in the castell of Edinburgh that war brether
bairnies witth him and now lait William Earle of Douglas 35

Heirschipsis
in all partis.

The Earle of
Douglas
consellit be
his freindis
to deceist.

Persua-
tions.

The Earle
of Douglas
wald nocht
craif par-
done.

Fol. 29 a.

¹ I "surphat."

² B inserts "kinglie."

- his awin brother of quhome the lyke rang never in this
 realme and 'was nocht all thir men,' sayis he, 'callit werie
 'gentillis¹ as secundis be him self and be his present
 'consallouris to richteous actioun, to the effect thairby the
 5 'law of nature and law of hospitalietie they sould be ewin,
 'as they war in deid, destroyit and slaine² wnder collour
 'of intertinement how mekill mair feirfull is it to me to
 'put me in his danger.' Sua he thocht thair was bot ane
 of tua to be choissin, other extreme chance of battell
 10 quhairby ane might haue the upper hand, or ellis gif they
 left the feildis and gaif ower the interpryse they sould
 be murtherit slaine or banist witht wther intollerabill
 chances that might befall, to his hie deriesioun, skorne
 skaith and schame to his freindis and kin. Schortlie,
 15 thair was no remedie,³ he thocht, that might deliuer him
 out of his present perrell. Ffor quhilk sayingis money
 begane to leif his mightie curage in sic adwerssatie,
 wtheris nocht onlie desollvit his obstienat mynd in sic
 wicktnes bot allis reprochit the fortiefearis and all
 20 loweris of him in sic perversit perseweraunce thinkand
 weill, as it was trew in deid, that all they that fed him
 witht sic flatterie and dissobedience baitht toward god
 and the king wald nocht continew wnto the wnhappie
 end of this matter, as they had promissit, to the great
 25 distructioun of the commone weill and distroying of the
 prince, ffor they knew that his proudnes could not lake
 ane mischevous end, as might be suffiecientlie wnder-
 stand⁴ be the exampill off siclyk men in all tymes
 bygaine baitht be Scoittis and wtheris forand historieis.
 30 Then sa sune as the Earle of Crafurde wnderstud the
 Earle of Douglas obstinat and wilfull dissobedience,
 for quhois quarrell he had fallin in sic mischeif he dis-

Ane of tua
 thingis to
 be chossin.

Flaterars
 ever more
 is to com-
 mend
 wickidnes.

Fol. 29 b.

¹ B has "noble," I "gentill as freindis."

² I inserts, "and gif swa was that thay war betraissed and slaine vnder," &c.

³ B "no other midway," I "na midway."

⁴ I "understood."

The Earle
of Crafurdis
counsall to
himself.

The maner
of the Earle
of Crafurdis
humelia-
tioun to the
king.

Fol. 30 a.
The Earle of
Crafurdis
wriesone to
the king.

pyttit his companie and tuik purpois to humbill him self
and to come in ane wyld abullzement to the king and
askit pardone [knewand weil]¹ that gif he wald perseveir
in his wickit societie and band that nocht onlie sould he,
his kin and freindis witht posterietie be delaitit and put 5
fre all memorie but allso the nobill factis and martiall
deidis of his forbeiraris, quhairthrow thair goode service
had conquest baith the landis that he possest presentlie
and also the kingis faworis witht great laud and com-
mendatioun of all men, sould be obscureit and forget for 10
ewer. Sua quhene the king was passand to the north
land, command throw Angus the Earle of Crafurde came
bair heidit and bair futtit to the king clad as he had
bene ane miserabill catiue gilltie of ane cryme accussit
in iudgement in dollorus and poore arrayment to move 15
the iudgis and magistratis to haue commiseratioun and
pettie; and sua accompanit witht ane small number
of folkis, said,² witht drerie continance, he caist him
in the kingis gait. Bot frehand he come befor the
kingis maiestie witht teiris brustand out aboundantie 20
and fell on his kneis quhilk being schawin to the
king quhat man it was and quha they war was in his
companie and that the earle confidit mekill in the
kingis clemencie quherin he had placeit his haill hope
of restitutioun, then movit³ but ony feir or dreadour had 25
put him self in his will and marcie, the king bad raise
him wpe to schaw quhairfoir he came, witht all feir
and dreadour sett assyd. Then it is said that the
earleis curage being⁴ sum part recoverit againe dryit
the teiris frome his eieis and said to the king in maner 30
following: 'Gif transgressouris of the lawis and statutis
' of the realme hoppit for nane wther thing of kingis and
' princes handis haweand the rule and government of

¹ I inserts.

² "Sad," I.

³ We should say, "and now moved," instead of "then."

⁴ *I.e.*, "sad," I and B. A has "was."

- ' wtheris, bot that quhilk the lawis decernis, maist mightie
 ' prence I sie na ¹ place left to me this day for remissieon
 ' of my cryme, zeit nocht witht standing ressonne it self
 ' persuadis me to goode hope to come into the clemencie
 5 ' to impitrat pardone for my offence evin as it war to ane
 ' sicker anker in quhois handis lyis the powar of lyfe and
 ' death foir I belieue clemencie to be the principall of all
 ' royall dewtieis and ze to haue conquest the samin as
 ' that becomes ane king and prince abone all wther
 10 ' wertew for gif my seveir ² sluth wald labour to put
 ' away but ony argument of the samin ressonne he wald
 ' appeir to mak away all occatioun of amendement frome
 ' them that duallis ³ and fallis sumtyme from right and
 ' ressonne, and ⁴ sould all kingis wertew be obscurit and
 15 ' clossit wpe and braid entreis oppinnit fourtth largelie
 ' to all kynd of defectioun and iniquitie. I grant in
 ' deid that [na] ⁵ man sould of his dewtie declyne frome
 ' right and ressonne, bot ane thing I require quhat is he
 ' that is in greatest estimatioun of the commone pepill
 20 ' in all civell and publict effairis that may awove ⁶ that
 ' [he] ⁷ hes never falted against the lawis ether for the
 ' caussis of haitrit, fawour, dreadour or invy. I beleif
 ' for the suith that no man can say it is counsall to
 ' ane man to fall in ane offence bot to amend and re-
 25 ' cognose and to damp ⁸ his fault him self it is ane
 ' great benifeit of god; for it becomes ane that is fallin
 ' in errour to the quhilk everie mortall man is subiect
 ' to become penitent and amend his lyfe witht firme
 ' purposis to eschew the lyk in tyme comming. Quhair- Fol. 30 b.
 30 ' foir, maist clement prence I ame ⁹ ane werie man com-
 ' mand to zour maiestie this day, grantand that I haue
 ' fallted and my conscience beairand witnes dampnis my

¹ I and B. A has "my."² I has "sweir."³ I "devallis" = devolves (?).⁴ I inserts "so."⁵ B and I. A omits.⁶ "Avow."⁷ B and I insert, A omits.⁸ I "condeme."⁹ I inserts "as."

Confessioun
of offence.

' awin doingis in sa far that I confes that I ame nocht
 ' worthie to leif wnles I being willing my self in the part
 ' to correct the former fatiouns of my lyfe. On the wther
 ' part the great pettie of the noble housse of Lyndsys
 ' falling into distructioun but gif ze help it in tyme, sould 5
 ' move zow to restoir me, for zour¹ forbearis caussis evin
 ' as I war frome deid to lyfe againe. For the² clemencie
 ' fre the quhilk no mane hes bene excussit³ at ony tyme,
 ' that was movit witht goode withtout fraude or gyle to
 ' humbill him self thairto, hes gewin ane hardiment to 10
 ' ask pardone to my offences and faultis. I pray the
 ' thairfor that I may obtene this my requist and that
 ' for my forbiaris thair truith and constancie cair and
 ' trawall taine be thame for defence of the realme; and
 ' because the beginning of our houssis progrese genologie 15
 ' of the samin will appeir to further me in this cace I sall
 ' declair the samin breiflie.⁴ The first man of our sur-
 ' name was callit Lyndsay, ane proper name then to him,

Genologie
of the house
of Crafurde.

I, fol. 22 b.

¹ I and B "my." ² I and B "thy." ³ B and I "repulsitt."

⁴ I gives a separate narrative as follows: "The first man was callit lyndsay quhilk was his proper surname and was heritour to mony gret landis in Inland thocht he was baneist thairfra be the conques of the bastard of Normandie and swa come in Scotland with queine margrett in the tyme of malcolme canmure quha was resauit richt thankfullie for hir caus becaus he was the narrest and grettist of hir freindis at that tyme and for his wictorius and manlie deidis in defending and menteneing the common weill of Scotland king malcolme gave him the landis of wachopdeill quhilk lyes adiacent to annardeill quhilk of that hous descendit our foirbearis quha war eftirward lordis of glanesk and erleis of crawfurd and that be the manlie and verteous gouvernement of our progenitouris quha wssit thame sellffis sa manlie and trewlie to the crowne that thay war rewardit richlie and gat be the gret liberallitie of the princeis of scotland seand the wictorious deidis and in speciall of robert the secund quha gave ws the landis of crawfurd and meid ws erleis thairof as ze may heir heireftir how he succedit ffor eftirward descendit out of our hous ane nobill hous callit lord lyndsay of the byrris quho ringnes and flourishes in gret fame into this day and estimatioun and honour with thair prince thocht we haue sliddin thairfra at this tyme. Bot lang tyme heirefter descendit Allexander lyndsay that faucht and was slaine at the brig of stiruiling" [&c., as in text].

'quhilk is now the surname of our clan. Kennit the
 'secund, sone to Alphin revairdit witht large boundis
 'and landis in this countrie ffor his good counsall and
 'sowerane man heid in the ower throwin and conquissing
 5 'of the Picthis. Ane lang tyme eftir this, Alexander
 'Lyndsay succedit lenallie to him, quho was slaine at
 'the brige of Stirling right manfullie¹ against the Inglis-
 'men our awld enemeis ffor King Robert the firstis
 'quarrell, wpoun quhois factioun and partie he schew
 10 'him self at all tymes right manfullie. This Alexander
 'begatt Alexander quho was slaine at the battell of
 'Dumblaine² ffor the defence and preservatioun of our
 'zoung King Dawid the Secund frome the tyrannie of
 'his enemies. Schort quhill eftir the battell Dawid
 15 'Lyndsay succedit baith to his fatheris landis³ for he Fol. 31 a.
 'was slaine at Haliedene hill quhen the Scoittis men
 'war fightand contrairrie in to the Inglishmen⁴ for the
 'libertie of our natiue realme quhois nevoy, sone to
 'Johnne his brother, callit James faught wpoun the
 20 'breige of Loundone in singular battell witht the Lord
 'of Waillis ane strang campioun in good estimatioun
 'witht the King of Ingland [at that tyme and wainquist
 'him nochtwithstanding]⁵ his strength and might to no
 'les schame and mervell of his adwersaris then great laude
 25 'and praisse of this our natiue countrie quhome King
 'Robert the secund revairdit witht the landis of the
 'castell of Craford quhome throw our earledome is sa
 'nameit for his singular behavieour towartis the com-
 'mone weill. For by his consall and conwoy all thingis

¹ I has "manfullie fechtand in companie with Erle thomas randill in defence of king robert the bruce contraire the Inglismen. This Allexander," &c.

² Boece has "ad Duplenæ prælium." See Notes.

³ I inserts "and vther gret lordschippis gevin to him be the autoritie for his manheid and service done for the pleasour of the crowne and common weill of the countrie" [for, &c.].

⁴ I "debaitand the libertie of Scotland his brother sone succedit to him quha was lord of glanesk faught," &c.

⁵ I omits.

The kingis
murder
punischit be
the Earle of
Craford.

Fol. 31 b.

' pertening to the weillfair of this realme the tyme of
 ' Robert the secund was rewlit witht greater craft and
 ' wisdome then ony aigis of befor. This James begate
 ' Dawid quho was my father quho deservit great laudis
 ' and praisiss for the deliegent inquisitioun maid be him 5
 ' in the searching of the tratouris that pat doune thy
 ' father of worthie memorie and tuik sa great travell in
 ' the punisching thairof, that hie never deceissit¹ quhill
 ' everie man war condinglie punnischit for thair schame
 ' full tressone. Sa na man douttis bot thy excellencie 10
 ' knawis perfytlie be our Scottis historieis the wisdome
 ' constancie strength and gravietie witht the singular
 ' knowledge of warldlie effairis and sowerane man heid
 ' of my forbearis predecessouris, quho ewer hes lossit
 ' thair lyffis for the libertie and weillfair of this realme. 15
 ' Bot fy on me maist messerabill and wnworthe creatur,
 ' that is sa forzeitfull of all thir men; quhat mischeif was
 ' in my mynd quhene I had inioyned² me in airmour
 ' witht they tratouris that conspayrit aganis thy maiestie
 ' and be my cruell doingis compellit all Angus, witht 20
 ' money wtheris to invaid them that was command for
 ' thy defence for the suppressing of fallis coniurit tra-
 ' touris. Willfull³ and foolehardie interpryse and subtell⁴
 ' and temerarieous purpose O heigh furies⁵ and woid-
 ' nes O meserabill chance to be lamentit; nocht onlie 25
 ' haif I brocht myself bot allso hes brocht the nobillis
 ' and gentillmen of Angus to extreme danger baitht of
 ' thair lyffis and tinsall of thair houssis. Quhat sall I
 ' say or do or quhair sall I go or be quhat moyane
 ' sall I red me of this mischeif. All [law]⁶ positue 30
 ' denyis that I sould leif bot to ryfe the lyfe out of my
 ' bodie the actis and statutis of the realme requyris that
 ' I sould thoill and die ane shamefull deid. That is of

¹ B "desisted newer," I "decistit."

² I "adioyned."

³ I "O willfull."

⁴ B "O subtile."

⁵ B "fury" only, I "furie."

⁶ B and I insert "law," A omits.

- ' truth, thair is no remeid for me nor nane of my had-
 ' herence quho casuallie hes fallin as men I will nocht say
 ' hes slidin from thair dew obedience throw the great feir
 ' and dreadour of me, wnles thy royall maiestie quho hes
 5 ' the powar baith of lyfe and deid most¹ haue considera-
 ' tioun and pettie of ws and grant ws grace and favour
 ' quhilk the lawis and actis of parlieament denyis to ws
 ' allutterlie zeit zour grace may do because kingis and
 ' princes may dispense witht the lawis and statutis.
 10 ' Attour it is ane miserabill and lamentabill cace to sie
 ' thir nobill and ancient housse of Lyndsayis, conquest
 ' nocht withtout great cair and trawell, to be distroyt
 ' for ewer ffor the offence of ane onlie man. I pray
 ' the thairfoir maist marciefull prince that I be nocht Fol. 32 a.
 15 ' debarit nor excludit fre the fruit of thy gentrice² zeit
 ' exhibit nor denyit of thy humanitie quhilk hes bene
 ' schawin sa largelie to diuerse wtheris of befoir, foir
 ' gif it be ane great extollent³ to out draw and winquis
 ' thy enemie zeit no les prayis zow witht goode advyse-
 20 ' ment to haue ruth and pettie of him quhome he hes
 ' owercome because that it is wnderstand to be ane
 ' suire puissance quhene he dois moderat his awin
 ' strength and powar and knawis how to ower come
 ' his awin effairis⁴ of ane strength and wictorie. I
 25 ' regaird nocht my awin personage na maner of way
 ' thair foir it is content to wnderly quhat paine thy
 ' maiestie pleissis to provyd wpoun me ether to be
 ' hangit or to be riwin with wyle⁵ beistis, to be drownit
 ' or cassin ower ane craig banist or cassin in pressone
 30 ' quhill I die. Ffinalle, it is nather the feirfull induring⁶
 ' of my darrest spous nor the greiting of my bairnes nor
 ' the lamentabill sobing of my freindis no zeit the heir-

¹ I has "mot."² I inserts "nor."³ B "extollance," I "manheid to ovirthraw."⁴ B "his awin effectis of any wictory."⁵ B "wyldc," I "wyld."⁶ I "murneing."

'scheip of my landis that moves me sa mekill as the
 'decay of our housse and lamentabill change and fortoun
 'of the nobill men of Angus witht the rest of my had-
 'herentis quhais landis, lyffis and goodis standis in danger
 'for my cause. Haue ruth and pettie, maist clement 5
 'prence of the nobill houssis and surname of Lyndsayis;
 'haue compassioun of nobill men that concordit to my
 'factioun that they at the leist be nocht spullzeit of thair
 'lyffis and herietage onlie ffoir my offence and fault.'

Fol. 32 b.

Quhene the earle this¹ had endit the nobillis and 10
 gentillmen of Angus that came in his companie to seik
 remissieoun, held wpe thair handis to the king maist
 dolorouslie cryand marcie quhill that sobing and sighing
 cuttit the wordis sa sair that all maist theyr prayeris
 could nocht be wndirstude throw the quhilk thair raise 15
 sic ruth and pettie amang the companie that men culd
 skairslie contene thameselffis from teiris and murning
 and sua ewerie man begane to imploir the kingis
 maiestie for respet² to the earle and his assistaris, bot
 principallie James Kennidie Bischope of Sanctandrois 20
 [and] Schir William Creichtoun be quhois persuatioun
 the Earle came at that tyme to seik mercie, and solistit
 grittumlie for him and his assistaris quhom he com-
 pellit contrair thair heartis to mantein hes treassone and
 consperacie, prayand the king of his benignitie to spair 25
 thame for the experience of this mischeif that had
 befallin thame be this rebelloun sould mak the mair
 humbill and obedient to thair prince and to serue his
 maiestie³ was nocht to be lichtlieit and dispyttit. Haue
 consideratioun and regaird to the dangerous tyme witht 30
 the wther circumstance presentlie withtin the realme, for
 gif sic ane thing be wpoun the face of the earth as faitht

¹ I "thus."² Respite.³ B, "nor giue they had newer fallin abefoir attour sa gryt ane manes repentance wes nocht to be lichtlied." I follows B, adding after repentance "humble submission and desyre."

and trutth na man goodlie may beleiff nor culd suspect
 ether fraud or gyle. Be thir mens wordis lamentabill
 iestur and continance the king overcome and movit be
 thair sade and drerie continance of the Earle of Craufurd
 5 and his assistaris and presentlie be the requist and
 prayeris of thir men that stud about him.

THE XXIII CHAPTER.

The kingis ansueir to the Erle of Craufurd. The Erle of Craufurd
 furdhis his assistaris resavit in the kingis favour : The king
 baneacit be the Erle of Craufurd : hou the Erle of Craufurd
 dieit. Foundatioun of the College of Glascow. Hou the prince
 of turkis seiggit constantinople.

So remissioun being grantit vnto thame the king said
 in this maner, ' Be of guide comfort and be of ane better
 ' mynd towardis the effairis of the commone weill nor they
 10 ' did befoir,' sayand that he nether desyrit the nobill
 menis landis, lyffis nor guidis bot rather to conquis thair
 hartis and freindschip, and it is foir truth that he waxit
 irefull aganis all consperatouris bot zeit wald settill of his
 ire sa sune as they became penitent of thair offences
 15 and cryme. And allis he wnderstud that it became ane
 prince to be revengit wpoun rebellaris and murtheraris
 of his maiestie zeit nocht witth standing he wald wse
 sic moderance heirin and deill witth thame as gentill as
 he could withtout danger of wtheris or evill exampill.
 20 Attour he desirit na greater revenge on thame nor to sie
 ane man of greit spreit and curage attemptand schort
 quhill sensyne temerariouslie sic thing abone his degre
 and strength now randereng him self frelie withtout com-
 pullsioun to that estait that he grantit he had no wther
 25 refuge nor help of restitutioun bot in the kingis clemencie
 and gentrie ; and that he, beand denudit of all airmor,
 feir and dreadour set assyde, askand mercie and forgiue-

The kingis
 ansuer to the
 Earle of
 Craufurd.

Fol. 33 a.

nes wpoun his kneis of him quhome he persewit maist
cruellie, witht out ony, sociatit witht the commone ene-
meis of the realme.

The Earle of
Craford and
his assistaris
ressawit in
the kingis
favour.

Fol. 33 b.

The Earle
of Craford
dieit.

ffoundation
of the Colleg
of Glasgow.

How sune the king had said this and siclyke wordis,
schawand his mynd inclynit to marcie he ressawit the 5
earle and his assistaris into his grace and favour, obsol-
luit thame frome leismaiestie restoirit thame againe to
the dignatie and former estait, quhilk was great ioy and
gladnes to all them that beheld the samin. The earle¹
glorieit in his happie aventar, convoyit the kingis maiestie 10
in the north land and witht him ane schoissin compane
of zounge abill men of Angus and in the north thair efter
bankitit him magnificentie in the place of Phenhevin,
promissing faithfullie to be redy witht all his forces to
ower thraw and fecth all his coniurit enemeis of the 15
realme quhene and quhairer it pleissit the kingis
maiestie. This earle beand on this wyse reconsellit
witht the kingis maiestie gaif ower all tyrannie and
become ane faithfull subiect and ane siker targe to the
kingis lieges haueand nothing in mair reverence and 20
honour nor the kingis royall persone. At last beand in
this maner set at quytnes and rest quhene he appeirit
his freindis and all wtheris of the contrie to be in
greatest prosperatie and fortoun that thoillis no thing to
indure for ewer schawand that thair is nothing firme 25
and stabill bot all thing subiect to ruine and decay
leving² wpoun ane brukill stafe thollit not the happie
estait of this man lang tyme to continew and in the sex
moneth efter his restitutioun, as said is, he tuik the heat
fewer and dieit in the zeir of god I^m iiij^e liij^e zeiris and 30
was burieit witht great triumph and pompe in the gray-
freiris in Dundie in his forbearis sepulture. In the
same zeir the colledge of Glasgow was foundit and
erectit. In the zeir preceidand Mahomet prince of
Turkis beseigit and wan the nobill and ansient toune of 35

¹ I "of Craufurd."

² I "leaneing."

Constantinobill and wssit great cruelltie and slaughter
 wpoun the Christieans quhairer thai come, Nicolus
 fyft beand paife of Rome, and maid [it] the samin zeir
 fre then fourtht the principall duelling place and zeit
 5 makis thair resiedence thairin in thir our dayis.

The prince
 of Turkis
 beseigis Con-
 stantinobill.

THE XXV CHAPTER.

Ane parliament sett at Edinburge: hou James Crichtoun was
 restourit to the Erledom of Murray: hou George Chrichtoun
 was maid Erle of Cathnes. Ane new armye: Galloway and
 douglasdeill invaidit. Schir James Hamiltoun send to Ingland
 for support to the Erle of Douglas. The Erle of Douglas conn-
 sallit to enter in battell aganis the king. The seige of Abircorne.
 Bischope James Kennedies counsall to the king. The Erle of
 Douglas reteird. Schir James hamiltounis counsall to himselfe:
 James hamiltoun wardit: James hamiltoun mareit. The Erle of
 Douglas past in Ingland. The Erle put to ficht and all his
 assistaris.

In the begining in the next zeir quhilk was in I^m v^e lv
 zeiris thair was ane parlieament set at Edinburgh, quhair
 James Earle of Douglas, Beatrix his broderis wyffe that
 pretendit¹ spous to him self, George Earle of Ormond,
 10 [and] Lord Ballvenie was alltogither forfaltit and con-
 damnit to the deid. Thair was ane conventioun maid
 thairefter quhair the king, calling to remembrance how
 that the earledome of Muray was reft fre James Creich-
 toun, quho marieit the eldest dochter of the earle of
 15 Murrayis, as said is, be the subtell craft of William Earle
 of Douglas and gevin to Archbald his broder and he
 restorit the samin to him againe. Bot quhen James
 Creichtone persawit that he could not joyse the landis
 bot the haitrent of money gentill men he laborit fre
 20 hand to dimit himself thairof and pat it in the kingis
 handis and his sone thairefter callit George Creichtone

Ane parliea-
 ment sett at
 Edinburgh.

Fol. 34 a.

James Crich-
 tone restorit
 to the Earle
 dome of
 Murray.

¹ B has "pretended," I "pretendit"; A has "prudent," a mistake.

George
Crichtone
maid Earle
of Caitnes.

in recompensatioun thairof was maid Earle of Caitnes.
Attour William Hay then constabill of the realme was
the first beltit Earle of Arrell and also in the same con-
ventioun incorporatit to the number of Lordis and bar-
rouns of parleament and sindrie wther nobell knychtis 5
sic as Darnell, Haillis, Lyell and Lorne.

Ane new
airmie.
Galloway
and Doug-
las-dail
invaiddit.

Efter this consall was dissollvit the king caussit raise
ane new airmie to pas wpoun the commone enemies
of this realme and first he iniurit and invaidit Gallo-
way quhilk was randerit but ony defecultie witht all 10
the strengthis thairof, thairefter past to Douglas-dail
quhair the greater cruelltie was wssit nor in Galloway
and the haill men and guidis gevin to be ane iust pray
to be tane wpe be the kingis men of weir, because the
inhabitaris was stuburn and maid thame to gainestand 15
the kingis autorietie. Bot quhen the Earle of Douglas
landis and men war owerthrawin witht sic callameties,
Schir James Hammilltoun the Earle of Douglas fameliar
servand was send in Ingland to desyre support aganis
the king¹ [of Scotland in defence of the Erle of 20
Douglas bot he obtenit na men bot money the quhilk
beand obtenit he perswadit the Erle of Douglas to offer
the king extreame battell. To that effectt he gart² tak vp
bandis of men and weir to the number of thrie hundreith
horsmen and thrie hundreith fut men to be vndir the 25
captanrie and gouvernement of James Hamiltoun and
alswa he gart seik all clienttis and familiaris and his
tender kin and freindis with all thame that favourit him
in the realme of Scotland at that tyme chargand thame
to be reddie the appointed day to cum to him and 30
debait him and his landis aganis the king quhen he come
to persew him and speciallie gif he seiggit abircorne.

I, fol. 24 a.

¹ Cf. note, p. 126 of Dalzell Ed. The passage in brackets from p. 114 l. 20 to p. 121 l. 1 is from MS. I, and contains a much fuller account of Sir James Hamilton's defection than the corresponding passage in MS. A, which is printed as a footnote, p. 121.

² Dalzell has "caused."

Quhen the king hard of this prouissioun of the Erle
 of Douglas he was gretlie effaired thinkand that he had
 wastit him sellff and his muny and had tyred all his
 subiectis in the persuit and heirschip and dantoning of
 5 the Erle of Douglas. The quhilk he thocht be that
 extrematie that he had wssit toward the Erle of Douglas
 was occatioun gif the said Erle micht be pairtie to him be
 ony way that he wald gif him battell athir be tinsall or
 wyning to put the haill realme in ieopardie the quhilk the
 10 king was verie laith to do. And so the king was werrie
 pansiwe in his mynd quhat was best to be done in defence
 contrair the Erle of Douglas quhome he knew to haue sa
 money favouraris at that tyme that it was onpossibill to
 him to be pairtie to the said Erle gif he pleissit rys
 15 aganis him and gif him battell zit the king dewyssit ane
 subtill and craftie meine aganis the said Erle That is to
 say he gart the word gang to the Erle of Douglas eiris
 that he was to pas out of the cuntrie and that for feir of
 the Erle of Douglas Thir tedingis cummand to the Erle
 20 of Douglas [he] was verrie rejoyssit heirat and was the
 slackker in the ryssing of his men and armye aganis the
 king thinking that he suld obtaine his purpois but ony
 battell or gainestand of the king bot in this meintyme
 the king causit the Erle of Orknay the Erle of Angus
 25 with vtheris sindrie barronis and gentilmen to the number
 of sex thousand men with all prouisioun to be reddie at I, fol. 24 b.
 ane certaine day as he aduertissit thame to pas to castell
 of abircorne and to seige it. In this meintyme the Erle
 of Douglas heirand tell that the kingis armye was cum
 30 to the castell of abircorne and seigeand it he beleivit
 suirelie that the king had beine thair himsellff Thairfoir
 he send and warnit all his kin and freindis and alayanes
 and all that wald do for him in Scotland chairgand
 thame to meit him at Douglas the tent day heirefter
 35 with twentie dayes wictuall to pas with him to the
 castell of abircorne and thair to reskew the samyn

or ellis to gif the king battell and caus him ather to
 fecht or fle out of Scotland The king hearand this
 was stupefact in his mynd thinkand his armye was
 ovir litill at that tyme to debait aganis the Erle of
 Dowglas for it was schawin to him he wald be fourtie 5
 thowsand men in armure aganis the king at that tyme.
 The king seand na refwge passit in ane scheip heistellie
 to Sanctandros thair to meit with bischope James Ken-
 nedie and to haue his cunsall thairvnto schawand him
 that the Erle of Douglas was gatherand ane gret armye 10
 aganis him ether to fecht with him or to cheiss him
 out of the cuntrie and alswa he knew na support to
 be had haistellie at that tyme thairfoir he desyred his
 cunsall quhat he thocht best to be done heirintill This
 bischope was ane wyss and godlie man and ansuerit the 15
 king in this maner as efter followis Sayand 'Schir I
 'beseik zour graice that ze will tak ane littill meitt to
 'refresche zow and I will pas to my orature and pray
 'to god for zow and the common weill of this cuntrie'
 This beand spokin the king past to his disjohne and 20
 the bischope to his oritwre to mak his prayer orisoun
 and suplicatioun to almichtie god to oppin his mouth to
 gif him knowlege and vtrance to gif that nobill prince
 quha was destitute and comfortles of all guid counsall
 that he nicht gif him instructioun and learneing quhow 25
 he suld invaid that gret perrell and danger appeirandlie
 to fall at that tyme Than this bischop tuik the kingis
 graice by the hand and led him to his oriture re-
 queistand him to mak his earnest prayaris to almichtie
 that he wald strenthin him with his halie spreit that 30
 he nicht with ane bauld curage resist his enemyis
 quha war ryssin aganis him contraire the command
 of god and common weill of the cuntrie beseikand
 god of his michtie power and graice that he wald
 grant his victorie of thaies consperatouris and rebellaris 35
 quha war ryssing aganis him bot ony caus maid be

him and specialle that he vald grant him the vper
hand of the Erle of Douglas and his complicis lykas
he had done befor of him and his predecessouris quhan
thay oppressit the common weill of the cuntrie This
5 beand done the king passit in this maner to his de-
wotioun as this halie bischope had commandit him
and eftir quhen the king had endit vrisoun and prayer
to almichtie god than this bischope seand this king
desolat of guid counsall and dispaired of guid hoip or
10 succes of ony victorie to fall to him countrain his
enemyeis causit him to pas into his stwddie or secreit
hous quhair his bowis and arrowis lay with vthir sindrie
jowallis of the said bischopis.¹ Than this bischope luit
this nobill prince sie ane similitude the quhilk nicht
15 bring him to experience and confort how he nicht
invaid aganis the vproir of the conspiratouris and speci-
alie aganis the Erle of Douglas and the leave of his
complices The said Bischope pullit out ane gret
scheiff of arrowis knet together in ane quhange of
20 leathir and delyuerit thame to the king in his handis
and baid him sett thame to his knie and brek thame.
The king ansuerit and said it is onpossibill becaus thair
is so money togeathir of the said arrowis and knet
so fast with leathir that no man can brek thame at
25 anis The bischoip ansuerit and said that is trew bot
zit he wald lat the king sie that he cuild break thame
and pullit out ane be ane or twa be twa quhill he had
brokin thame all and said vnto the king 'Schir ze man
'evin do in this maner with zour barronis that hes rissin
30 'aganis zow quhilk is so mony of nomber and knet so
'fast togidder aganis zow in consperacie that ze on na
'wayis can get thame brokin bot be this prettik that

Bischope
Kennedies
counsall to
the king.
I, fol. 25 a.

¹ Dalzell's note stops here, but MS. I continues. The apologue of the Arrows has been transferred by MS. A to the reign of James III. and the death of Bishop Kennedy, and is here inserted from MS. I at its proper place.

' I haue schawin to zow be the similitude of thir arrowis
 ' That is to say ze man conques and brek by lord and
 ' lord be himsellff for ze may nocht deill with thame all
 ' at anis and fordar mak ane proclamatioun out throch
 ' zour realme to all theif and tratour and all thame that 5
 ' hes offendit aganis zow. Grant thame frie remissioun
 ' to be guid men in tyme cumming and now to serwe
 ' zour graice at this instant tyme in zour necessitie the
 ' quhilkis beand done I traist your graice sall get mair
 ' favouraris nor sall zour counterpartie,' The king hearand 10
 this wayiss¹ counsall tuik cuirage and maid his procla-
 matiounis as foirsaid in all pairtis of his realme to the
 effectt foirsaid he pullit vp his baner in sanctandrois
 and passit to falkland one the first nicht in arreyit
 battell, one the morrow vent to stiruiling accompanyeit 15
 with this nobill bischope James kennedie with all the
 lordis of fyff angus and stratherne and remanit in
 stiruiling quhill the north pairt of scotland came to
 him quhilk war to the numer with the king of all peopill
 Threttie thowsand men, heireftir awfullie with displayit 20
 baner came fordvard aganis the Erle of Douglas quha
 wes lyand in camp of battell one the south sydd of the
 watter of caron a litill be eist the brig with the number
 of fourtie thowsand men makand for to reskew the
 castell of Abircorne and thinkand na les into his mynd 25
 nor he sould be pairtie to the king and gif him battell or
 ellis to caus him to leave the realme. Bot on the vthir
 syde Bischope James kennedie vsit ane craftie mein to
 brek the Erle of Douglas armye and send ane secreit
 servand of his awin to James Hamiltoun of keidzow quha 30
 was principall captaine to the Erle of Douglas at this tyme
 and had thrie hundreith futemen and thrie hundreith hors-
 men at his gouernance vpone the Erle of Douglassis ex-
 penssis to chairge and pas with him quhair he pleisit.

Ane armie
 of 30 thow-
 sand men
 convenit
 with the
 king.

Ane armie
 of 40 thow-
 sand men
 convenit
 with the Erle
 Dowglas.

¹ "Wise."

Zit nochtwithstanding the said James Hamiltoun being
 aduerteisit be his eame bischope James kennedie of the
 kingis guid mynd and favour toward him quhilk he
 appurchest to him be his moyane Schawand to him that
 5 gif he wald returne and leive the Erle of Douglas at
 that tyme and cum and serwe the kingis graice he sould
 haue ane full remissioun of all thingis bypast and great
 revard in tyme to cum the quhilk he obtenit as efter
 followis and zet the said James tuk to be avyssit in this
 10 matter, and gave the messengeir ane guid ansuer. Nocht-
 withstanding this James haveand ane kyndlie luife to
 the Erle of Douglas and ane respectt to his awin favour
 ponderit the caus in his awin mynd thinkand that he
 wald asseill the Erle of Douglas mynd in the said caus
 15 quhat he was purpoisit to do at that tyme howbeit he
 knew weill the matter to be uniust baith aganis god and
 his natiwe prince Thairfoir his conscience moweit him
 to be delyuerit at that tyme of that vnhappie seritude
 contrarie the kingis and common weill of the cuntrie.
 20 And in this meintyme thair come ane herauld fra the
 kingis armye chairgand the Erle of Douglas and his
 complices to skaill thair armye vnder the paine of tres-
 soun At thir nowellis and chairge the Erle of Douglas
 mockit and stormit the herauld and incontinent gart blaw
 25 his trumpantis and put his men in ordour and merchit
 fordwart to haue met the king and fochin with him. Bot
 fra tyme he saw the kingis armye in sicht and abyding
 him stoutlie with so great ane number his curage was
 sum thing abaced and so was all the lordis and barronis
 30 that was with him quho had hard the kingis proclama-
 tioun quhairin was grantit ane remissioun to all thame
 that had offendit aganis his maieste in tymes bypast and
 than Inmeidiatlie thay wald come to him and be guid
 men in tymes cumming that all faultis sould be dis-
 35 chairgit bygeine. Thir motiwes with vthir mae mowet

the gentilmen and commonis hartis that war with the
 Erle of Douglas at that tyme for to favour the kingis
 pairtie better. The Erle of Douglas seand this that his
 folkis had tint sum pairt of cowrage and was nocht so
 weill willing as he requyred Thairfoir he reteird his 5
 armye hame againe to thair campis quhair thay lay in
 the nicht befor trastand to instruct thame and to gif
 thame bettir curage and hardiment nor thay had befor
 that thay nicht pas fordwart with him one the morrow
 I, fol. 25 b. as he pleissit bot of this purpois all the lordis and cap- 10
 taines of the Erle of Douglas ost was nocht contentit
 and speciallie James Hamiltoun quha passit to the Erle
 of Douglas incontinent and requyreit of him quhat was
 his mynde gif he wald gif the king battell or nocht
 and schew to him the langar he delayit he wald be the 15
 fewar number at his purpois and the king was evir the
 mair abill aganis him. The said Erle ansuerit to James
 hamiltoun sayand gif he was tyred he nicht depairt when
 he pleissit off the quhilk ansuer the said James was weill
 contentit and that samyn nicht passit to the king quhair 20
 he was weill resautit and thankfullie and all thingis re-
 mittit bypast; that samyn nicht the leive of the barronis
 and gentillmen seand the depairting of James hamiltoun
 tuk sic ane feir that evirie man passit away that one the
 morrow the Erle of Douglas was nocht ane hundreithe 25
 men by¹ his awin hous quho seand this tuik purpois and
 haistelie fled in annerdaill quhair he was schone thair-
 efter vincuist be ane band of men of weir of the kingis
 and so this prince obtenit gret wictorie and paice but
 ony slauchtar of his leigis at that tyme and throch the 30
 counsall of this nobill bischope and the returneing of
 James hamiltoun to the king. Zit the king seand nothing
 in his contraire bot bair feildis knawand weill that the
 Erle of Douglas was depairtit in this maner as I haue
 schawin zit nochtwithstanding the king gave James 35

James
hamiltoun
resautit be
the king.

The Erle of
Douglas
fled.

¹ "By" = besides.

hamiltoun na creddit in the begining,^{1]} and thair efter send him to be wairdit in the castell of Rosling witht the Earle of Orknay quhill he had win the castell of

¹ The version of MS. A or B which Dalzell followed (see p. 128 and 135 of his edition) is printed in this note.

Quhill quhen it was reffussit and seing no wther outgait he perswadit the Earle of Douglas to gadder him his hail forces and to interpryss his recoverence in sett battell contrair the king and rather to tak the extreme chance of fortune then to ly in perpetuall danger and continuall afflictoun as they did; for gif he* gat the wpper hand he sould haue the realme at his plesour witht ane hours trawell; gif he was† owercome [as he wissit not to be, exceptit it war the will of god],‡ his freindis could be no worse then they war and his enemeis suld put ane haistie end to thair cair and laubouris quhillkis trublit thame so lang ffor nocht onlie was Schir James Hammilltoun and his adherence dispairit of ane better fortune to come bot also they might weill persaif extreme danger ewin at hand throw the daylie agmentatioun of the kingis powar continuallie deminisching of thair awin. James Earle of Douglas inflamit witht this and sic wtheris alluring wordis gadderit his clyantis kin and freindis with all wther folkis that myht be gottin and past fordwart with displayit banner to slaikie the kingis airmie lyand at the seige of Abercorne quhill nochtwithtstanding being mekill les nor the Earle of Douglas airmie zeit they excellit far in strength and curage abone thair enemeis sua that quhen the battellis war arrayit standing in wtheris sight James Erle of Douglas persawand his folkis sum part [dejectit]§ and dreidfull in thair continance he withdrew them abak to thair campis againe thinkand that they sould be incuragit better wpoun the mornę to feight. Bot this displeassit his freindis and principall consallouris werie heighlie quha declairit that this porpois sould be to his wtter disadwanttage and suld perchance newer gett sa money of his oppinioun assemblit againe in airmor contrair the king to persew or to debait his quarrell nor zeit sic occatioun to perform thair purpois for that withtdrawing of thair airmie bakwart to thair tentis againe sould incurage the kingis airmie and mak them selfis mair febill. And aboue all men it displessit Schir James Hammilltoun, quhairfoir in the night following quhen he began to pance and muse with himself throw blude affectioun he had followit and debaitit the quarrell of James Douglas withoutt other right or reassone sua being angrie witht him self thair foir and namelie because he schew nothing of thair porpois he kaist all blude effectioun and inordinat loufe assyde and, efter that he had ressonit the matter to and fro, beheld the quarrell werie wnrichteous and wngodlie quhill na man sould haue sett fourtht

Fol. 34 d.

The seige off
Abercorne.

The Earle
of Douglas
reteirit.

Schir James
Hammill-
toun his
consall
to him self.

Fol. 35 a.

* B has "thai."

† B omits words in brackets.

‡ B has "thai war."

§ B. A has "dietit," which is wrong.

Abercorne, quhair he loussit money of his folkis and
 sindrie right ewill wondit; bot quhen he did remember
 that his haill wictorie ower the Douglas had fallin to
 him bot ony bloode or straik of suord throw the
 Hammilltounis defectioun and leving of them he 5
 resawit him as ane of his fameliaris and tender
 freindis sua at the last gaif his eldest doughter to
 him in marieage. Bot quhen the Douglas wnderstude
 himself destitute and leift be money of his principall
 freindis be quhois continance and assistance he had 10
 interprysit² sa heigh matteris contrair the kingis autorietie
 he fled in England witht his brother to conqueis sum
 support to recower that thing he had lost: and thairefter
 schort quhill he returned witht ane companie of men
 and came in Annerdaill quhilk was garnest with the 15
 kingis men of weir ffrome³ tyme, quhilk men of weir
 being assemblit together mett James Douglas and his
 brother witht thair assistaris and faught manfullie and
 pat thame to flight. In this battell was slaine Archebald
 Earle of Muray with diuerse wtheris gentillmen by⁴ 20
 wagit men and commons and George Earle of Ormond
 efter that he was wondit was taine and keipit werrie

¹ The kingis
 eldest doch-
 ter gevin to
 Schir James
 Hammill-
 toun in
 marieage.

The Earle of
 Douglas past
 in England.

James
 Douglas and
 his brother
 and his
 assistaris
 brocht out
 of England.

Fol. 35 b.

Schir James
 Hammill-
 toun and his
 dependaris
 past to the
 king.

witht so great trawell and laubouris thair dewtie as he did and thair
 foir callit his dependaris and freindis out quyitlie at ane syde witht
 quhome he passit to the kingis maiestie and fell on grouflingis befor
 him wpoun his face cryand grace mercie and pardoun ffor his re-
 bellieoun* quhilk being schawin to the Douglas airmie they fled
 away peace and peace sua that wpoun the morne thair efter thair
 appeirit nathing in the kingis contrair bot plaine feildis. And
 albeit Schir James Hammilltoun was forgevin of his offence bot the
 kingis maiestie gaif nocht credit in the beginning.

¹ Instead of what is on the margin here, I has, in the transcriber's
 hand, "The ladie of boyd quhilk euir seinsyne the hamiltounis
 intendit to the croun"; to which another hand adds, "James
 Hamiltounis mareage with the king's eldest dochtar is thair tytill
 to the croun." See Notes.

² B has "interprysed." A is blundered here.

³ B has "for the."

⁴ "By" = beside.

* I agrees with A after this point with a few unimportant variations.

straitlie in pressone till he was haillit of his wondis and then brocht to the king in Edinburgh and heidit for his rebelloun. The earle himself and Johnne Lord of Ballvenie escapit werrie narulie throw ane wode quhair
 5 they fled throw saiftie of thair lyffis. It is said that the first adwertiser of this prosperous succes was brocht¹ witht Archibald Douglas heid quho was ressavit be the king with great thankis.

THE XXVI CHAPTER.

Hou James Douglas past to Donald of the yllis : hou Donald of the yllis assisted James Douglas. Gret heirschipe done be Donald of the yllis : Innernes brunt. Hou the king of Ingland persavit his tyme. The Bordouris brokin. Hou the maiden of Galloway complenit of hir mariage upone James douglas, The maiden of Galloway mareit upone the Erle of Athole.

Efter this wnhappie battell albeit James Douglas was
 10 destitut of his broder kin and freindis and had lost manie of his men nor zeit had he great hope of ony support of Ingland nocht the les nether defiding of good fortoun he past to Donald Lord of the Illis and Lord Rose in Duirluge² for the time, quhome he
 15 knew of his natur to be proud and inclynnit to mischeif and wickitnes³ and solistit him to assist him in his rebellieoun⁴ and fand that his oppinion begyllit him nocht for this Donald gadderit ane companie of mischevous curst lymmeris and invaidit the king in everie
 20 part quhair he came witht great cruelltie, nether spairing auld nor zoung without regaird to wyffis or auld febill decripit wemen or zoung infantis in the credill, quhilk wald haue movit ane heart of stane to commiseratioun

James Douglas past to Donald of the Yllis.

Donald of the Yllis assistit James Douglas.

Great heirschipe is done to Donald of the Yllis.

¹ I and B have "brocht with him."

² I has "Dunstaffage."

³ B has "wicked."

⁴ B has "thame to his opinion and wer participants of his rebelloun."

and pettie and brunt willagis tounis and cornes sa mekill
 thairof as might nocht goodlie be cairit away, by the
 great pryse and goodis that he tuik efter that he had
 invadit Argyle in the samin manner witht the Yillis of
 Arrane quhairof quhen he had gottin the castell be 5
 fraud and gyle he maid it equall with the eard. And
 syne he chassit George bischope of the Yillis and of
 Argyle, and slew sindrie of his freindis and his servandis
 and himself eskaipit werie narullie by fleing to ane
 strength. At last he past to Loquhaber¹ and thair fre 10
 to Murra quhair he invadit witht no les cruelltie nor the
 rest befor and spetiallie quhair [thair was]² ony favoraris
 of the kingis autorietie Attour he distroyit the toun and
 castell of Innernes efter that he had gottin it be ane
 dessaitfull subtiltie. This he did not sa mekill to gratiefie 15
 James Douglas as he did rejoyse to foster mischeif
 cruelltie and wickitnes, to the quhilk he was gevin allut-
 terlie throw the impietie of his awin ingyne. Quhill sic
 vncumlie³ weir and dissentioun rang in Scotland [that]
 the king of England persaifand ane commodieous opper- 20
 tunitie to tak⁴ his pryse as himself and his predicessouris
 wount to do ewer fre the first inhabitatioun of the Yille
 of Brettane be ether of thir tuo natiounis, commandit
 that his bordouris sould break and incursiounis to be
 maid, the quhilk was done as he commandit but know- 25
 ledge or expectatiouns of the Scottismen, quha haueing
 no suspitioun of forran natiounis was spoillzeit of thair
 bestiall, thair cornes and houssis distroyit and brunt and
 sindrie gentillmen and commons hurt and slaine for the
 defence of thair goodis and geir. Sua we persaeit that 30
 England had not forgett quarrellis wpoun ane small or
 no regaird quhen thair salbe ony appeirance or ad-
 vantage to haue bene maisteris and be the contrair

Fol. 36 a.
 Innernes
 brunt.

The king of
 England per-
 sawand his
 tyme.

The borders
 brokin.

¹ I. A has "Lochmabin," which is clearly wrong.

² B has "thair was."

³ B has "cruell."

⁴ B has "the advantage as," I "to tak pryse as himself," &c.

they war faine to thige and cry for peace and goode
will of Scottismen quhene thair was wnite and concord
amangis the nobillis levand under subiectioun and
obedience of ane furthie and manlie prince. Bot albeit
5 that¹ the king of Scotland persawit that the realme
was sa ower gaine witht civell weiris on the ane part and
that it sould be baitht schame and skaith to him self
and the realme on the wther part to thoill so heigh
iniurieis without remeid and thairfor desembelit quhill
10 ane tyme mair gainnand to be revengit of thair
enemeis.

At this² tyme Beatrix Douglas the maidin of Gal-
loway, seand nathing bot wraikis to come to hir pre-
tendit husband James Douglas fled to the king cryand
15 mercie for hir offences, layand the cryme wpon James
Douglas and his wickit flatteraris and assistaris quha
nocht onlie had silit hir in contracting hir of that
wngodlie and wickit marieage bot also aganis hir will
constranis hir to do the same sua sche being destitut
20 of all goode helpperis and consallouris could nocht
guidlie resist to gainestand sa great ane partie quhill
now haueand the oppertunitie, sais scho, of James ab-
sence to flie the societie of ane wickit and wngodlie
lyfe, come straucht way to seik the kingis maiestie
25 protection saifgaird and remissioun of thir offences
bygainne quhilk was ane cryme committit rathir³ of
necessatie then willfullie of set purpois. The king,
after he had forgevin all offences and ressawit this
gentillwoman to great favouris he marieit hir on his
30 brother Johnne Earle of Atholl⁴ and tocharit hir with
the Lordschipe of Ballvenie.

Fol. 36 A.

The maidin
of Galloway
marieit
wpon the
Earle of
Atholl.¹ So B also.² B has "that."³ B has "rather." A has "redy," a mistake.⁴ I adds, "the blak knight of lornis sone."

THE XXVII CHAPTER.

Hou Donald of the yllis wyfe complenit to the king on hir husband. The slauchter of the laird of Caulder: the deid of sindrie nobillis. Schir harie peirsie and James Douglas enterit in the bordouris. The Inglis put to flicht. Donald of the ylleis send messingeris to the king: the Erle of ros remittit.

Donald of the yllis {wyfe} complenit to the king on hir husband.

The slauchter of the Laird of Calder.

Fol. 37 a.

The death of sindrie nobillis.

Quhilk quhen the Earle of Rose wyfe wnderstud the kingis maiestie to be so favorabill to [all that sought his grace]¹ scho fled also wnder his protectioun and to eschew the cruell tiranie of hir husband quhilk scho dread² at diuerse tymes befor. The king calling to 5 remembrance that this nobill woman was marieit be hir³ awin counsall witht Donald of the Yillis, he gaif hir thairfor suffiecient rentis and landis how scho sould leif honourabillie to hir estait. Nocht lang tyme efter this Patrick Thortoun⁴ of the kingis maiestieis awin house, 10 [quha]⁵ was ane favorar of the Douglas factioun, cruellie but ony ruth slew Johnne Sandelandis of Calder and Allane Stewart ane nobill man besyde Dumbartane because they war the kingis maiestieis adherence quhilk was nocht lang wnpunischit ffor the king maid sic deliegence 15 quhill he comprehendit baith the principall tyrantis and also thair complices and pat them to schamfull deid as they deservid.⁶

Schort quhill efter this sindrie of the nobillis and great men deceissit, sic as William Earle of Arroll and 20 constabill of Scotland and George Creichtoun Earle of Caitnes, quho being lang wexit witht great infirmitie,

¹ I omits words in brackets, and has "to James Douglas wyfe as ye haue hard."

² B has "dreidit."

³ His? Boece, "suâ opérâ."

⁴ B has "Chrichtoun," I "Thornetoun."

⁵ B.

⁶ Boece inserts here the foundation of Glasgow University. See Notes.

becaus he had no sonns to succeed in his place, he
resignit the landis quhilk he gat to him and his airis
maill onlie in the kingis maiestieis handis seing thair was
no lyfe to him, for the landis sould haue fallin to the
5 croune efter his¹ deceise. Schir William Creichtoun
sumtyme chancelar deceissit the same zeir, ane mane
of great foresight and singular manheid and ane faithfull
subiect and sicker tairge to the commone weill into his
lyffis end. And siclyk [deceissit] Alexander Lyndsay Earle
10 of Crafurde of quhome mentioun is maid,² in quhose
rowme Dawid his sone succedit, ane of the noblist of
they dayis [and] money wthers nobillis and gentillmen
quhose nameis ar irksom to wryt.

Nocht lang efter Schir Harie Peirsie Earle of North-
15 thumberland and James Douglas, laitlie forfaltit, enterit
in the bordouris wiht ane great airmie baitht of Scottis
and Inglischemen and waistit all with fyre and suord,
quhairever they came, quhill at the last the Earle of
Angus mett thame with ane companie of choissin men
20 and patt them to flight. For quhen the earleis³ war
fichtand maist cruellie with wncertane wictorie on everie
syde ane greit part of the Inglischemen nocht small in
estimation greidy for pray of geir nocht cairfull for thair
honour and weillfair of thair lyffis begane to spuillzie
25 and dryue away thair enemeis horse and wther goodis,
and left thair nichtbouris in battell voyd of thair support
quhilk maid ane facell pethway to the Scottismen that
day to obtene the wictorie. In this battell mony In-
glischemen war slaine to the number of thrie scoir, and
30 ten gentillmen taine captiues. Foure scoir Scottismen
was slaine, with sum captiues quhilk war taine in the
skarmising befor the chok of the battell. Quhen this
wictorie was tauld to the kingis maiestie and how that
the Inglischemen had waistit sa mekill wpoun the bor-

Schir Harie
Persie and
James
Douglas
faught in the
bordour.

Inglische-
men put to
flight.

Fol. 37 b.

¹ B and I have "his," A "this."

² I inserts "befoir."

³ I has "armyeis."

douris he lamented sairlye that the realme had bene also
zeit owerthrowin witht civill weairis and discoird and
himself sa trublit day be day that he might nocht goodlie
be revangit of thair skaith, iniurieis and incursiounis.¹
Attour it offendit him maist of all that his enemeis raigit 5
mair in thair insolencie and that he was compassit with
rebellieoun on ewerie hand sua that he could nocht
interpryse to requite thair invatioun withoutt great loss
of men and guidis and putting of the realme to extreme
danger and haserd of his enemeis. 10

Donald Lord
of the Yillis
sends mes-
sengeris to
the king.

And in the meanetyme quhene the king was mussing
maist haill² wpoun the purpois Donald Earle of Rose
Lord of the Yillis send messengeris to his maistie to be
remittit of all rebellieoun and offences that he had done,
thinkand weill that the king was so merciefull to the 15
Earle of Craford that he wald be no less merciefull to
him, bot zeit wald not put himself in perell as Craford
did and thairefter³ send ane of his maist spetiall freindis
quho obtened his remissieoun partlie throw the kingis
awin humanitie and partlie be the requist and interces- 20
sieoun of the nobillis of the realme. Bot zeit the kingis
maistie handlit the matter werie craftelie and fand the
moyen how he wald nocht oppinlie and plainlie forgiue
at that present the wicked and tressonabill deidis of
that wickit tyrran, nor zeit wald he make the messingeris 25
foir to dispair of thair cheiffis⁴ remissieoun bot ansuerit
them gentillie to hald thame in hope sayand that the
Earle of Rose never deserwid at his hand now to be
remitted of his cruelltie and rebellieoun laitlie com-
mittit zeit nocht the les sen all men on earth and 30
spetiallie in king or prince that representtis the werie
devyne maistie of God quho also of his excellent nature⁵
ressawis mankynd to the bossome of his marcie as sune⁶

Fol. 38 a.

¹ B has "incursiouns."

² B has "thairfoir."

³ B has "unspeakable guidnes."

⁴ I has "hielie."

⁵ B and I. A has "chieff."

⁶ I and B have "as."

he repentis him of his sin, nocht foir any goode deid
 that man may do to recompence him, that suld¹ thrist
 no mans blude bot to be gracious and marciefull to all
 men that ar become penitent of thair misdeidis, zeit
 5 because it pertenis to god allanerlie to knaw the invart
 thochtis and heartis of men and that mans nature can
 nocht persaif and wnderstand farther of ane wther nor
 he may sie be wtward signnes and taikins and thairfoir
 he wald that the Earle of Rose sould do sum notable
 10 act quhairthrow all men might wnderstand him for to
 repent inteirly with his heart beffoir that he sould
 ressaue ffull remissioun of all offences. Attour that
 Earle of Rose sould refound the skaithis of all the
 touns and fortalices and houssis that ewer he had brunt
 15 or cassin doune and by² that to restoir and satisfie
 the leist the haill goodis and geir to everie man quhilk
 he had reft and taine away. This beand done the earle
 sould be remittit with all his partakeris and compliceis
 of all offences bygaine.

The Earle
 of Rose re-
 mittit wpoun
 certan con-
 ditions.

THE XXVIII CHAPTER.

Ane conventioun of the nobillietie. Ambasadouris fra the duik of
 York and thair desyre. The Duik of Yorkis richt to the crown.
 The Inglis ambasadouris orisoune.

20 [Sua]³ this beand put to rest⁴ [in] the north Yillis of
 Scotland the kingis maiestie sett his haill care and mynd
 to invaide Ingland and ever to be revengit or ellis
 repairit of all oppressiouns and iniurieis committet, with-
 out offence, contrair his realme and leigis and to bring Fol. 38 A

¹ I and B read "suld," rightly. A has "nocht," which seems a mistake.

² "By" = besides.

³ I omits.

⁴ I inserts "and ane finall end maid of all seditioun and ciuill discord in."

Ambassa-
dors fre the
Duik of
York.
The desyre
of the am-
bassadors.

this purpois mair easielie to effect he caussit convene
the nobillietie to ane certaine day to consult and be res-
sollvit be quhat moyen best might be done and ordanit
maist commodiouslie. Bot behald, during the tyme of
this conventioun thair came ambassadouris fre Richart 5
Duike of Zork, Edwart Mortimer Earle of Warvick and
thair confederat freindis to seike support of men of weir
contrair Henrie king of Ingland quhome they porpossit
to depose of his royall dignatie for albeit this Henrie
throw his sluthfull negligence, of wickit consall had lost 10
France and Normandie quhilk his forbearis had conquest
to his hand zeit in so heigh matteris and disperat effairis
that allmaist misterit the consultatioun of the great and
nobill men quhom it behuwit to spend thair lyffis and
landis for the recovering and defence thair of he admittit 15
nor tellit¹ sic men to his consall but extollit slaues and
men of small estait be ressone thay could flatter him and
that was maist delectabill to his consait he preferit them
to the administratioun and governance of the commone
weill befor and abone all sic nobillis and gentill men 20
of the realme² quhais manheid and the gloir of
Inglands mertiall³ deidis spreid befor⁴ all the wardill
war movit to conspyre and convened thamsellfis to
deprive him of the croune and speciallie the nobill
men descendit of the kingis house to quhome the 25
iust croune of Ingland appertainit quhilk befel Lionel
the third sone to Edwart the third quho was lauch-
full air to Richart the secund that of his body was
destroyed and put down by Henrie the fourt.⁵ Sua

The Duikie
of Yorkis
richt to the
croune.

¹ I has "callit."

² Some blanks in A are supplied from B and I, but they also have blanks, which seems to show that the original copy had them. Dalzell restores the whole as follows: "quhais manheid and deidis spred throw all the world and war commovit," &c. I have also restored it, as far as possible following MSS. A and I. B has "whaes manheid and deidis spred throche all the world," &c.

³ I has "the gloir of ingland mertiall."

⁴ I has "throch."

⁵ See Notes.

now at this present the Douik of Zork thinkand that
 he had better occatioun to recover the croune nor
 Henrie the fourt had to reive¹ the samin fre Richart
 the secund and² Lionellis posterietie admittit³ him
 5 self in this consperacie of thir nobill men be quhose Fol. 39 a
 moyen and assistance he porpossit to recover his right
 and herietage that had bene reft and haldin sa lang
 fre him and his forbearis. Bot because thay war not
 equall novyse in riches nor powar to the king withtin
 10 him self, they send to the king of Scottland for support
 promissand perpetuall freindscheip with great rewairdis
 gif they brocht thair porpois to effect. Sua quhen thair
 ambassadouris gat presentis of the kingis maiestie in the
 sight of the earleis and lordis conwenit for the tyme, the
 15 principall of them maid his harrance⁴ and wriesone in
 maner following :—

‘How wicked and wngodlie ane thing it is, maist
 ‘invincibill and potent⁵ prince, to place ane Ignorant
 ‘in hie estait and regement of ane contrie. How may
 20 ‘it be that ane man that can not gyde himself sall
 ‘gyde wtheris. Be the contrair how necessar it is gif
 ‘our wyse and potent prince haue the rulling ower
 ‘ane realme quhairof we haue experience of baitht in
 ‘our dayis be diuerse maner of wyse, for all kingis
 25 ‘and natiouns, maist redoutit prince, mervellis of thy⁶
 ‘craft and wosdome quho beand ane zoung man
 ‘rather ane child set and put⁷ to rest the realme
 ‘of Scotland witht out great slaughter or effutioun of
 ‘blude be ane excellent wit and devyne providence,
 30 ‘quhilk in thy minorietie was wraikit and devydit be
 ‘the seditioun and fassioun of potent men withtin the
 ‘samin. Sua we man of werie force grant thy felicitie

Wrieson of
 the Inglishche
 Ambassador.

¹ I has “reive.”

² I omits “and.”

³ I has “admit.”

⁴ I has “harrange.”

⁵ B has “michtie and invincible,” I “invincibill an [*sic*] potent.”

⁶ I and B have “thy.”

⁷ B and I have “hes set and put.” A has “sitand,” a mistake.

' and happie progres in all thy doingis befor we enter
 ' to intreit of wther matteris. Thairfoir we pray god
 ' that thy prosperous beginning may indure perpetuallie
 ' for ewer. Bot our king Henrie how wnlyk is he
 ' wnto the in maner and conditioun and how far dif- 5
 ' frent frome thy wssage and good governament of the
 ' realme and how he dois beir him self as is not
 ' wnknawin to thy maiestie no mair then to ws. For¹ [be]
 ' the ignorance of that man infectit and corruppit with
 ' the wickit consall of flateraris not onlie is the flur- 10
 ' ischand renone and fame² of Ingland supressit and
 Fol. 39 b. ' turned to scorne and mokerie, bot also ane greit
 ' pairt of the impyre and dominioun of France ze³
 ' nathing inferieour to the realme of Ingland quhilk
 ' was conquest be our forbearis, tint and lost. Sen sa 15
 ' it is that we ar opprest of slawes, quhilk the king
 ' hes promotit,⁴ [the nobillis of his realme lightlieit and
 ' sett assyde,] to hie dignatie and frome les estait,
 ' quho, placeit in sic power and autorietie as hes sic
 ' powar ower the noblietie that they dar not draw 20
 ' anes thair end, mekill les iustlie to compleine for
 ' ony offence or to gif consall quhat is best to be
 ' done for preservatioun of the commone weill, quhilk the
 ' nobillis of the realme can not suffer langer seing it is
 ' [baith]⁵ contrair the commone weill, as allis being sufferit 25
 ' sall bring our realme to wraik [and]⁶ the inhabitaris
 ' thairof to wtter exterminatioun. Sua it sall pleis zow
 ' to wnderstand this, victorieous prince, that the nobillis
 ' of Ingland takis na wnwontit nor new porpois now
 ' in hand in the depyving of ane and putting of ane 30
 ' wther in his place. Ffor our nobill progenitouris and

¹ I inserts "be."

² B has "croune and flourishing fame of England."

³ "Ze" = zea.

⁴ B has "preferred," I "promotit," A "permittit." I seems right.

⁵ I has "baith."

⁶ B has "and our inhabitantis." I inserts "and."

' forbearis debarrit the thrid sone callit Edwart Ke-
 ' bak¹ fre the croun because he was not sa lustie nor
 ' sa gainnand of dispositioun of his body as was thocht
 ' expedient for ane prince to attempt sic matteris as was
 5 ' then ado, albeit he was ane man of goode witt and
 ' singular ingyne to quhome [most iustlie the propertie
 ' of]² the croune lauchfullie pertenit. Nocht the les
 ' the realme of Ingland haueand scherp weiris in France
 ' [thocht]³ expedient for the government of the pepill
 10 ' and being of the gowernament abone the airmie
 ' to chese ane man not onlie wyse⁴ and prudent of
 ' spreit bot [who] also was lustie of spreit and of body
 ' his handis manfull stout and hardie. And sieand⁵ ffor
 ' this porpois then Edwart zounger brother to this man
 15 ' of singular curage of no les craft and wosdome nor
 ' his brother Edmond and in bewtie more excellent and
 ' abone all men in strangnes and habilitie, the Lordis
 ' maid him king and debarit this Edmond.⁶ [Thairfor
 ' for quhatsumewer cause our progenetouris did prefer
 20 ' ane persone to ane uther even the youngest to the
 ' eldest and debaring the eldest thairfre nocht the les
 ' onlie bot far grettar occatioun [we] thocht expedient to
 ' transfer the croun ffrom ane to ane wther. Sua may
 ' it appeir how mekill his⁷ wosdome commendit abone
 25 ' fulishnes in ane persone that beiris charge in ane
 ' commone weill; mair is ane princes ignorance and
 ' wickitnes preventaris of the common weill nor febilness
 ' of body. For in war quhat trawellis the strength of

¹ B has "Henrie Cruickback," I "Edwart Cruickback." See Notes.

² B omits.

³ B inserts "thocht."

⁴ B has "wyse in mynd bot also ane man of guid personage and manlie spreit. For," &c.

⁵ I follows this, and all the MSS. have a few blanks, which I have supplied with the aid of the text of Boece.

⁶ Dalzell has "Edward" instead of "Edmond," which makes nonsense of the passage. The passage in brackets, pp. 133 and 134, is from I.

⁷ "His" = is.

'ane capitaine quho from his dull ingyne and sloth
 'knows little hou to mak persute of his enemeis and
 'quhat in the gowerning is best to be done. And also
 'quhat can the ignorant do in peace quho hes nether wit
 'nor strength quhais autorietie of force man perische 5
 'with the lawis or goode order and governance of the
 'realme].¹ Attour how damnabill it is to haue ane
 'ignorant captane of weir witles and destitut of all
 'goode consall the wnhapie mischance will beare wittnes
 'of the lose and tinsall of the boundis of France 10
 'quhilk war Inlandis befoir. And siclyk in peace to
 'haue ane folische prince corrupit and led away witht
 'flateraris and wicked counsall nocht onlie wnderstand
 'we that he is dangerous bot also hes wexit Scott-
 'land sa lang witht civil weiris as ze may haue ex- 15
 'perience quhilk hes sa oft bene waistit and spullzeit,
 'quhen Henrie of Inland knew that thy maiestie
 'might not goodlie wait wpoun france weiris. Quhair-
 'foir we exort zour maiestie to inarme zour self to
 'this effect not onlie for our cause bot also for zour 20
 'awin and to revenge the iniurieis that Scotland hes
 'sustenit ewin to be revengit I say wpoun the prin-
 'cipallis authoris of all oppressioun: how honest and
 'necessar thairfoir is the ground and fundament of
 'our porpois and intentiounis be thir ressouns forsaidis 25
 'may be easlie wnderstand. Now lat ws sie how
 'facill² this matter without slaughter or effutioun of
 'bloode may be brocht to pase, gif ze pleis to sup-
 'port ws quhilk we hope in deid, and quhat rewaird

Fol. 40 b.

¹ What is in brackets, from p. 133 l. 18 to 134 l. 7, is omitted in B, which has, after "Edmond," "Sa may appeir how mekle wisdom and manheid be requyred in ane persone that bearis charge ower the commoun weill and specialie to our realme of England quhilk be the negligence of ane sluggishe prince ar like to lois that quhilk our forbearis conquest in France. Attour," &c. Dalzell follows this. I have supplied some blanks in the MSS. from the text of Boece.

² I has "facill" = easy.

- ' thairof salbe quhilk being declairit we sall schortlie
 ' mak ane end. And first I think it necessar to knaw
 ' of quhat strength and powar is the king of Scott-
 ' land, syne quhat the thing we may do and than I
 5 ' beleif the matter salbe menifest to ws, allis¹ quhen
 ' the realme of Ingland did flourische² in chevallrie
 ' and all the haill boundis and dominiouns quhilkis
 ' our predecessouris with thair conqueis did agment
 ' thairto wald not be diminischit³ nor our strength and
 10 ' powar bot flatterie I say was sa excellent that no
 ' man of hollsome judgement bot will grant we had
 ' no perequall in Ewrope. And now sen we have loissit
 ' the boundis within the realme of France and the
 ' south of Scotland quhairwith soum hope was to re-
 15 ' cover the samin againe quhilk now we despair all-
 ' utterlie, in sa far that gif ether of the factiouns
 ' withtin Ingland might get support of ony forrane
 ' prince the wther eassielie sould be ower cummitt.
 ' Attour thair was newer seditioun nor discomfort quhill⁴
 20 ' now of lait in the realme of Ingland bot it trusted⁵
 ' allis as ane, but sieing all was sluthit thair was no
 ' mischeif could befall our king bot was deliuerit wnto
 ' ws; and the haill nobilietie sa lang irkit and wexit
 ' with the tyrannie of King Henrie, to louse them
 25 ' selffis out of the zoke of thraldome hes taine por-
 ' pois to surrogat Richart Duike of Zorke in his royall
 ' place. For our factioun far surmunttis the kingis assist-
 ' ance baitht in the nobilietie and wosdome. And al-
 ' beit we doubt of the popularie⁶ quhilk appeirandlie
 30 ' to the eieis of men fawouris the kingis partie zeit
 ' we haue experience that they ar so warieabill and

¹ B has "wsall," I "ws all."

² B and I have "flovrische"; A has "spuris," wrongly.

³ I has "nor sleuthit ovir strenth," &c.

⁴ "Quhill" = till.

⁵ I and B. A has "might" instead of "trusted," which is not sense.

⁶ I has "popular" = populace.

Fol. 41 a.

'faccell that they desyre nothing more nor ane great
 'man that wald of the present estait begun the walter¹
 'as may weill be knawin be Henrie² of Ireland quhen
 'he gaif the commons to wnderstand that sen thair
 'libertie was reft fre them be auld awaricius³ gredienes 5
 'of courteouris for the mantinance of thair insolent
 'follie and ambitioun, that he wald punische and put
 'ane order to the king and courteouris gif they wald
 'assist thair interprysse quhilk was taine in hand be
 'this carleis⁴ persuatioun as is maniefest to this haill 10
 'yle and⁵ had taine the effect bot dout of the sub-
 'tell ingyne and craft of the chancelar witht fraud
 'and gyle right schortlie had nocht stanchit the samin
 'in sa far that we now presentlie sould not haue had
 'this matter newer to begin nor end. Finallie that 15
 'we may mak ane end of the thing that we haue
 'begune, we come now, maist reverent prince, to thai
 'maiestie to gett support, promissand richt remise⁶ thair-
 'foir, quhilk the Duike of Zork and Earle of Warwick
 'witht the advyse of the haill nobilietie of thair op- 20
 'pinioun hes commandit ws to promise to thy maiestie
 'gine ze will assist thame what boundis⁷ or landis to
 'zour grace progenatouris possest and wssit sumtyme
 'in Norththumberland with Bervick and all the feildis
 'adiacent thairto [ze sall hav], foir rewaird and recom- 25
 'pence; and last of all, ane perpetuall band of amitie
 'and freindscheip to be bund wpe and as ane⁸ thir our
 'realmes to indure for ewer.'

¹ I has "to waltir."² "Henry of Ireland" was one of the names given to "Jack Cade." See Notes.³ B has "awaritiis," I "awaricius."⁴ B has "Hendries," I "Henryis." ⁵ B has "giue," I "gif."⁶ B has "riche revenues," I "riche rewardis."⁷ B has "what boundis or landis your," &c. I follows B.⁸ I has "ane," A "in."

THE XXIX CHAPTER.

The kingis ansueir. Ane proclamatioun meid. Hou ane man met the king and causit him to reteire and his armye be his lesingis : hou the king gadderit ane new armye. Ane battell betwix the king of Ingland and the duik of York and the Erle with ane number of Scottismen. The kingis armye vincuist and him sellffe teine. The names that was slaine. Ane conventioun at Londoun : hou the duik of York was maid governor : the erle of warwick maid captaine of Calleis : hou the erle of Sarisberrie was meid gret Chancellor.

Quhen the ambassador had endit this wriesone in this maner, the kingis grace caussit him witht his companieounis to remove thame wntill he had consultit wpoun ane ansuer; and quhen the king had adwyssit
 5 witht the nobillis the ambassadouris come againe the king said on this maner : ' It is not unknowin to us the
 ' iust tytill the Duike of Zork hes to Yngland bot like-
 ' wyse¹ the croune sould not be gevin temerarieouslylie to
 ' any persone so sould it not be taine frome a persone
 10 ' inauguratit [or crownit]² for ane light cause without greit
 ' tryall and deliberatioun and knowledge of the cause.
 ' Bot that I rest³ to the wisdom and conventioun of the
 ' nobilietie of Ingland. And as for airmeis and forces
 ' be assuirit that I haue iust cause to denwnce weir to the
 15 ' king of Ingland, first, seing he did wex my realme and
 ' leidges saiklesle witht incursiounis the⁴ tyme the samin
 ' was perturbit with civill weiris; then also quhen I did
 ' seik redres King Henrie delayit it to gif ane ansuer
 ' thairwpoun. Thairfoir gif the Duike of Zork and witht

The kingis
ansuer.

Fol. 41 b.

¹ The MSS. have several blanks here which I have supplied from the text of Bocce. B has, "but the assistance of my realme suld not be gevin nor grantit temerariouly nor for ane licht cause without great trawell and deliberatioun and tryell of the caus."

² I has "or crownit."

³ I and B have "refer."

⁴ I and A have "the."

' the Earleis of Warwick and Richmont witht the nobillis
 ' of the factioun will keip promise they sall be assuirit that
 ' my haille strength and forces salbe redie to draw¹ your
 ' kingis favoraris witht fyre and suord quhairever I come
 ' and sall do my wter deliegence to expell King Henrie 5
 ' and restoir the Duike of Zork to his awin place.'

Quhen the ambassadouris had resawit thair ansuer
 and faithfull promise gewin and taine² on ewerie syde
 they reportit³ the king of Scotlandis ansuer to the Duike
 of Zork and the Earle of Warwick. In this meane tyme 10
 the king of Scotland commandit be open procliema-
 tioun all men to be redy at ane certane day witht airmor
 and wictuallis to invaid thair auld enemeis witht fyre
 and suord. Behald the quyit and wontit slyghtis of
 England. Quhen the king was passand fordwart as he 15
 had promissit to invaid thame, ane Inglischeman met
 him be the way quho fawored the king of Ingland maist
 inteirlye, perfyte in the Italieane langage,⁴ nureist and
 brocht wpe all his dayis in lieing and mischeif, prompt
 of toung and hardie of contenance, instructit and 20
 subornit be the king with bullis and commissiounis as
 he had bene send frome the Pope of Rome, and in his
 companie ane monk, quho did conterfit mervalus gravitie
 and hollienes of lyfe as sic men had weill wount to do,
 and said it was the popis command that nother the king 25
 of Scotland nor any of his companie sould pas ony
 forder to invaid Ingland wnder the pain of curssing and
 cencour of hollie kirk. For throw the desentioun, sayes
 he, [of] the christiane princes the turkis, most damnabill
 and cruell enemeis to godis word, creipis in daylie mair 30
 and mair in wrope⁵ sua be thair tyrannie they haue sub-

¹ B has "in rediness to invade," I "to invaid."

² B has "givin and tane"; I inserts "taine."

³ B has "depairted, &c., and reported." I follows text.

⁴ B adds, "tounge quha culd weill flatter and dissemble with ane hard and peirt countenance."

⁵ I and B have "Europe."

dewit ane great pairt thairof to thair dominioun and im- Fol. 42 a.
 pyre. Thairfor lat all debatis stryf and battellis be set
 assyde and peace establischt among christiane men. It is
 derectit that all faithfull men sall send thair souldouris
 5 for expelling of thair common enemie quho wald nocht
 only spoillzie thame of thair worldlie fredom and libertie
 bot also of the word of god quhilk is the maist pretious
 thing in the earth.¹ And to bring all discord ringing now
 in the Ille of Brettane the mair easily to ane end thair is
 10 ane wther ambassadour, he said, derect frome the pope
 to cause all iniurieis commitit be the king of Ingland to
 be repairit and allis to aggrie all quarrellis and desen-
 tiounis betuix the king of Ingland and the Duik of
 Zork. King James belleuand thay hade no hide desait²
 15 in this fraudfull fellowis sayingis obeyit the charg and
 skaillit his airme; bot skantlie was he weill come hame
 quhen he did persaif the craftie subilltie devyssit be his
 enemies contrair him. Sa being come sa penitent of
 his faccell obedience [he] gatherit ane new airmie and
 20 past fordwart wpoun his enemeis.

In the meane tyme the Duik of Zorkis airme quhairof
 ane great pairt come witht the Earle of Warwick zeid in
 arrayit battell contrair King Henrie withtout ony expec-
 tatioun of the Scottismenis cuming, and wpoun the
 25 wther syde the kingis adherentis mett thair enemeis
 werie stoutlie quhose principall cheiftanes wnder the king
 was the Duikis of Summersyd and Buringhame and the
 Earle of Cleiffurde. Schortlie, it was manfullie fauchin
 on baitht the sydis bot at the last the kingis airme was
 30 wanqueist and owercome, himself takin presonar and
 had to Loundon and his thrie chiftaneis forsaid slaine
 witht mony nobillis and gentillmen by³ ane great com-

The king
 taine pre-
 sonar and
 taine to
 Loundoun
 and his
 cheftains.

¹ This is an expanded version of Boece, who, for "godis word," p. 138, l. 30, has "religio," and does not say "of godis word quhilk is the maist pretious thing in the earth."

² I has "beliwand na thing of ony hie dissait." Hide = hid, is probably the right reading.

³ "By" = besides.

Fol. 42 b.

panie of the commons. Sa efter this wictorie quhen he
 come to Loundon thair was ane conventioun quhair the
 haill nobilietie aggreit all wpoun that heid that thair
 king sould not be at that time depyrit of his royall
 estait bot that his wickit consallouris and flatteraris as 5
 the werie corruptouris of goode ingynes sould be ether
 put to deid or ellis sequestrat of his companie and
 banischit of the realme and him self to be put in sicker
 firmance quhill farther consultatioun ffor it appeirit werie
 on lesum to money of the counsall nocht onlie to put 10
 hand in ane lewand prince bot also to reif the honour-
 abill impyre fre the anoyntit of god to quhome the
 realme had anes gevin thair aith and fedilietie. For in
 sa doing they sould be compellit as ane periurit and
 mensuorne pepill to chuse ane wther in his place and 15
 thairfoir decernit that the Duik of Zork sould be gover-
 nour of the realme during the kingis lyfthyme. Now the
 Earle of Warwick was maid cappietane of Calice quhilk
 was than ane of the autorietie amangis the Inglisemen, and
 the Earle of Saillisberrie great chancelar of the realme 20
 and sa it was done quhill farther consultatioun might be
 had in all effairis.

THE XXX CHAPTER.

The seage of Roxburghe. Ambassadouris fra the duik of York. The
 kingis ansueir. Hou donald of the yllis come to the king ane
 armie of men quhen he was seaging roxburghe. The comming
 of Alexander Erle of huntlie. The death of the king of Scot-
 land and in quhat maner.

In that tyme¹ the king invaidit the king of Englandis
 saworaris in the north with all cruelltie and quhen he
 had wone the toune of Roxburgh, quhilk the Inglisch- 25
 men had then ingarnischit with men and munitioun and

¹ I has "meintyme."

kast the samin to the ground, he beseigit the castell
 thairof and quhen he was maist bessie and earnist in the
 persuit thairof ambassadouris came fra the Duik of Zork
 and the earle of Warwick witht the rest of that factioun
 5 schewand the wictorie quhilk was thair is and to thank
 him for his goode will and redienes, promissand to do
 the lyke to his maiestie and to bring the¹ effect quhen
 ewir it was neidfull, prayand him to deceist frome the
 seige and nocht to molest the realme of Ingland, seing
 10 god hes grantit wictorie to them in sa far that they war
 maisteris ower the haill realme wtherwayis that he wald Fol. 43 a.
 exasperat thame of Ingland to wraith and yre quha² al-
 ready wald haue invadit the Scottis airmie war nocht the
 greatter obstakill and impediement. The king ansuerit
 15 that he was werie glad of thair prosperous succes
 of wictorie that had befallin³ the Duike of Zork bot did
 merwell how it might be that he could be offendit, or
 the nobilitie of Ingland, he doing nothing ellis bot
 that to the quhilk they requirit him maist effectuslie.
 20 Attour quhen he desyrit the promise to be fullfillit quhilk
 was maid to him; to the quhilk was anssuirit be the
 ambassadour⁴ that had no command to giue ansuer
 thairwpoun; at the quhilk the king was sa commovett
 that he refussit thair bandis and kyndnes allutterlie
 25 as wnworthie of credit bot altogidder fallis and de-
 sembillit and albeit thai did varie and discoird in
 sum effairis zeit they concordit alltogether in trumperie
 and fallsit [schawand ane fair contenance witht money
 plessant wordis in the beginning quhen they requirit ony
 30 thing wnder collerit fraud and gyle.]⁵ And thairfor said
 to the ambassadouris in this maner, 'Albeit the Duike

¹ I has "to."² I has "wis."³ B has "fallin to," I "befallin," A "bene fallin." The reading of I is preferable.⁴ B has "the ambassadouris said thai had no commissioun to ansuer thairunto."⁵ The words in brackets are from I.

' of¹ his coniurit factioun be proud and insolent of the
 ' wictorie laittlie obtained quhairthrow they disdaine to
 ' keip thair promise maid to me zeit nocht the les I will
 ' with godis grace be revengit of all iniuries done to me
 ' my realme and leidges be Ingland as I haue determinat 5
 ' of befor that the ambassadouris solistit for this effect,
 ' nocht knawand then thair quyt desait and subtill fraud.
 ' And also I salbe revengit with this iniurie quhilk is maist
 Fol. 43 b. ' of all wiolating and breaking maist wnworthelie the sol-
 ' empt aith and faithfull promise that the saidis ambassa- 10
 ' douris did pomeis to me in thair names and behalfis.'

Sua the ambassadouris being departit witht this ansuer
 the king commandit the souldouris and men of weir
 to assault the castell bot the Inglischemen defendit so
 walecantlie within, the seige appeirit so to indure langer 15
 nor was beleifit qahairthrow the king determinat to com-
 pell them that was within the house, be lang tairrie to
 rander and gif it ower. At the quhilk tyme Donald of
 the Yillis, quhome we spake of befor, come to the seige
 witht ane great companie of men all airmit in the hieland 20
 faschieoun witht haberiunes bowis and exis and promissit
 to the king gif he pleassit to pase ony farther in the
 boundis of Ingland that he and his companie sould
 pase ane learge myle befor the rest of the oist and to
 tak wpoun thame the first dint of the battell. The king 25
 efter that he had ressawit him with great humanitie,
 ansuerit that he wald use the nobillis consall in all the
 progresse of weir, rejoyssing mekill that Donald was so
 redy to joyperd him self and freindis for the defence of
 the commone weill. Efter this he bad him stent his 30
 paillzeoun a lyttill by himself quhill farther occatioun
 serwit to do as he desyrit. This Donald obbedient at
 command efter that he had takin the place to him and
 his folkis that was deputtit for thame send out sindrie
 companies of his men to spoillze and herie the contrie 35

¹ B has "and."

about the campt seing the seige lastit langer nor the
 perssouaris¹ expectatioun was. For albeit ane great pairt Fol. 44 a.
 of the keiperis of the house was parichit and tint for
 hunger and thrist, straitlie owersett be seigeris, zeit nocht
 5 the les they persewerit so stoutlie withtout regaird of
 all thair adverssariss that the persewaris war all maist
 tint in the lang seiging; quhill² Alexander earle of
 huntlieis comming quho brocht ane great companie of
 choissin men quhilk maid the king so blytht that he
 10 commandit to charge all the gunnis to gif the castell
 ane new wollie. Bot quhill this prince mair curieous
 nor becam him or the maiestie of ane king did stand
 neir hand by the gunneris quhen the artaillzerie was
 dischargand, his thie baine was dounge in tua witth ane
 15 peace of ane misframit gunne that brak in the schutting,
 be the quhilk he was strikin to the ground and dieit
 haistelie thair of, quhilk grettumlie discouragit all his
 nobill gentillmen and freindis that war standand about
 him. Bot he³ commandit all that knew his misfortoun
 20 to hald thair sielence and nocht [to]⁴ dewullgat the samin
 throw-out the camp incace it sould discourage the
 souldartis and men of weir and sa they sould schame-
 fullie dissoullve the seige.⁵ Bot how sune the quene hard
 word of this mischeif scho tuik hir zoung sone James
 25 callit efter his father, the thrid of that name and brocht
 him witth ane stout curage ewin representand the all-
 mantis or gildranttis⁶ curage and speirit quhome of scho
 was desendit, albeit no man in the ost supponit ony
 thing of hir bot murning and lamenting for hir husband,
 30 Sua by⁷ all meanis expectatiounis this nobill lady witth

¹ I has "perseweris."² "Quhill" = until.³ B has "he," A and I omit.⁴ A has "be," wrongly.⁵ I omits all the succeeding passages about the queen, &c., and continues with the words, "quhilk was done in August," &c., as on p. 145 below.⁶ That is, the courage of the Germans or men of Gueldres.⁷ "By" = beyond.

Fol. 44 b.

ane goodlie and hardie contenance exorted all the
 chiftians of the airmie to bear fourtht the seige aie
 an quhill¹ the castell sould be randerit or ellis owercum
 and win be strang handis, saying to thame in this maner :
 ' I pray zow maist waliezeant captanes² now seing ze 5
 ' haue brocht this matter neir hand³ ane end and that
 ' ze will nocht lose and tyne the great tyme and laubor
 ' quhilk in tyme past ze haue spendit and bestowit
 ' thair wpoun and nocht schamefullie to leif that quhilk
 ' ze haue begun for the matter werie cassalie sall tak 10
 ' effect gif that ze will conveine all togither witht ane
 ' consent and thairfor lat nocht the mischance of ane onlie
 ' man reif zow of zour curage or zeit thairby to cast down
 ' zour gentill heartis and make zow to dispair. Behald
 ' sen sa is that this chance is nocht knawin to the haill 15
 ' rest, that ze wald beir goode contenance sua that nane
 ' of thame might knaw the samin be ony signe or taikin
 ' of drierienes quhilk salbe no wther wayis better hid from
 ' the airmie nor be zour stout perseverance in the suit
 ' of zour enemeis witht allis good will as ze began the 20
 ' samin. Fordwart thairfor my goode lordis and lat nocht
 ' zour selffis appeir in wemenis personagis lamentand and
 ' murneand for ony misfortun of the wardill quhilk is nat-
 ' uraille and cacewallie for that becumes wyffis rether
 ' then men to be cassin to and fro witht the fourtoun of 25
 ' adwerssatie of this fragell warld. Quhat is this ze ar
 ' doand ; rether sould ze comfort me being ane wyffe nor
 ' I zow ; quhairfoir I exort zow that ze never turne zour
 ' bakis fre the seige unto the time ze haue ane end
 ' thairof.' 30

Throw thir wordis the chiftans war nocht sa mekill
 movit witht the quenis curageous wordis as eschameit
 of ane womans hardiement quhilk far surmount abone
 thair awin and thairfor was compellit on thair honour

¹ "Quhill" = till.² B has "campiones."³ B has "neir ane end that ye."

to persew thair enemeis to the wttermaist of thair powar;
 and that they sould nocht be ane heidles pepill witht
 out ane king they tuik the kingis eldest sone James and
 maid him king quhilk was James the thrid. Efter the Fol. 45 a.
 5 quhilk the Inglishemen might nocht lang indure the
 seige, seing thair was no hope of releif or confort, sua,
 efter they had gevin ower the house and had, thair lyues
 witht bage and baggadg fre, depairtit, the house was
 demolist doun to the ground leist it sould be ane refuge
 10 to tq Ingland and strength contrair the Scottismen efter-
 wart. Quhilk¹ was done in August the zeir of god I^m
 iiij^c lx zeiris and ² xxix zeir of King James the secund
 aige efter he had runge xxiiij zeiris.

THE XXXI CHAPTER.

Of the gret signes and taikins that was seine befor the deid of
 that prince: of the comit that appeirit: of the skarht yat was
 born of baith the kyndis maile and female: and of ane gret
 tyraine and brigane that was apprehendit and taine in angus
 at feindisden: and of the punischment of him and his bairnes:
 and of the exhortatioun and urisonne following heireftir.

It is said that thair was maney marvellis about that
 15 tyme quhilk pronosticat the kingis deid. The night
 befor his deceis thair appeirit ane cleir comitt ewin as
 it war ane taikin of the immatour and haistie deid of sa
 greit ane prince. In the zeir preceeding thair was ane
 bairne borne quhilk had baitht the kyndis of maill and
 20 famell callit in our langage, karthe,³ in quhome mans
 nature did prevaill bot because the⁴ dispositioun and
 protratour⁵ of body did represent ane woman, in ane

¹ I resumes at this point. See p. 143, n. 5.

² I has "and the threttie ane zeir of his age of James the secund
 and the twentie four zeir of his reigne."

³ B has "scratche," I "scarcht." See Glossary.

⁴ B has "his."

⁵ Portraiture.

mans house in Lythtgow and assotiatit in beding witht
the good mans dochter of the house and maid her to
consaue ane chylde quhilk being deuoullgat throw the
contrie and the matrounis¹ wnderstanding this damesell
dessawit in this matter and being offendit that the mon- 5
strowous creatur sould sett him self fourtht as ane
woman beand ane werie man, they gat him accusit and
convickt in iudgment ffor to be burieit² quick ffor his
schamfull behavieour. About this tyme thair was ap-
prieihendit and tain for ane abominable and cruell abuse 10
ane breigand quho hanted and dualt witht his haill
famelie and houshald out of all mens companie in ane
place of Angus callit Feindes den. This mischevous
man haid ane excreabille fassone to tak all zounge men
and childerin that ether he could steill quyitlie or tak 15
away be ony moyen witht out the knowlege of the
peopill and bring thame and eit them and the mair
zounge thai war he held thame the more tender and
greater deliecat. For the quhilk dampnabill and cursit
abuse he witht his wyffe bairnes and familie were all 20
brunt except ane zounge lase of ane zeir auld quhilk was
sawit and brocht to Dundie quhair scho was fosterit
and brocht wpe. Bot quhen scho come to the age of
ane womans zeiris scho was condemnit and brunt³
quick for the samin cryme [hir father⁴ was conuik]. It 25
is said that quhen this zounge womane was command
fourtht to the place of executioun that thair gaderit
ane wnnumerabill mulltitud of pepill about hir and
spetiall of wemen curssand and warieand⁵ that scho was
sa wnhappie to committ sa dampnabill deidis, to quhome 30
scho turnit about witht ane wode and furieous contien-
ance, sayand, 'quhairfoir cheide ze witht me as I had

¹ B and I read "matrounis," A has "natiounis" by mistake.

² B has "brint," Boece "viva in terra defossa est."

³ Boece makes her also to be buried alive.

⁴ I adds "and mother war convictit of."

⁵ "Warieand" = worrying—*i.e.*, scolding the accused.

' committit ane wnworthie act. Gif me credit and trow
 ' me, gif ze had experience of eittin of women and mens
 ' flesche ze wald think the same sa delicious that ze wald
 ' never forbeir it againe' and sa witht ane obstinat mynd
 5 this wnhappie creature but signe or outward taikin of
 repentance dieit in the sight of the haill pepill for hir
 misdeidis that scho was adiudgit to.

About the same tyme rang money cuning men be
 quhose labouris and trawell goode letteris flurischit
 10 quhilk was all maist perischit be the barbarus cruelltie of
 the Gothis; sic as Laurentius Walla ane gentill man of
 Rome quhilk did greit goode¹ in restitutioun of the
 Latine tounge to the auld purietie and ornatnes, as his
 warkis zeit dois witnes. Siclyk Franciscus Phelephus
 15 and Franciscus Petraha² baitht singular orratouris;
 Nicollas Perotas³ quho sett haill studie to abolische
 and put away the rude⁴ maner of teichment and to
 garnische and teiche the zouth with eloquent langage in
 all kynd of syences; Teodor Gaza⁵ ane weill besene
 20 man [baitht in Lattine and greik] witht money wtheris
 quhoise names war tedieous to report⁶ [of this present
 tyme.] Fol. 46 a.

¹ B and I have "in the."

² B has "ane Petrarcha," I "Petrarcha."

³ B has "Pilotus," I "Perotus."

⁴ I inserts "auld."

⁵ B has "ane cunyng and expert man," and omits words in brackets.

⁶ B has "rehers," and omits words in brackets. For the authors mentioned see Notes.

Here ends Lib. xviii. of H. Boece.

Now ze haue hard the haill proces of James the
 secundis dayes and now thairfoir seine he is depairtit
 out of this present lyffe we will lat him rest with the
 eternall God and speik of his sone James the thrid and
 how the realme was gydit in his dayis and quhat acttis 5
 and vailleant deidis he did and was done in his realme
 to the nobillis thairof.

ANE EXCLAMATIOUN OF KING JAMES THE SECUND AND
 HOU HE WAS SLAINE AT THE SEIGE OF THE CASTELL
 OF ROXBURGHE BE ANE OF HIS AWINⁿ GUNIS THAT
 BRAK RACKLESⁿLIE IN HIR SCHUTTING AND HOU HIS
 WIFE CONTENIT STILL AT THE SEIGE EXHORTAND
 THE LORDIS THAIRVNTⁿ QUHILE THE CASTELL
 WONE.¹

James the secund roy of gret renoune
 beand in thy super excellent gloir
 throch rackles schutting of ane gret kannovne 10
 the duilfall deid allaice did the devoir
 bot one thing thair was I merwell meikill moir
 that fortoun had the at sic mortall feid
 Throche fyiftie thowsand to weyll² the be the heid

This nobill prince being of tendar age 15
 his realme stuide in gret proplexetie
 Be ciuill weiris of gret men in thair rage
 Strywand daylie for the authoritie
 The dochtie Douglas clame most presumptuouslie
 for till haue power and als dominioun 20
 abone the governour and Schir William Crichtoun

¹ The first stanza of these lines, which occur in MS. I only, is taken, with slight variations, from Sir David Lyndesay, 'The Testament and Complaynt of the Papingo,' cf. Laing's Ed., i. p. 77, l. 437 *et seq.* See Notes.

² "Weyll" = wale or select.

Quho than was new approveit chancellar
 Captaine of the castell and keipar of the king
 full oft tymes with his wisdom did declair
 the ordour of the ciuill gouerning
 5 and of the puire and common weill menteinning
 bot this man fell schortlie at gret divisoun
 with the governour Schir Allexander Lewingstoun

Quho be his souerane manheid and wisdom
 was chossin be adwyce of the nobillietie
 10 of all Scotland to haue dominioun
 Induiring the kingis lesage and menoretie
 To be governour and to beir authoritie
 chossin Justlie thairto be electioun
 On theiffe and traittour for to mak correctioun

15 Bot evir allaice the gouernour grew so slaw
 That thair fell in the realme gret dissobedience
 for nevir ane man stuid of ane vthir aw
 Thair was na thing bot workin of wengence
 quhilk come schortlie throch the wariance
 20 Betwine thir thrie men of gret renoune
 The governour the Douglas and the bauld Chrichtoun

Schortlie heireftir I hard men say
 This lord Chrichtoun with gret provisioun
 he dissaweit baith the tuddar twa
 25 and brocht the Douglassis to confussoun
 In Edinburghe castell with conclwsoun
 Presentand to thame ane buillis heid
 In signe and taikin of thair deid

Than the realme stuid in guid peace and rest
 30 Eftir that the Douglassis was deid and geine
 The puir lauboraris war no moir opprest
 and the commonis micht travell than thame alaine

for than thay knew quhome too to mak thair meaine ¹
 Ather to the chancellor or to the governour
 quha ministrat iustice to the kingis honour

Ane quhile the realme stuid in tranquillitie
 quhill at the last the kingis graice 5
 resawit in hand his awin autoritie
 and luit na vther occupye his plaice
 syne dischairgit the governour of his office
 So was the chancellor ane littill quhyle
 Out of the court fortoun did him exylle 10

So the chancellor and the governour
 be the Douglas counsall as I hard say
 Off the kingis graice tint perfyt favour
 that they war baneist baith thaie twa
 The Douglas rewlit thame baith nicht and day 15
 quha counsallit the king to tak remeid
 Off his vnckill the erle of Douglas deid

Quha in the castell was heidit crewllie
 he and his brother without remeid
 and for the kingis saik cuild get na mercye 20
 also the lord flemyng vantit thair the heid
 So thir thrie lordis vas cruellie put to deid
 Vndir pretence and cullour of justice
 for the quhilk caus the chancelar vantit his office

Than was send ane summondis of foirfaltour 25
 The quhilk was dewyssit be the Douglass consent
 That the chancellor and alswa the governour
 Sould be foirfalt in plaine parliament
 quhairof the commonis war na wayis content
 That thir lordis that had so lang seruit 30
 That in sic way that thay sould be revardit

¹ "Meaine" = moan—*i.e.*, complaint.

- Bot be this way we may weill consider
Off governouris quha hes the authoritie
Oft tymes thay find that seit most slidder
That they haue keipit in the kingis menoritie
5 Vsing thair awin proffeit and commoditie
for In that lyf thay are so rejoysed
thinkand that they sould nevir be depossit
- Bot quhen the king cumis to perfyte age
reddie to resawe his awin authoritie
10 Than cummis new officairis rewland in thair rage
reddie to tak up the kingis patrimonie
Thinkand the governouris hes beine mortall enemye
vnto the kingis graice and his honour
Spending his geir at thair awin plesour
- 15 Thairfoir governouris be vyss and circumspectt
Into zour office do zour dewtie
And sie alwayis the puire ze nocht neglect
Bot do thame iustice but parciallitie
Than sall we leive in peace and vnitie
20 And evirie man with wisdomme zow commend
Beseikand god to send zow ane guid end.

HEIR BEGINNIS THE NYNTEINE BUKE OF¹
THE CRONICKILLIS OF SCOTTLAND OF THE
DEIDIS AND ACTIS OF KING JAMES THE
THRID AND QUHAT HAPNIT AND OCCURIT
IN HIS DAYS

THE I CHAPTER.

How queine mother brocht hir sone James thrid to the seige and how his comming comfortit the peopill. How the Castill of Roxburghe was wone. Ane Conventione at Scone and hou the king was crounit and delyeverit to Bischope James Kennedie in keeping. The gathering of the humis and hepburnis. Hou the queine of Inghland past to France. The foundatioun of Sanct Salvatouris Colledge. The deceis of the queine of Scotland. The duik of Albainie send to France to leirne the leid. The deceis of bischope James Kennedie. The kingis marriage on the king of denmarkis dochter.

² James the Secund wnhaplie slaine in this maner forsaid, as we haue schawin, Margaret his wyffe contenowit at the seige ever exorting the lordis and barrouns to be stout and deliegent in the persuit of the said castell and never to pas from the samin quhill it 5 was wone. To that effect scho brocht hir zoung sone James the thrid to remaine still witht them at this seige quhill the said castell was win.³ Thocht he was

¹ B omits; I reads "of King James the Thrid and quhat was done in his dayis, and how his baronis conspyred against him."

² There are three pages of Book XIX., the reign of James III., by Boece in the edition of Ferrerius, but they are not translated by Pittscottie, who gives an independent narrative.

³ I has "wone."

of tender aige and could not wse no wassaledge nor
 feit of weiris zeit his comming incuragit sa the pepill Fol. 46 b.
 that they forgett the dolorus deid of his fater and
 past manfullie to the house and wan the samin and
 5 iustifeit the cappitans thairof¹; secondlie, cuist doune
 the said castell that it sould nocht be ane inpedement
 to them efterwart be the halding of the Inglischmen.
 Sune efter thair was ane convention sett at Skune Ane conven-
 tioun sett at
 Skone.
 10 of the nobilietie and thair be advyse cronit [hir]³ sone
 James the thrid, of the aige of sewin zeiris and thair-
 efter was deliuerit to Bischope James Kennidie in
 keiping to learne lettres at the scoill.⁴

At this tyme George Douglas earle of Angus was
 15 Wairdane of the borderis and oftymes defendit the
 same manfullie, quhairthrow he was maid Lewtennent
 be the quene and consall to pas witht the hail body
 of the realme in defence of the borderis. And efter
 ane lytill quhyll the Homes gadderit and the Hep- The gather-
 ing of the
 Homes and
 Hepburns.
 20 burns witht support of Lowthieane men past to Wark
 and cuist it done. Efter that the Inglischmen⁵ desyrit
 peace witht Scottis for xv zeiris quhilk was grantit to
 them be the consall of bischope James Kennidie, quho
 was put to governe the realme induring his dayis; bot
 25 the spetiall cause of tranquillietie and peace in Scotland
 was because the Inglischemen had civell weiris amang
 thame selffis, strywing daylie for the croun of England
 betwixt the Duke of Zork and king Harie the Sext,
 quho within schort tyme efter, desyrit ane saif conduct
 30 for his wyffe and his eldest sone and certaine of his
 kin and friends containid to the number of ane thow-
 sand men, for to remaine ane quhill in Scotland at his

¹ B has "captaine onlie," I "captain thairof."

² B "quhair queen," I "quhair thair convenit queine mother."
 See Notes.

³ I inserts "hir."

⁴ I has "scuilles."

⁵ B has "tuik peace with Scotland," I follows text.

How the
quene of
England
past to
France.

Fol. 47 a.

The founda-
tioun of S.
Sallvatur
Colledge be
Bischope
James
Kennidie.

plesour, quhilk conduct was grantit to him be the king
and consall and [he] was weill ressaut and remainitt in
the Grayfreiris in Edinburgh sa lang as he pleissit. Bot
not long efter his quene passit in France because that
scho was ane Frenchewoman and money of the nobillis 5
witht hir, and King Harie at this tyme gaif Berwick
to the Scottis men for his support and interteinment
that he had in Scotland at that tyme. In this tyme
Bischope James Kennidie hes the gyding of the king¹
and his consall in goode whitie and peace quhairbe 10
the commone weill florischit greatlie. He foundit ane
trewmphan² colledge in Sanctandris callit Sanct Sal-
vatouris colledge, quhairin he maid his lair verri cure-
ouslie and costlie; and also he biggit ane scheip callit
the bischopis Bairge. Quhen all thir thrie was compleit, 15
to wit, [the]³ colledge, the lair, and the bairge, he
knew nocht quhilk of the thrie was costliest ffor it
was raknit be the honest men of consideratioun beand
for the tyme, the leist of the thrie cost ten thousand
pund sterling [sa the haill wair, being comptit, was 20
threttie thowsand pund sterling.]⁴

In this meanetyme Harie the Sext went out of
Scotland towart England. Schortlie thairefter [he] was
taine be King Edwart and put in pressone. At this
tyme the king of France send ane captane callit 25
Petter Bruce⁵ witht ane certane support to King Harie,
but or ewer he come he was taine be king Edwart
and put in pressone. Thairfoir the said captane Bruce
heirand that the king was in pressone, tuike ane castell
in the north⁶ callit Annik and thair manfullie thocht 30
to defend himself quhill he gat support. Bot Edwart

¹ I has "gydit the king."

² I has "triumphan."

³ I has "the," omitted in A and B.

⁴ B omits words in brackets; I has "compleit" instead of "being comptit." See Notes.

⁵ Brice or Brese. See Notes.

⁶ B and I have "pairt of England."

- the new king [heirand of]¹ his provisieoun caussit ane
 greater airmie to come haistellie and seig him. The
 said captane knawand no releif to com to him haistellie
 send to the consall of Scotland desyrand them to
 5 releif him or to skaill the seige promissand to them
 to cause the king of France his master to redound
 to them the costis, skaithis and dampnagis sustened
 be thame in the said cause. Incontinent George
 earle of Angus wairdane of the bordouris and great
 10 lwtennent for the tyme raissit ane great airmie of Fol. 47 b.
 Scottis men to the number of tuentie thowsand, ten
 thowsand footmen and ten thowsand horsemen, and
 quhen he was neirhand the said castell he cheissed
 out ten thowsand of the best of his airme and past
 15 to the said castell on swift horse as it had bene ane
 feras² and gart the laif of his airme come in sight of
 the castell in arrayit battell as ane staill in adven-
 teris gif the Inglischmen wald haue gevin battell.³ Bot in-
 continent the Inglischmen was sa feirit with the
 20 suddane comming of the Scottis that they skaillit thair
 seige and gaif them place quhill he releiffit the said
 captane of France and brocht him saiffie in Scotland
 and thair put him to libertie to pase in France as
 pleissit with his companie.
- 25 In the zeir of god I^m four hundreith lxiii zeiris in I, fol. 32 a.
 the moneth of November Margret queine of ingland
 come out of france and landit in Scotland and fra
 thence furth vent to Ingland with ane strange armye
 of frenchmen and money Scoittis men with hir trovand
 30 to have maid hir pairtie guid and beine revengit on
 edwart the lait⁴ king hir enemye quhairfoir king Edwart

¹ The reading of I, "heirand of," has been preferred to that of A, "haueing."

² B has "forrey," I "fray."

³ B has "in case it had chanced the Englisemen to have gewin thame battell"; I follows text.

⁴ "Lait" = lately made king.

heiring of this that the queine was cuming on him
 with ane gret power assemblit ane greit armie and
 sped him hestelie vnto the north for to meit the queine
 and gif hir battell bot scho on the vther syde seand
 the awfull cuming of the king and the lordis of Ing- 5
 land quhairof scho tuik sic ane feir that scho was con-
 stranit to fle vnto the cost sydd quhar hir schippis
 was and thair enterit in ane carwell and thocht to
 haue saillit to france bot thair come sic hestie tem-
 pestis vpone the sie that hir schippis was scatterit 10
 and in perrell of drowneing that scho was constranit
 to pas in ane fischaris bot and be that menis saiffit
 hir lyf and landit at berwik quhilk than was in the
 Scottis menis handis and thaireftir schortlie passit to
 the king and court of Scotland for refuge bot schone 15
 eftir thair come tydingis to hir that hir carwell was
 drownit one the sea with all hir gret treasure cleiding
 and vthir riches and the samyn tyme fyve hundreith
 of hir frenchmen war drewin one the land neir on
 banbroch¹ and becaus thay cuild nocht get thair 20
 schippis away of land thay fyred thame and brunt
 thame and syne heireftir for saif gard of thair bodies
 passit in ane yland in northumberland² quhair thair
 ane callit maister maures³ with wthir certeine knichtis
 with him passit haistelie on thame and assailzeit thame 25
 bot thay defendit manfullie quhill thay gat support
 out of Scotland bot the king heirand this followit fast
 to haue had the queine in Scotland and to haue beine
 rewengit on thame that supportit hir or hir men bot
 he was hestelie vissitit with the heot feweris that he 30
 was constranit to depairt bakward againe and leave
 that jorney bot schortlie about the peace⁴ heireftir
 the Scoittis with ane strang power and armie come

I, fol. 32 b.

¹ Bamborough Castle in Northumberland.

² Lindisfarne. See Notes.

³ Maurice. See Notes.

⁴ Pasch or Easter.

vnto ingland and enterit into the land in the north
 pairtis and seigit the castell of Dandwarpe¹ with money
 vthir castellis and recoverit the samyn and wan it with
 money vthir castellis and townis and brocht thame
 5 againe to the seruitud of Scotland. And in the
 monethe of Maij heireftir king Edwart with his lordis
 being varnit that harrie the leit king was cummand
 out of Scotland and assemblit the north pairt with
 him quhilk contenit of inglis and scoittis ane gret
 10 armye. Bot Edwart seand this come fast fordwart
 and his men and fell in skarmisching with the scoittis
 quha war first in the wangerde bot thay debeitit man-
 fullie and wareit edwartis wanguard bot harie seand
 thair was nothing bot fechtin tuik purpois and fled
 15 and was schessit and wan away and escheipit nar-
 rowlie with his lyff bot the scoittismen retired in
 ordour and passit to berwick for their saif gard.

The zeir of god I^m iiij^c lxiiij zeiris and Margarit² quen
 of Scotland, dowchter to the Duik of Gilder depairtit at
 20 Edinburgh and was burieit in the Trinitie Colledge
 quhilk scho foundit hir self efter the deceis of James
 the secund hir husband. This quene Margarit was
 werie wyse and werteous in hir husbandis tyme, bot
 sune efter his deid sche knawand herself to be regent
 25 and gydder of the realme seing all men to obey hir
 and nane to controll her wther wayis³ scho became
 leichorous of hir body⁴ [and as sum men deime hir to
 haue beine⁵ quhilk aluterlie I will affirme because the
 lyk thing was done be vthiris in my tyme quha haveand
 30 the authoritie as scho had at that tyme quhilk I haue
 writtin be the reherss of Maister Johne Mair and report

The deceis
 of Margarit
 quene of
 Scotland.

I, fol. 32 b.

¹ So also I.

² This should be Mary, but the mistake is in all the texts.

³ I has "of her wyce." ⁴ The passages in brackets are in I only.

⁵ Ferrerius in his Appendix to Boece, p. 386, who agrees with John Major.—History of Greater Britain, Scottish Text Society, ii. p. 388. See Notes.

of his cronickill quhilk he hes writtin compleitie of the
 haill realme of Scotland of the haill notabill actis done
 in King James the thridis tyme] and tuik Adame Hep-
 burne of Haillis quho had ane wyffe of his awin and
 committit adulltrie witht him, quhilk caussit hir to be 5
 lichtlieit witht the haill nobilietie of Scotland that scho
 saw sa money nobill men in Scotland, lordis souns and
 barrouns¹ fre of marieage that scho wald not desyre
 them to have sustein it hir lust, bot tuik ane wther wyffis
 husband to satisfie hir gredie appetyte. 10

[Thairfoir we may sie in tymes bygaine presentlie and
 to cum quhair weomen hes ovir mekill of thair awin will
 but correctioun or guid counsall garris thame oftymes
 fall frome god and tyne the hartis of thair best lowearis
 to thair avingret schame and turpitude as did this queine 15
 for quhan scho fell in licherie as I haue schawin to zow
 befor, scho tint the hairtis of the nobillietie and all the
 commonis quhairfoir scho was depossit of hir governe-
 ment and schortlie heireftir scho tuik displeasour and
 depairtit as I haue schawin to zow Thairfoir god gif 20
 all quenis that bearis autoritie graice to know god
 and to wndirstand that licherie and wenus lyfe hes oft
 tymes a euill end.]² The samin zeir Alexander Duik of
 Albanie and brother to King James the thrid, was send
 to France to leirne the leid³ witht wther lettres drectit 25
 be James Kennidie Bischope of St Androis. The said
 Alexander and his schiep were baitht taine be Inglische-
 men, quha was haistelie deliuerit againe be suplicatioun
 of Bischope James Kennedie, for the said bischope
 James promissid to the consall of Ingland that thair 30
 sould no peace be keipit gif that the said Alexander
 and his schiep war nocht deliuerit. Imedeatlie the
 quhilk was done at his desyre for the Inglischemen

The Duk of
 Albanie
 send to
 France to
 leirne the
 leid.

Fol. 48 a.

¹ B has "sa money erles lordis and barrones sones in Scotland
 frie," &c.

² The words in brackets are from I.

³ B has "langage and."

had sic ciwill weiris amang them selffis that they durst
 not break peace with Scotland. [And about this tyme in
 the moneth of September fra our redemptioun I^m four
 hundreith thriescoir tuelf zeiris the Duik of Clarencis
 5 accompanyit with the erle of Waruik and pembrok and
 Oxfurd with money vthir nobilis and gentillmen with
 thame landit in Ingland and schone heireftir meid
 proclamatiounis in king harreis name quhiddar it was
 for his weill or nocht I can nocht schaw Bot thay drew
 10 ane gret pairt of the realme vnto thame aganis king
 Edwart quha was afoir Duik of Zork bot quhen he hard
 of thair cuming he sped him fast to the sie cost and gat
 schippis and past to flanderis and restit nocht quhill he
 come to his brother the Duik of burgunzie to get sup-
 15 port; thus indurit gret trubill in Ingland daylie stryveand
 for the croun that Scotland stuid in gret pace and rest
 money zeiris afoir and heireftir.]¹

In the zeir of god I^m iiij^o lxxvj² zeiris Bischope James
 Kennidie depairtit out of this present lyfe and was burieit
 20 in the citie of St Androis colledge quhill he foundit
 him self [in the zeir of god I^m iiij^o xxxv zeiris].³ This
 bischope James Kennidy in his dayis was wondrous
 godlie and wyse weill leirned in devyne syences and
 pratizit the samin to the glorie of god and to the com-
 25 mone weill of the kirk of god, for he caussit all persouns
 and wickaris⁴ to remaine at thair parochie kirkis for
 instruction and edifeing of their flock; and caussit them
 to preiche the word of god into the pepill and to wessie
 them quhen they war seik. And allis the said Bischope
 30 went to wissit ewerie kirk withtin his diosie foure tymes
 in the zeir and preichit to the said parochin him self the
 word of god trewlie and requirit of the said parochin gif

I, fol. 33 a.

The death
of Bischope
James
Kennedy.

¹ "Indurit" should perhaps be "inducit," but possibly "indurit"
 = endured—*i.e.*, continued. The words in brackets are from I.

² I has "1460," which is wrong.

³ B omits words in brackets.

⁴ Parsons and vicars.

Fol. 48 A.

they war dewlie instructit in the word of god be thair
 persone and wickar and gif the sacramentis war dewlie
 ministrat into them be the persone and wickar forsaide,
 and gif the poore war sustenid and the zouth brocht wpe
 and leirnitt conforme to the order that was taine in the 5
 kirk of god. And quhair he fand nocht the samin order
 keipit he maid great provissment¹ to the effect that
 godis glorie might shyne throw the contrie in his diocie,
 gevin goode exampillis to all archebischopis and kirkmen
 to cause the patromoney of gods word² to be wssit to 10
 the glorie of god³ and to the commone weill of the
 puire. Farder he was ane mane weill leirnit in the civill
 lawis and had great prattick in the samin [quhairby by
 the ingyne of lettres and prattick, be lang use and zeiris
 he knew the natur of Scottismen]⁴ sa that he was maist 15
 abill of ony lord into Scotland spretuall or temporall
 to gif ane wyse consall or ane ansuer quhen tyme occurit
 befor his prince or the counsall and spetiallie in the
 tyme of parlement. For⁵ quhen the ambassadouris of
 wther countries came ffor thair effairis thair was nane 20
 sa abill as hie to gif them ansueris conforme to thair
 petitioun and desyris of thair maisteris, or ony wther
 occatiouns or trubillis that appeirit [in] the realme and
 spetiallie contrair the leisemaiestie. Quhilk he was also
 practicat in, ffor he gave counsall to King James con- 25
 traire the douglassis, as I haue schawin zow befor,⁶ and
 alsua he did money guid actis baitht to the glorie of
 god and to the common weill and advancement of his

¹ B and I have "punishment."² I has "kirk."³ B has "his owin glory."⁴ Omitted in B.⁵ B has "or quhan ambassadouris craived thair intentis, wes nane so meit as he to have ansuered thame or quhan ony ciwill insurrection wes in the cuntrie and specialie lesmaiestie aganis the kingis own persone quhairin he was well practicked."⁶ The MS. which Dalzell followed inserts here the apologue of the Arrows, and its application to the Douglasses, which, as it belongs to James II.'s reign, is more appropriately placed in the preceding book by MS. I, as in this edition.

contrie. So we will lat him rest with god and returne
againe to our porpois.

- Farder in the zeir of our Lord I^m iiij^e lxxj zeiris,
James the thrid beand of the age of nynteine zeiris the
5 counsall thocht it expedient that he sould haue ane wyff
and for quhilk caus send ambassadouris to Denmark for
the kingis dochtar in mariage to the said king James the
thrid and thairof meid the contracttis betwene the twa
kingis of mariage and that the king of Denmark and
10 Norroway sould gif ovir all titill of richt that he had or
nicht haue vnto the landis of Orknay and Scheitland
with vthir gret sowmes of money in name of touchar
guide Thus contractis meid and endit betuix Denmark
and Scotland to thir ambassadouris fairsaid as I haue
15 schawin at Elsoniure the xx day of Julij The zeir of god
I^m four hundreith thrie scoir xiiij zeiris and heireftir the
ambassadouris come to Scotland with Margret the king
of denmarkis dochter accompaneit with ane gret numer
of duche lordis and gentilmen and schowne heireftir
20 was mareit with king James the thrid with gret solemp-
nitie and triwmphe at Edinburgh the zeir of god I^m four
hundreith and thrie scoir xiiij zeiris the king beand than
of xx zeiris of age and the gentillwoman the king of
denmarkis dochter bot xij zeiris of age ; thus thay passit
25 thair tyme with gret joy and plesour Bot schort quhyle
eftir thair fell gret troubill in Scotland amang our sellffis
partlie be the kingis insolence vthirwayis be the con-
spirace of his awin lordis and barronis aganis him as
eftir followis. And at this tyme in Ingland the Duik
30 of Excister was foundin deid in the sea betuix Dower
and Callice bot quhow he was drownit the certentie was
nocht schawin.

The kingis
marriage.

Contractt of
mairiage be-
tuix king
James the
thrid and
the king of
Denmarkis
dochter into
the quhilk
landis of
Orknay and
Scheitland
war givin to
the king of
Scottis in
touchar guid
of the dait
the xx day
of Julij.
1473.

I, fol. 33 b.

King James
the 3 of 20
zeiris of aige
mareit the
king of
Denmarkis
dochter of
12 zeiris of
aige.

THE II CHAPTER.

Of the kingis tua brether to wit Allexander Duik of Albanie and Erle of Marche, and James Erle of Mar. Hou Allexander Duik of Albanie for his singular manheid and wisdom was chosin Captain of Beruik and liustennent to the king and wardane of the bordouris. Hou the said Allexander Duik of Albanie fell at discord with the homes for the uptakin of the proffietes and deuities of the Erledom of Marche quilk pertemit to him be just titill an hou the homes and hepburnes bandit together for thair defence.

This King James the thrid had tuo brether, the eldest callit Alexander Duike of Albanie and Earle of Merche, the wther James Earle of Mar. This Alexander Duik of Albanie and Earle of Merche was werie wyse and manlie and lowit nothing so weill as abill men and goode horse 5 and maid gret coste and expenssis thairon; for he was wondrous liberall in all thingis pertening to his honour and for his singular wisdom and manheid he was estemed in all contrieis aboue his brother the kingis grace.¹ For he was so hardie and manlie [and] witht 10 the lordis and Barrouns of Scotland was haldin sa in estimatioun that they durst never rebell aganis the king sa lang as he rang in peace and rest witht his brother the kingis grace for he was so hardie manlie and wyse that they stude more in aw of him nor of the kingis 15 grace. For this Alexander was ane man of mide statur, braid scholdeart and weill proportionat in all his memberis, and in spetiall in his face that is to say braid faceit, raid² nossit, great eyit, and werie awfull continance quhen he pleissit to schew him self wnto onfreindis.³ 20 Bot the kingis grace his brother was far different from

¹ I begins the next sentence "And with the lordis," &c.

² I has "rib nosit, gret eye," B omits.

³ B has "his onfreindis," I "vnto his vnfreindis"; A has "freindis," wrongly.

his qualitieis and complexeoun, for he was ane that
 lowit sollitarnes and desyrit never to heir of weiris nor
 the fame thairof bot delytit mair in musik and pollicie
 of beging nor he did in the goverment of his realme ; ffor
 5 he was wondrous covettous in conquissing of money
 rather than the heartis of his barrouns ¹ for he delyttit
 mair in singing and playing wpoun instrumentis nor he
 did in defence of the bordouris or the ministratioun of
 iustice, the quhilk at length caussit him to reuine as ze
 10 sall heir efter following. Bot we will returne to the
 thrid brother James Earle of Mar quho was zoung fair
 and lustie, ane man of high statur, fair and plessant faceit,
 gentill in all his haweingis and maneris and knew na
 thing bot nobilietie. He wssit mekill hunting and halk-
 15 ing witht wther gentill men pastyme or ² archorie and
 wther knychtlie games, as the intertening of great horse
 and meiris quhairby thair ofspring might florisch so
 that he might be stakit ³ in tyme of weiris with the
 samin.

Fol. 51 b.

20 We will returne to our historie. The said Alexander
 Duike of Albanie and Earle of Marche for his singular
 manheid and wossdome was chossin captaine of Bervick
 and Lutennent of all the haill borderis and had in his
 handis at that tyme the castell of Dumbar witht the
 25 leving thairof pertening to the earle ⁴ of Marche nocht
 withstanding Alexander Lord Home callit wtherwayis
 Lord chancelar had money of the landis into his handis
 in uptaking of the rentis and maillis thairof be ressone
 of his office gevin ⁵ to him in King James the secundis
 30 tyme, thairfor wald nocht suffer the tennentis and
 occupyaris thairof to ansuer the said Alexander Duik of
 Albanie of the maillis rentis proffeitis thairof witht his

How the
 Duike of
 Albanie for
 his singular
 wisdom and
 manheid was
 chossin cap-
 taine of Ber-
 vick and
 Lutennent
 of the haill
 Borderis.

¹ B has "subjectis."² I has "as."³ "Stakit." The reading is doubtful. Perhaps "stakit=staitkit,"
i.e., supplied; or "starkit," *i.e.*, strengthened.⁴ I has "erldome."⁵ A has "ewin," wrongly.

The debat
betuix Alex-
ander Lord
Home and
the Duik of
Albanie.

Fol. 52 a.

goode will, bot beleiffit efterwart witht sic craftie meanes
to use the samin to his awin plesour. Bot Alexander
Duik of Albanie commovit at the samin spairit nocht to
ryd to the groundis and boundis and landis thair of the
said earledome of Marche and thair wpe tuike the saidis 5
proffeitis and dewtieis at his awin plesour nocht witht-
standing the Lord Home nor nane of his freindis in the
said actioun might never in na way be partie into him
because he was baitht captane of Bervick and had all the
Mers at his obedience. Right sa [he] had the castell of 10
Dumbar and money of the gentillmen of that contrie to
fortifie him in his iust cause be ressonne that he was
secund persone of Scotland and the kingis brother thair
durst na man mell¹ against him. The samin zeir the
quene bure ane sone that efter was callit James the 15
fourth. Zeit nochtwithtstanding the Homes was werie
discontent in his proceedingis, cust all the wayis he
might to keip them selffis in possessioun of the rowmes
and rentis quhilk they war in wse and possessioun affoir
of wptaking thair of as challmerlane to the kingis grace 20
and to that effect to fortifie thair cause they bandit witht
the Hepburnes to mak thair pairtie goode aganis the
said Alexander Duik of Albanie. Bot never the les
thair laubouris was bot in waine; because their actioun
was not goode nor iust, he werrit ewer² them at all 25
tymes quhen they mett; gif he³ had ben xxx and they
iij^{xx} he wald haif gevin them battell and oftymes war⁴
them and chase thame to thair haldis.⁵

¹ I has "meddill."

² I has "variet thame evir."

³ I and A have "thair," which is wrong.

⁴ I has "woritt."

⁵ There is something not quite clear here. Freebairn reads:
"Because their action was not good nor just he prevailed ever at
all times against them when they met. If he had been thirty and
they three score yet he would have given them battle: and oft-
times warred them and chased them to their hold." This is no
doubt the sense of the passage.

THE III CHAPTER.

How the homis and the hepburnis dewysit ane meane to bring the king at discord with his brether : and how they assemblit with ane new Courteour callit Cochrine for the same intent and purpois. Hou this Cochrine caussit ane wiche cum and proministrat¹ to the king. Hou the king send for his bretherin and for quhat purpois. The slaughter of the kingis brether the erle of Marr.

- Then the Homes and Hepburneis seand that they could nothing prevaill aganis this nobill man, devyssit amang them selffis ane craftie meane quhairbe they might cause his brother the kingis grace to be discontentit witht him knawand weill gif they had the king brokin fre the said Alexander his brother in this cace, thai thocht to haue rulleit the kingis grace as they pleissit : and to this effect sought all the occatiouns that they might bring thair purpois to effect, quhill at the
- 10 last they persawit ane new courteour start wpe callit Couchren quho had at that tyme great preheminance and autorietie in court, and credence witht the king and reullit all matteris and actiounis as he pleissit to thame that wald giue him buddis or geir for his labouris.
- 15 The Homes and Hepburnes seand this man Couchrane haueand sa greit credance of the king, thinkand na thing better nor they wald mak thair moyenis witht him and gaif him large sowmes of money to fortiefie and manteine thair cause aganis the Duike of Albanie quha haistellie
- 20 promissit to tak thair pairt in all thingis debettabill betuix them and the Duik of Albanie and his brother Erle of Mar. For the said Couchrine confessed to them that he was in no less feir and dreadour of the Duik of Albanie and his brother nor they war them
- 25 selffis, thairfoir he was the mair willing to consent to

The coming of Couchren to the court.

How the Homes and the Hepburnes assentit with Couchren.

Fol. 52 b.

¹ Prognosticate.

How Couch-
rin caussit
ane witche
to come and
pronosticat
to the king.

Fol. 53 a.

The sus-
pitioun be-
tuix the king
and his
brether.

thair oppinion and promissit to tham gif he might find
the tyme convenient he should bring thair purpois to
effect and depairtit from thame and was in to the
court and daylie laborit his ingyne to bring the king
in discord with his brether. He trawellit lang or ewer 5
he could finde ony effect to bring his porpois to pase for
the king lowit his brether so weill that he wald trow no
wrang narratioun of them nor gif no credence to na man
that spake ewill of them, quhill at the last this Couchrane
seand of na way he could break the king from his 10
bretherin, he caussit ane witche to come and pronounce
to the king that he sould be suddenlie slaine witht ane
of the neirest of his kin of the quhilk the king was werie
effeirit and desyreit of the witche how scho had that
experience of him or gif ony man had caussit hir to 15
speik the samin, and scho denyit that ony man caussit
hir bot that scho had the rewelatioun thair of be ane fa-
miliear spreit. And then the king begane to grow aston-
ischit and daylie affryit of thir new tydingis conjectering
and moving¹ in his mynd quhome this sould be, bot at 20
the last tuik suspitioun in his mynd of his bretherin that
he coniecterit² that it sould be they that sould perform
this prophecie that the witche had spokin. Because he
had no bairnes at that tyme of aige to do sic thing as
was pronuncit thairfoir he concludit haill witht himself 25
that it sould be his bretherin that sould do him that
mischeif; and thairwpoun he grew in sic suspitioun
and haitrent towartis them that he might on na wayse
tak rest because they war neirest of kin to him as the
witche had spokin, bot ewer inquirand at Couchrane 30
and the laife of his wnworthie consall quha augmentit
him daylie in that suspitioun towart his brether and was
content of jelozie towartis his brether. Bot quhen thir
tydingis of the kingis suspitioun came abrode and noyssed

¹ I has "conjectin and studein."

² I has "conjectit."

throw the countrie and also come to the earis of the
 Homes and Hepburnes they war hartlie content of thir
 nowellis traisting to be relewit be that way of thair
 eneme the Duik of Albanie and his brother; thairfoir
 5 maid them to the court and flatterit witht the king and
 witht the courteouris, schawand thair appeirance of the
 kingis suspitioun sayand they thocht all to be of werietie
 that the king had coniectit in that matter towardis his
 bretherin. Quhill at the last, thair grew sic mortall feid
 10 withtin the kingis breist towartis his bretherine that he
 could on nawayis be contentit to lat his brether leif in
 peace and rest to haue godlie cheratie witht them as he
 aught to haue witht his awin bretherin, bot saikles in his
 awin heart condemnit them baitht to deith and that be
 15 persuatioun of this fallis flatterar Couchrin and the in-
 tysement of the Homes and Hepburnes quhill was the
 fortiffearis of Couchrane in that cause be thair persua-
 tioun gewin to him great giftis of gould and silluer. At
 the last the king send for his bretherin the Duik of
 20 Albanie and the Earle of Mar¹ in all possibill haist
 for sic thingis as he had ado witht at that tyme; bot
 the kingis mynd and porpois was to destroy imedeatlie
 efter thair comming and that be the persuatioun of the
 fallis flateraris that was about the king at that tyme.
 25 Bot notwithstanding the Duik of Albanie was suirlie
 adwertissit be his freindis of the kingis malice towartis
 him be the persuatioun of his enemeis and thairfor wald
 nocht compeir for the kingis writting bot fled to his Fol. 53 b.
 awin castell of Dumbar quhill he saw farther in the
 30 matter; bot the Earle of Mar, wnadwertissit heirof
 came obedientlie into his brother the kingis grace not
 dreadand nor suspecand na malice in the kingis heart to
 him nocht-withtstanding this nobill mane came to Edin-
 burgh obedientlie into his brother the kingis grace; quho
 35 was haistelie thairefter muredrest and slaine in the Canno-
The slauch-
ter of the
Earle of
Mar.

¹ I adds, "to cum to Edinburgh to him," &c.

gait in ane baith fatt, be quhose persuatioun or quhat cause I can not tell.¹

THE IIII CHAPTER.

Hou the king past to Dunbar to have gottin his brother the duik of Albanie thair in the Castell randerit at the kingis command. Hou Cochrene obteneit the erledom of Mar; Hou Cochrene got licence to straik cunzie: hou the Court was misgydit be Cochrene. Hou the lordis set ane convention amangis thame-selvs. The lordis consall to the king. The kingis ansuer to the lordis.

Off the
raising of
Dumbar.

The kingis grace sune efter came to Dumbar to haue had his brother the Duik into his handis bot the Duik adwertissit of his comming fled out of his said castell 5 and left men to kept it and past him self to Berwick and remanit thair quhill he hard farther tedingis. The king heirand of his depairtur and absence send certane nobell men to the castell of Dumbar and requirit the samin to be deliuerit to the king and his captans quhilk 10 obedientlie was randerit at the kingis plesour. This being done the king past to Edinburgh and thair remanit ane quhill at his plesour woyd of all feir, dreadour or danger quhilk he suspectit afoir to come be the prophiecie of the witche, and also passit his tyme with his 15 flateraris in all pairtis of Scotland at his plesour, think-and then that thair was no man that had at him invy bot he might saiflie perseveir in his plesour and wocation as he thocht best.

In this tyme this Couchrane grew sa familiar witht 20 his maister the kingis grace that nathing was done in court butt by him and all men that wald haue had thair bussienes drest witht the kingis grace come to Couchrin

¹ I adds, "allennerlie exceptt the kingis suspitioun. This crwell act was done in the zeir of god I^m four hundreith thriescoir fyfteine zeiris."

- and maid him forspeiker for them and gaif him large money to drese thair bussienes thairthrow and he became so riche and potent, of sic substance that no man might stryue witht him. Bot he knawand the kingis natur that
- 5 he was covatous wpoun money and lowed him better that gaif him nor they that tuik fre him for the quhilk cause the said Couchren gaif the king lairge sowmes of money quhair throw he obtenit the Earldome of Mar frome the king and was possest in the samin and ewer
- 10 clame heigher and heigher to the court till that he had no peir nor compariesone of no lord of Scotland spirit-uall nor temporall into the kingis fawour. Quhat ewer was in the court or consall witht the king na thing was concludit bot be him, nor no man durst say that his
- 15 proceidingis was wicked or ewill or wnproffietabill to the common weill bot he wald haue his indignatioun and gart punisch him for the samin. He gat sic credence of the king that he gaif him leif to straik conzie of his awin as he had ben ane prince; and quhen the wyffis
- 20 wald refuse the said cunzie quhilk was callit ane Couch-rinis plak and said to him that it wald be cryit doun, he ansuerit them and said, that day he wald be hangit quhen they war cryit doun quhilk schortlie followit thairefter that prophiecie as ze sall heir. For this
- 25 Couchrane had sic autorietie in court and credence at the king that na man gatt audience nor presentis of the king bot be his moyen so all that wald esteme him or flatter witht him or gif him geir, thair matteris was dressit according to thair awin plesour. Quhether they war
- 30 iust or wniust or aganis the common weill, all was alyke onto him, ffor he cairit not the weillfair of the realme or the [kingis]¹ honour so that he might haue his awin singular profeit and estimatioun in court. So he abussit this nobill prince that nane was ressawit in court nor
- 35 in no kynd of office bot they quho wald obey to him

Fol. 44 a.

How Couchren obtenit the Earldome of Mar.

How Couchran gat leif at the king to straik cunzie.

¹ I inserts "kingis."

Fol. 54 b.

How Couch-
rin misgydit
the court
and the
king.

and be of his factioun; so be this meanes the prudent lordis counsall was refussit and thair souns absent from the kingis seruice. For no man durst come serue the king bot he that was ane flatterar with Cowchrin and think all thingis weill done that ewer he consallit the 5 king to. Be this way the kingis grace tint money of the harttis of the lordis of Scotland and allso of thair souns and brether that was zoung men that faine wald haue seruit the kingis grace bot thai could gett na place for this Couchrin and his companie, nor na casualietieis 10 culd fall to the king in Scotland bot it was dispoit be the advyse of this Cowchrin and not be the consall of the lordis of parlieament nether sprituall nor temporall.

How the
lordis sett
ane conven-
tioun amang-
ist them
selfis.

The quhilk proceedingis movit the maist of the lordis of Scotland to fall from the king and to sett thair intent 15 to find remedie in the samin, quho maid ane conventioun amang themselfis and thair to consult hou thai might best bring the king to defend his realme in iustice and equitie quhairby the commone weill might flurische and the kingis honour [be] nocht diminischit and put sic 20 nobill men about him to serue him as was convenient for sic ane prince quhairby vertew might be mantenit and wyce punischit quhairby he might win the favouris of his lordis and barrouns and to bring his realme to sic peace and rest as his father left it to him. And 25 wpoun this conclutioun the lordis send ane wyse mane to the king declairing thair myndis into him in maner and forme as efter followis; that is to say, thay desyrit the kingis grace to leif zoung consall and wnhonest companie quhilk tuike na thocht of the kingis honour 30 and commone weill of the cuntrie into the ministratioun of iustice bot the sight that they had to thair particular proffeit, and desyrit him to leif all feir and dredour and put suspitioun out of his hart towartis his nobillis, and tak the consall of his wyse lordis how he sould rulle 35 him self in goverment of his realme and in the minis-

The lords
consall to
the king.

Fol. 55 a.

tratioun of iustice and in the defence of his enemeis and
 mantinance of his commone weill. And gif his grace
 wald use thair consall in this maner they wald all die
 and leif witht him in defence of his honour and com-
 5 mone weill of the contrie; and gif he wald not inclyne
 to thair consall in this maner they tuik god to witnes
 that they sould be guiltles of the misgoverance of the
 realme and the charge sould ly to him batht befor god
 and man, that they sould be declairit innocent gif ony
 10 miswse fell at that tyme in the contrie. The king
 ansuerit to thair petitioun, sayand, he had no consall
 in the government of his realme bot lordis consallis, as
 they war, and to his companie they pleissit him for the
 tyme because he could sie nor persair no better for him
 15 at that tyme; and lat them to wnderstand he wald put
 na ma out of his companie for thair plessouris ffor he
 beleiffit suirle that thay war baitht trustie and trew that
 seruit and was in his companie. And he could nocht
 beleue in them, because ewer quhen the ane half of them
 20 was witht him and of his oppinioun the wther half was
 aganis him; zeit nochtwithtstanding he promist, quhen
 the haill lordis was convenit togither and concludit in
 ane woce he wald be content to use thair consall in all
 thingis and spetiall in the defence of his realme and
 25 libertie thair of.

The lordis heirand this ansuer of the kingis was not
 halfingis content witht the samin bot zeit they buire
 fair quhill they saw thair tyme knawand thay could do
 nathing mair in this matter quhill they war togither
 30 wpoun the feildis in campt or battell. To that effect
 some of them caussit the bordouris to be brokin and
 wther sume lay still and wald mak no defence quhair-
 throw came greit reif and heirschipis in all contrieis and
 greit slaughteris betuix Ingland and Scotland quhair throw
 35 the landis was so waistit be Ingland and the theiffis of
 Annerdaill that na thing was plenischit wntill Edinburgh.

The kings
ansuer.

Fol. 55 b.

Great
slaughter
betuix Ing-
land and
Scotland.

THE V CHAPTER.

Ane proclamatioun and hou the king tuik arteilserie out of the Castell of Edinburgh. Ane wthir Conventioun amang the lordis. To quhat purpois thay concludit: Hou Cochran quha was Erle of Mar come to the Conventioun: hou he was accompanyit and quhat was thair abulzement: quha was keiper of the dor: hou Cochran come in and quhat was tane from him in his incoming: hou the kingis secreit serviandis was hangit and Cochrane also.¹ Quhat maner of man Cochrane was in his beginning and hou he com to the Court: hou money of kingis servandis eschapiit. Hou the king was put in presoun: hou thare was guid pace and rest in the cuntrie so long as the king was in presoun: hou he was counsalled to speik with the Erle of Douglas. The hech wordis of the erle to the king. The kingis wow to the Erle of Douglas.

How the
king maid
proclama-
tioune.

Quhen thir lamentatiouns and [cryis]² of the poore come befor the king he was hevelie commovet and caussit to mak procliematioun out throw the realme and to all sindrie his ledgis earleis lordis barrouns and friehalderis and all substantious gentillmen, ze³ and all 5 maner of man betuix sextie and sextene zeiris allis weill sperituall as temporall to compeir and assemblill wpoun the borrowmure of Edinburgh in thair best array witht xl dayis wictuall to pas fordwart witht the king quhair he pleissit in defence of the realme. The Inglischmen 10 heirand of thir procliematiouns maid greit provisioun for the same thinkand that they wald defend them selffis and thair bordour contrair the Scottis at that tyme ffor they had to thair lewtennent and cheiftane the Duik of Glossister quho was then principall consallour and great 15 lutennant wnto King Edwart the new king. Nocht-withstanding the Scottis campt pertlie come fordwart at the kingis command and to the place that was ap-

¹ From here MS. I makes a second chapter v.; but as the next chapter is vi., it seems better to run the two chapters v. together.

² I. B and A have "to this"—a miscopy.

³ "Ze" = zea.

poyntit, that is to say, wpoun the borrowmure convenitt
 the hail number of lordis barrounis and gentillmen and
 borrowis, fyftie thousand fightand men, by carrage¹ men
 and bordereris. The king tuk certane artaillze witht him
 5 out of the castell of Edinburgh and maid Cowchrane
 earle of Mare convoyar of the samin out of the castell
 vpon his expenssis and past fordwart to Sowtray the first
 night and on the morrow past to Lawder and thair
 plantit doune thair pawilieounis betuix the kirk and the
 10 toun and thair abaid that nicht, quhill on the morne all
 the hail lordis of Scotland convenit in the kirk of
 Lauder to ane cunsall and thair to consult quhat was
 best to be done ffor the weillfair of the realme and the
 defence of the bordouris or gif they sould pas witht the
 15 king as his plesour. At that tyme sum wyse and antient
 lordis ansuerit and said he was not thair king nor gydit
 be thame nor be thair counsall bot maid fellowis mais-
 souns to be lordis and earleis in the place of nobillmen,
 that is to say he had banist the nobill Duik of Albanie
 20 his brother and had forfaltit and slaine the Earle of Mar
 his wther brother, and had maid Cowchrane that was
 bot ane maissone to fullfill his rowme quhair of they
 could not be contentit. Quhen they had sic thingis
 reformitt, wpoun this they cheissit out certane wyse
 25 lordis to the number of xxiiij that is to say, the earle
 of Angus principall of the consall [Lord Annerdaill quho
 was chancellor for the tyme],² the earle of Argyle, the
 earle of Huntlie, the earle of Orknay the earle of
 Craford, the earle Bothwall³ the lord Home, lord
 30 Fleming, lord Gray lord Drowmond, the lord Seytoun
 witht certane bischopis. The quhilkis lordis convenit
 forsaide and had adwyssit ryplie in this cause quho had

How the
kinge tuk
certan ar-
taillze out of
the castell of
Edinburgh
witht him.

Fol. 56 a.

The number
of the lordis.

¹ I has "Carrek," and is probably the right reading — *i.e.*, besides Carrick men.

² I omits words in brackets.

³ I inserts here, "lord evindeill quha was chancellor for the tyme."
"Avandale" is the correct spelling. Evandail is also common.

How they
concludit.

concludit haill witht ane woyce thinkand that the king
sould be taine softlie and fairlie, bot heirm of his body
and convoyit witht certane gentillmen into the castell
of Edinburgh to remain thairin quhill they saw forder
and in the meane tyme to tak Couchrane the earle of 5
Mar and all the laif of the kingis familiearis and imme-
diatlie hang thame ower the breig of Lawder. Be this

How Couch-
ran come to
the consall.

was devyssit and spokin be thir lordis forsaid Couchrane
the earle of Mar came frome the king to the consall,
quhilk consall was haldin in the kirk of Lawder for the 10
tyme [quha]¹ was weill accompanit witht ane band of men
of weir to the number of iij^c light aixiss all clad in quhyt
cloth² and blak bendis thairon, that [thay]³ might be

Fol. 56 b.

knawin for Couchrane the Earle of Maris men and him-
self was clad in ane ryding pie of blak wellvet, ane great 15
chenzie of gould about his hallis to the awaillour of
v^e crounes, ane fair blawing horne, witht ane baitharage⁴
of gould and silk sett with pretious stanis. His horne
was typit witht fyne gould at everie end, and ane
pretious stone callit ane burriall hingand in the midst. 20
This Couchrane had his humelt⁵ borne besyd him ower
gilt with gould and so was all the rest of his harnes and
all his paillzeouns was of fyne cammes of silk and the
cordis thairof of fyne twynit silk and the chains wpoun
his paillzeounis was doubill owerbilt with gould. This 25
Couchrane was so proud in his consait that he contit no
lord to be marrow to him, thairfor he raschit rudlie at
the kirk dore. The consall inquiryit [quho was that
perturbat thame at that tyme. Schir Robert Douglas
laird of Lochlevin was keiper of kirk dore at that tyme, 30
quho inquiryit who]⁶ that was that knokit sa rudlie and
Couchrane ansuerit, 'It is I the Earle of Mar.' The
quhilk nowellis pleissit weill the lordis because they

Quho was
keiper of the
dore.

¹ I and A omit "quha," which is necessary for the sense.

² I has "livera."

³ I.

⁴ I has "batherick."

⁵ I has "hellmund."

⁶ I omits all the words within brackets.

war redy bound to gar tak him as is affor rehearsit.
 Then the Earle of Angus past haistelie to the dore and
 witht him Sir Robert Douglas of Louchlevin, there to
 ressaue in the Earle of Mar and sa money of his com-
 5 plesces as was thair, as they thocht good. And the earle
 of Angus mett the Earle of Mar as he come in at the
 dore and pullit the gold chinzie frome his craige and
 said to him 'ane raipe wald sett him better.' Sir Robert
 Douglas seing this pullit the blawing horne from him in
 10 lyk maner, and said he had bene ane huntar of mischeif
 ower lang.¹ This Couchrane² ansuerit, 'my lordis, is it
 'mowse or earnest.' They ansuerit and said 'it is goode
 'earnest, for thow and thy compleces hes abussit our
 'prince this lang tyme, of quhome zow sall haue no more
 15 'credence, bot sall haue thy rewaird conforme to thy
 'wocation as thow hast deservid in tymes bypast, and
 'right to the rest of thy fellowis.' Nochtwithtstanding the
 rest of the lordis held them quyit quhill they caussit ane
 certaine of airmitt men [to pase into the kingis pailzeoun
 20 and tuo or thrie of wyse men]³ to pase witht them and
 gaif the king fair plessant wordis quhill they laid handis
 and tuik all his servandis and familiaris and himself
 and brocht him to the consall and hangit all his ser-
 vandis ower the bredg of Lawder befor his eine. And
 25 thair incontinent brocht fourtht Couchrane and his
 handis bound witht ane tow quho desyrit thame to tak
 ane of his awin palliezoun towis quhilk was of silk and
 bind his handis ffor he thocht schame to haue his handis
 bund witht sic ane tow of hempt lyk ane theif. The
 30 lordis ansuerit and said 'he was war nor ane theif he was
 'ane tratour and deservit no better' and for dispyt they
 tuik ane hardin tedder⁴ and hangit him ower the brige of
 Lawder abone the laif of his compleces; and maid ane

Quhen he
 come in and
 quhat was
 his abulze-
 ment was
 taine frome
 him in his
 coming.

Fol. 57 a.

How all the
 kingis se-
 creit ser-
 vandis was
 hangit.

How Couch-
 rane was
 hangit and
 his com-
 plesces.

¹ I adds, "he sould be ane hangit man als lang."

² I adds "Erle of Mar."

³ I omits words within brackets.

⁴ "Teddar"—*i.e.*, tether.

procliematioun and cryit done all his cunzie, quhill fullfillit his awin prophiecie forsaide. .

Quhat man-
er ane man
Cochrane
was in his
beginning
and how he
com to the
court.

Fol. 57 b.

How money
of the kingis
secreit ser-
wandis es-
kaipit.

How the
king was put
in presone.

This correction and punishment foresaid was done at
lather [Lauder] the year of God ane thousand four hun-
dredth four score and ane years that he might be ane 5
exampill to all simpill persouns nocht to climb so hie and
proceid¹ in so great thingis in ane realm as he did. For
at his beginning he was bot ane printis to ane maisonne
and withtin few zeiris become werie ingeneous into that
craft and bigit money stain house witht his hand into 10
the realme of Scotland: and becaus he was conning in
that craft nocht efterlang thai maid him maister maisone
and ewer this Cochran² clam heigher and heigher quhill
he come to this fyne³ as is rehearssit. The king was
taine captiue him self and lede to the castell of Edin- 15
burgh be the convoy of his lordis, and nane eskipit
that was in his companie I meane his secreit servandis
or cubecularis bot war hangit, saif ane zounge man callit
Schir Johnne Ramsay, was saiffit be the kingis request
who for refuge lape on the horse behind the king for to 20
saif his lyf. This Schir Johnne Ramsay was laird of
[Balmain] and efterwart thesaurar of Scotland,⁴ and efter
this ane lang tyme the king remanit still in the castell
of Edinburgh as captiue and had ane certane lordis in
companie witht him that tuik hald wpoun him and keipit 25
him in the said castell and servit and honourit him as
ane prince aught to be, ffor he was not put thair as
ane presonar bot for the mantening of the commone weill
and gaif him libertie to wse all drectiouns and all giftis
of cassuallietieis and propertieis of his realme at his awin 30
plesour ffor na thing was derogat frome him that per-
tenit to him be ressonne of his autorietie. All letteris

¹ I has "pretend."

² A has "Cowrent."

³ I. A has "so fyne," which is wrong.

⁴ Sir John Ramsay's proper title was of "Balmain," not "Bomen" as in A.

and commandementis and procliamatiounis was gevin
 and maid in his name lyke as they war befor at his im-
 puting, nor no wther Regent nor governor choissin in
 that mean tyme, bot everie lord withtin his awin boundis
 5 was suorne to minister iustice and to cause stouthe reif
 and slaughter to be punished withtin them selfis, or ellis
 to bring the doaris of the samin to the kingis iustice to
 Edinburgh thair to be punist, or ellis they sould ansuer
 for the cryme thame selfis to be haldin doars of the
 10 samin.

Be this way thair was sum peace and rest in the con-
 trie the space of thrie quarteris of ane zeir, quhill at the
 last the king wald faine haue bene out of the castell
 at his libertie as he was befor. Nochtwithtstanding he
 15 could on nawayis obtaine his purpois at his plesour bot
 gif he wald bind him self into the lordis consallis that
 was his inputtaris and gevin some pledgis thair foir to
 obserue and keip the samin quhilk he wald on nawayis
 do. Sum that was secreit freindis cam to him and gaif
 20 him consall to speik witht the Earle of Douglas quho
 was captiue in the castell of Edinburgh at that tyme.
 Thir forsaid freindis desyrit the king to tak the Earle of
 Douglas in his favouris and remitt all thingis bygaine
 and to restoir him into his landis againe quho was
 25 forfaltit befor ane lang tyme; schawand the king gif
 he wald beir this that the Earle of Douglas was abill to
 fortiefie and defend him and bring him to his porpose
 that he wald haue ben at. Nochtwithtstanding the king
 was werie glade of this consall and desyrit effectuslie to
 30 speik witht the Earle of Douglas quho was brocht to him
 incontenent to inter-commone witht him of the said
 matter. Bot the Earle of Douglas on the wther pairt
 was so heigh and presumptuous withtin his awin mynd
 that he gaif the king no dew reverence as he aught to
 35 haue done, bot heigh and presumptuous wordis quhilk
 became him nocht to haue gevin his prince at that tyme

Fol. 58 a.

The king
 being in the
 castell thair
 was goode
 peace and
 rest in the
 contrie.

How he was
 consallit to
 speik witht
 the Earle of
 Douglas.

The heigh
 wordis of
 the Erle of
 Douglas to
 the king.

Fol. 85 b

The kingis
wow to-
wartis the
Earle of
Douglas.

considering that he was in thair subiectioun and in captiuetie, thairfoir the king thocht him so proude in his ansueris and commoning that they pairtit war¹ freindis nor they mett and the king maid ane singular wow that he sould never be relaxit out of the castell of Edinburgh 5 gif he might keip him into it for be his proud speiking he was lyker to be king nor hie, for the king feirit him as mekill as ony of the rest gif he had bene at libertie. Thair he left him in this maner and commonit no mair witht him and schew them that gaif him the consall the 10 haill matter quho was werie discontentit at the samin. Bot sum of thame gaif him counsall to send to his brother the Duik of Albanie ane familiar letter declairing to him the cace how it stude.

How he was
werie con-
sallit to send
to his broth-
er the Duik
of Albanie.

THE VI CHAPTER.

Hou the king send ane letter to the duik of Albanie his brother and for quhat caus. The king of inglandis ansuer to the duik of Albanie concerning his brother the king of Scotland. The king of inglandis desyre the king of Scotlandis ansuer. Hou the Duik of Albanie came in Scotland to the king with support to him. The Chancellaris ansuer to the duik of Albanie concerning the kingis relaxatioun.

Quhan the king had resawit this consall as is before 15 declarit he did the samyn, to wit, he send the Duik of Albanie his brother ane familiar letter desyrand him effectuslie to pas to Edwart of Ingland the new king desyrand support of him and his consall quhairby he might be relaxit out of the castell of Edinburgh and 20 to be revengit of his imputtaris, promissand gif ony sic thingis occurit towart King Edwart he sould be redy witht all his powar to his support. Thir lettres war drectit immediatlie to the Duik of Albanie his

¹ "War" = waur—i.e., worse.

- brother, quho was then in Bervick for the tyme and
 resawit the kingis wryttingis werie thankfullie requyr-
 and of the king and consall of Ingland the samin
 support to his brother as his wrytting maid mentioun.
- 5 Thairfoir the king and consall of Ingland beand ad-
 wyssit thairwpoun, denyit ony support to be gevin to
 the king of Scotland withtout they wist quhairfoir,
 because they had chargit him sindrie tymes for sup-
 port and gat nane. Nochtwithstanding, wald the king
- 10 of Scotland be content to rander Bervick againe to
 them they wald grant him support and wald relax Fol 59 a.
 him. The Duik of Albanie ansuerit and said he had
 no commissieoun of that matter bot promissit that he
 sould schaw his brother the king of Inglandis desyre
- 15 and his consall and bring ansuer thair wpoun. And
 schortlie efter this the Duke of Albanie wrait into
 his brother the king of Scotland schawand him the
 ansuer and mynd of the king and consall of Ingland The king of
Ingland
askit of the
king of
Scotland.
 and quhat thair desyre was, to wit, they desyrit the
- 20 toune of Bervick to be randerit againe betuix zeir
 and day in Inglischmens handis and gif the king of
 Scotland wald promise the samin to be done at the
 termes forsaid as we haue spokin and send his great
 seill thairwpoun they wald incontenten grant to all his
- 25 desyris that is to say to deliuer him frie at libertie and
 to mak him to haue powar to punische quhen he pleissit
 quho had transgressed aganis him,¹ provydand alwayis
 that the king of Scotland wald deliuer to thame certane
 pledges quhill the said toune of Bervick was randerit.
- 30 This ansuer pleissit weill the king of Scotland sayand,
 gif all Ingland was his he had rether rander it nor to be
 haldin in captiuetie with his awin and to this effect he
 wrait this commissioun wnder his great seall to his
 brother the Duik of Albanie to grant thair desyre and
- 35 promise the samin to the consall of Ingland and send

The kingis
ansuer.

¹ I omits the rest of this sentence.

foure lordis souns in pledge of the samin. The Duik
 of Albanie ressawit the king his brotheris commissioun
 and the pledgis forsaid and past thairefter to Loundoun
 to the king of Ingland and his consall thairof and schew
 them the maner how that he had spede in promise to 5
 the king that all his desyre sould be granted, and schew
 him the king of Scotlandis commissioun wnder his
 great seall and deliuerit him the pledgis for obserwa-
 tioun and dew keiping of his promise. Wpoun the
 quhilk the king of Ingland was werie weill contentit 10
 and ressawit the Duik of Albanieis pledgis werie thank-
 fullie and interteneit them weill and incontinent caussit
 the Duik of Glossester his great lewtennent to pas in
 Scotland witht the Duik of Albanie witht the number
 of ten thowsand chossin men of the best in all Ingland, 15
 weill artaillzerit, and commandit the said Duik of Glos-
 sester to pase vitht the Duik of Albanie in Scotland
 quhair ewer he pleissit, and to remaine witht him sa
 lang as he pleissit, in defence and support of the king
 of Scotland his brother, and promissit that they sould 20
 want na furnischung nor expenssis ay and quhill the
 king of Scotland war put to libertie and revengit wpoun
 his enemies. And incontinent thir nobill men come
 in Scotland the xx day of the moneth of August¹ in
 the zeir of god I^m iiij^c lxxxij zeiris, and plantit thair 25
 pallzeouns wpoun the borrow mure of Edinburgh and
 thair maid provitioun for thair airmie lyke tua cheiftanes,
 and thair the Scottis lordis sieand this, effeirit of thair
 comming nochtwithstanding they knew sumthing of
 the cause and caussit them to draw together to the² 30
 counsall, quhilk sune efter compeirit the Duik of Albanie
 witht the Duik of Glossester withtin the toune of Edin-
 burgh witht the number of thrie³ thowsand gentillmen

Fol. 59 b.

How the
Duik of Al-
banie cam in
Scotland
with support
to his
brother.

¹ Dalzell has "the twentie twa day of August."

² I has "thair counsall," omitting "to the."

³ Dalzell has "ane thousand."

and enterit in the tolboth befor the lordis of Scotland
 quho was sitand than in consall and thair reverentlie
 salust the Duik of Albanie and wilkimit him hame
 and desyrit him quhat was his petitioun. He ansuerit
 5 againe 'I desyre the kingis grace my brother to be put
 at libertie,' quhilk was grantit to him incontinent. Bot
 the chancelar ansuerit and said, 'my lord, we will grant
 'zour petitioun and desyre bot as to that man quho is
 'witht zow, we knaw him not nor zeit will grant him
 10 'nothing to his desyre. Bot we knaw zow to be the
 'kingis brother and, saifand the kingis sone, secund
 'persone of Scotland and ane favorar of iustice and
 'all the commone weill thairfor. Thairfor the kingis
 'grace salbe at zour plesour to wse him as ze think
 15 'goode beseikand zow thairfor to cause him to wse wyse
 'and prudent consall in tyme comming quhilk regairdis
 'his honour and the commone weill of the countrie
 'quhairby iustice myght be ministrat and the poore in
 'peace and rest. This beand done I trust the king
 20 'salbe out of suspitiouns of his barrounis quhilk hes¹ bene
 'troubous to him in tyme bypast and caussit ws that
 'was his lordis to do those thingis quhilk stude not to
 'his contentment because he wald not wse our consall
 'in goode intent² of his realme nor in the executioun
 25 'of iustice bot wssit all thingis at his awin plesour and
 'thair consall quho was familiaris for the tyme witht
 'him and was not worthie to be in that rowme to haue
 'gevin ane prince counsall bot rather to haue haldin
 'the pleugh or to haue keipit scheip or, witht zour
 30 'reverence, had mokit³ clossitis. Thairfor I pray zour
 'lordschip to cause him wse better consall in tyme
 'comming quhairby zour lordschip may have honour
 'of zour laubour quhilk ze haue maid at this tyme
 'ffor his deliuerance.'

The chan-
 celar an-
 swerit to the
 Duik of
 Albanie.
 Fol. 60 a.

¹ "Hes" = has, for have.

² I has "gydment of."

³ I has "muckit clossitis."

THE VII CHAPTER.

Hou the king was relaxit out of the Castell of Edinburgh. Hou the kingis grace wairdit pairt of the lordis : the number of thame. Pace in Scotland. Hou the duik of Albanie mareit the Erle of Orknayis dochter : hou he partit with her and passit in France and was mareit. Hou the lordis hatit the duike of Albanie : how the duik of Albanie was sumond before the Counsall for certaine crymes of tresoun : hou the duik of Albanie was put in presoun : hou the king was counsellit to justifie the duik of Albanie.

How the
king was re-
laxit out of
the onstell.
Fol. 60 b.

Schone efter this quhen the chancellor had endit his wriesone, the Duik of Albanie and the Duik of Glossester depairtit frome the counsall and went towart the castell to resaue the king. Tua harrottis of armes was commandit to pase witth them to charge the capitane 5
to mak the zeittis oppin and deliuer the kingis grace at libertie to pase quhair he pleissit. This being done, the king come fourtht of the castell to the Duik of Albanie his brother and thair lape on his haiknay to ryde down to the Abbay ; bot he wald not ryde ford- 10
wart quhill the Duik of Albanie his brother lap on behind him on the horse and sua they went doune the gait to the abbay of hallierudhouse quhair they remainit ane quhyle in great mirienes quhill all the lordis had comde and maid thair dew obedience to the king 15
be the Duke of Albaneis adwyse. Thaireftir the king past to Stirling and throuche money wther pairtis of Scotland accompanit witth the Duke of Albanie his brother and the Duik of Glocester lewtennant to the king of England and with him tuo thowsand horsmen 20
and v^o futemen wpoun the king of Inglandis expenssis and thairefter send hame the rest of his airme again and remaned himself still for zeir and day witth the king of Scotland witth the forsaide number that we haue forsaide

specificit. And in this mean tyme the kingis grace put certane lordis in the castell of Edinburgh in waird, quho was the consallouris of the maist pairt of his imputing, to the number of sextene, to wit, the Erle Bothvell, Lord
 5 Home, Lord Annerdaill,¹ chancellor for the tyme, Lord Gray, Lord Drummond, the Earle of Eglintoun, Lord Fleming, Lord Settoun, Lord Maxwell, with money sindrie wther great barrouns, and the king was haill² avyssid at that tyme to haue iustifieit³ thame war [it]
 10 not the consall of the Duik of Albanie his brother and the Earle of Angus quho schew him self familiar at that tyme witht the Duik and king to saif the lordis from iustifieing in the kingis furie.

How the king wairdit principall of the lordis.
 The number of them.

Efter this ane lang quhyll the king had great peace
 15 and rest throw all Scotland and that be the consall of the Duik of Albanie his brother, quho sone efter marieit the Earle of Orknayis douchter and gat wpoun hir ane sone callit Alexander quho efter was bischope of Murray, bot not lang eftir he pairtit witht the Earle of Orknayis
 20 douchter and past in France as ze sall heir efter, and thair was marieit wpoun the Duches of Bullon.⁴ Bot this Alexander Duik of Albanie had great indignatioun of⁵ money of the lordis of Scotland because of fortiefieing and manteining of the kingis grace in his particular effairis
 25 and gaif him the wyte that sa money of the lordis was in captiuetie at that tyme and for the randering of Bervick⁶ laitlie conforme to his promise and the king of Scotlandis commissieoun quho gaif him command and powar to rander the same for his relief. Zeit the
 30 lordis could not stand content thairwith bot alledgit it to be tressone and wald faine haue had sum cryme to haue accusit the Duik of Albanie thairof and to haue

How the Duk of Albanie marieit the earle of Orknayis douchter and how he pairtit witht her.

Fol. 61 a.

¹ I has "Evindeill."

² I has "stedfastlie."

³ "Justifieit" = executed.

⁴ "Bullon" = Boulogne. See Notes.

⁵ I has "at."

⁶ I inserts "again to the king of Ingland the quhilk was randerit be him," &c.

put ane new suspitioun betuix him and his brother the kingis grace ¹ thinkand weill they could on nawayis gett thair intent and will of the king without they had the Duik of Albanie cutit away. To that effect they caussit certane flatteraris and ewill speikaris to schaw the king 5 that the Duik of Albanie intendit for to have the croune for he was lyker to be king nor the king was himself as he proceidit for he disponit all thingis pertening to the libertie of the croun; and caussit the king to wnderstand that he wald fullfill the prophesie of the witch quho 10 pronosticat to the king that ane of the nearest of his kin sould distroy him. Thir wordis and wther wickit consallouris maid the king sa effeir of the Duik of Albanie that he wald haue bene content to haue bene quyt of him witht his honestie, nochtwithstanding all 15 the labouris and trawell that he had sustenitt for the kingis weillfair and deliuerance of him out of captiuetie. All his goode service was forgeit be thair flatterie and feir that the king tuik of him be naratioun off wickit persouns quho causit the king to sumond the Duik of 20 Albanie his brother befor the consall for sic poyntis of tressoune as efter followis, That is to say, for randering of the toune of Bervick in the Inglischmenis handis bot consall or commissieoun of the lordis of Scotland. Zeit nochtwithstanding the Duik of Albanie compeirit 25 peirtlie befor the king and consall and producit the kingis commissieoun under his great seill for to rander the forsaid toun to the effect that support might come to the king for his deliuerance. Bot the lordis alledgit that the kingis commissieoun was to na effect at that 30 tyme because he was in waird and did it by the consall of his nobilietie and lordis of his realme. Thairfor the lordis of consall for the tyme convickt the Duik of Albanie and send him to the castell to remaine in pressone. In this meane tyme the Earle of Angus gat the 35

Fol. 61 b.

How the Duik was summond befor the consall for tressone.

How the Duik of Albanie was put in pressone.

¹ So I. A has "Duik" by mistake instead of "kingis grace."

haill lordis that was in waird releiffit wpoun cawtioun to
 enter againe quhen the king pleissit ether in waird or in
 parlement wnder the paine of ten thowsand pund ffor
 ewer ilk man. Sone efter this they consallit the king to
 5 iustifie the Duik of Albanie his brother, thinkand gif
 they war quyte of him they suld do witht the king quhat
 they pleissit ffor they stude [in] sic aw of the Duik of Al-
 banie they durst not mell witht the king nor put hand in
 him, so lang as the said Duik was on lyue. Quhairfor thir
 10 consperatouris desyrit at all tymes to haue this Duik put
 to deid, trustand the better to come to thair purpois of
 the king.

How the
king was
consallit to
iustifie the
Duik of
Albanie.

THE VIII CHAPTER.

Hou the king of france send support to the duik of Albanie. Hou
 the duik of Albanie slew the captaine of the castell and three
 of his men : hou the duik of Albanie fled and went to France.
 Hou king Edward the fourt of ingland depairtit of this pre-
 sent lyfe. Hou the king gart seek the duik of Albanie. Hou
 the lordis cam to him quhan he suld be justified. Gret
 cumeris in ingland : hou king Edward diet.

Althocht the conspiratouris thocht to have this
 matter that is above specifyit in quyetnes yet nocht
 15 withstanding the king of France gat wit of the samin
 tressoun be moyen of sum that fawored the Duik of
 Albanie, and thairefter come ane Frinche scheip out
 of France haistelie in to Scotland witht secreit wryttingis
 to the Duik of Albanie quho then was in presone in the
 20 castell of Edinburgh to advertise him that it was con-
 cludit with the king and consall that he sould be ius-
 tifieit witht in ane certane day, quhilk was the¹ day
 befor the schip strak in the raid of Leyth besyde the
 newheawin² and gaif hir self fourtht as ane passinger

Fol. 62 a.

How the
king of
France send
support to
the Duik of
Albanie.

¹ I has "was the thrid day heireftir that the schip," &c.

² Newhaven. See Notes.

witht wyne and send wpe word to the castell to the Duik
of Albanie gif he wald haue of the samin. Quhen he
hard thir nowellis he desyrit the captaneis lecence to
send for tuo bossis of wyne, quho gaif him leif glaidlie
and provydit the bossis himself. And then the Duik of 5
Albanie send his familiar servand to the said frinche-
man for the wyne and prayit him to send of the best and
starkest quho grantit the samin werie heartfullie and send
him the tuo bossis of mavasie,¹ and in the on of the
bossis he pat ane roll of wax quhairin was clossit ane 10
secreit writting quhilk schew the Duik of Albanie sic
tydings as he was nocht² content witht, bot in the wther
bose thair was ane certane fadame of cordis to support
him in his neid at that tyme. The bossis was of the
quantatie of tuo gallouns the peace, quhairfoir they war 15
the les to be knawin that thair was ought in to them bot
the wyne. Nochtwithtstanding the man that brocht the
wyne sped him hame to his maister and schew him cer-
tane thingis be toung quhilk this stranger had bidin him,
and that night the Duik of Albanie callit the captane to 20
the supper and promissit him ane drink of goode wyne
and³ [he] glaidlie desyrit the same, [and] came to him in-
contenten and suppit witht him. The Duik off Albanie
gaif his chamberchylde command that he sould drink no
wyne that night bot keip him fresche ffor he knew not 25
quhat he wald haue adoe; thairfor he prayit him to be
war witht him self and giue thair raise ony thing amangis
them he prayit him to tak his pairt as he⁴ wald serue
him. Quhen supper was done the captane went to the
kingis challmer to sie quhat he was doand quho was 30
then ludgit in the castell and quhen he had gart wesit
it, he gart syne steik the zeittis and syne gart sett the
watch man⁵ and thairefter came againe to the Duik of

Fol. 62 b.

¹ I has "twa bossis full of mawesie."² I omits "nocht."³ I has "quha."⁴ I has "as his hairt wald suffer him."⁵ I has "wachment" = the watch on guard.

Albanieis chamber to the collatioun and efter that they
 had drukin and all men was in thair bedis, the Duik and
 the captane zeid to the tabillis and plyed ¹ for the wyne.
 The fyre was hott and the wyne was stark and the
 5 captane and his men became merie quhill at the last the
 Duik of Albanie persaeuit his tyme and saw them merrie
 and maid ane signe to his chamber chyld to be redy as
 he had instructit him befoir. For the Duik thocht at
 that tyme that thair was no wther remeid bot ether do or
 10 die because that he was suirle adwertissit be the frinche
 scheip that he was to be heidit wpoun the morne; thair-
 for he thocht it best to prevene the tyme and to put his
 lyffe in jeopardie thinkand the tyme ² might fall that he
 might releif himself. Thairfor he gaif the evintour and lap
 15 fre the boorde and straik the captane witth ane quhinger
 and slew him and allso siclyk to ane wther. Bot his
 chamber chyld was right bussie in the meane tyme and
 sua the tua wther tuik foure, that is to say the captane
 and his thrie men and quhen they had done cast them
 20 in the fyre; and efterwart tuik out thair cordis and past
 to the wall heid at ane quyit place quhair the watches
 might haue no sight of thame and thair laid ower the
 tow ower the wall and the Duik lat done his chamber
 chyld first. Bot the tow was schort and he fell and brak
 25 his thie baine and thairefter cryit to his maister and bad
 him mak lang for he was gaine. Then the Duik raif the
 scheittis of his bede and maid the raipe langer and past
 doune him self saiffie and quhen he come doune he per-
 sawit his servant lyand in ³ the poynt of his lyfe. He
 30 tuik him wpe on his bak and buire him as far as he
 might win away and hide ⁴ him in ane quyit place quhair he
 trowit he might be saif, and syne went to the New
 hevin ⁵ quho send thair bott to the land to him and

How the
Duik of
Albanie slew
the captane
and thrie of
his men.

Fol. 63 a.

How the
Duik of
Albanie fled
in France.

¹ I has "playit," which is probably right. ² I has "chance."

³ I has "upone point of death." ⁴ I has "syne left."

⁵ I inserts "himsellff besyd leith and thair meid ane beikin to the schip," &c.

resawit him in to the scheip, bot I knaw not giue his
 servant past witht him or not bot suirle money gentill-
 men of Scottland wissit to be witht him. Amangis the
 laif Schir Alexander Jeardane laird of Apillgirth past
 witht him witht wther sindrie gentillmen. Bot on the 5
 morne quhen the watchis persauit that the tow was
 hingand ower the wall, they ran to seik the captane to
 haue schawin him the maner bot he was not in his
 chamber, they could not gett him. Then they passit to
 the Duik of Albanieis chamber and thair they fand the 10
 doore standand oppin¹ and ane deid man lyand athort
 it; and also they saw the captane and tuo wther in the
 fyre burnand whiche was werie dollarus and feirfull
 wnto them, bot they mist the Duik of Albanie and his
 chamber chylde, and thairfoir they rane spedelie and 15
 tauld the king how the matter had hapnit, that the
 captane was slaine and his servantis. Bot the king wald
 not credit them quhill he past him self and saw how the
 matter stude and saw the captane and his men lyand
 deid and brunt in the fyre. Then he considerit the haill 20
 cause how it stude and caussit the zettis to be haldin
 close that no worde sould pase to the toun quhill he
 had searchit all the place to se gif the Duik of Albanie
 had bene withtin the place or not. Bot quhen he could
 on nawayis comprehend him he caussit to send out 25
 horsemen in all pairtis² of the contrie to se gif they
 could comprehend him in ony place and bring him to
 the king againe and they sall haue great revairdis thair-
 foir. Bot on nowayis could they gett wott of him, bot
 at last thair came ane man out of Leyth and schew the 30
 king that thair came ane bott of the frenche schipe and
 tuik in certane men and thairefter pullit wpe thair saillis
 and trevissit wpe and doune the firth, quhome they
 iudgit all to be the Duik, as it was trew; for he past to

Fol. 63 b.

How the
king send
and sought
the Duik of
Albanie.

¹ I inserts "achar" = ajar.

² I has "arthis and cuntreis" = directions and districts.

France incontenent and thair was weill resawit witht the king and gatt in marieaige the Duches of Ballan¹ and gat wpoun hir Johnne Stewart quhilk efter him was Duik of Albanie and governour of Scotland.

- 5 Bot we will leif of them and we will returne to our historie how at the hour of nyne before nune, the haill lordis came up to the king to the castell to sie quhat ordour sould be taine in the executioun of his brother the Duik of Albanie to sie in quhat place he sould be
 10 heidit. Bot quhen they knew how the matter stude thair was soume of them werie sorrie thinkand that he wald quyt them² [ane commone gif he leiffit]; but wther sum that favorit him and knew that he was innocent, was weill content that he had fred him self in that maner
 15 thinkand that they wald heir better tydings of him ane Fol. 64 a. wther day. Zeit notwithstanding the king was werie commovit at the slaughter of the captane of the castell, bot he was more feirit at the depairtur of the Duik of Albanie his brother that he was eschapit, thinkand of
 20 the waine suspitioun that was put in his heid towartis his brother be the witch³ [and inchantment of the devill]; thinkand ewer that he sould nocht be satisfieit in his mynd les nor⁴ his brother had been put to deid, the Duik of Albanie lyk as the Earl of Mar was befor.
 25 Bot fre tyme he was suirelie advertissit that his brother the Duik of Albanie was sa intertinit in France be the king and his counsall and had gottin the Duches of Bullan in marieage, in that cace the king coniecturet that he wald never come in Scotland againe
 30 haistelie because that he was baitht forfalt and had brokin his waird and had maid slaughter thairin. Zeit notwithstanding the lordis ewer tuike feir of his return-

¹ I has "Bullone," which is nearer the right "Boulogne."

² I omits words in brackets. "Quyt them ane common" = requite them. See Glossary under "Common."

³ I omits words in brackets.

⁴ *I.e.*, unless.

ing and thairfoir durst never mell with nane quhill they
knew suirle that he was deid.

1, fol. 40 a. ¹[About this tyme Edwart the fourt of that name king
of Ingland depairtit out of this lyf eftir that he had rung
in Ingland the spaice of xxij zeiris and sum thing mair 5
and in all this tyme was in gret troubill. He left behind
him twa sonis the eldest was callit prince Edward
and the secund richard Duik of Zork but thir two war
hestilie put downe be the Duik of Glocistar the kingis
brother quha enterit to be governour of the realme and 10
keeper of the kingis sonis.

[Here one chapter ends and another begins in MS. I.]

THE IX CHAPTER.

Hou the duik of glouster pat down king Edwartis twa sonis and
usurpit the crown of ingland. Hou Harie the vii. came out
of france to ingland be sie with ane armye and landit in Ingland
at Millburne and faucht with king Edward and slew him and
took the croun to him selfe.

Bot fra tyme he was in possessioun of thir twa childreine
foirsaid he pat thame in the tour of londoun and schone
heirefter he murdreist thame baith crwelie and vsurpit
the crowne of Ingland thairby and vastit the samyn the 15
spaice of twa zeiris quhairat the lordis gentilmen and
commonis of ingland was discontent heirwith that sic
ane tyrane sould ringe over thame that had murdreist
his brothir sonis that he nicht rigne heireftir. Thairfoir
money and sindrie gentilmen that war friendis to the 20

¹ MS. I at this point has the following very long addition. It is another proof that MS. I is the genuine and only complete text of Pitscottie, that he speaks in this addition several times in his own person; but the matter of this digression into English history was probably supplied by Bruce of Earlsall, to whom he refers as one of his authors. See Notes.

said Edward the fourt passit out of ingland to france
 quhair they fand harie the sone of the erle richmond
 discendit latelie from harie the fourt king of the realme
 of Ingland and thair intercommonit with him that gif he
 5 wald marie Elizabeth the eldest dochtar of king Edward
 the fourt they wald with goddis help strenthin him king
 of ingland and quhen he and the said Elizabeth was
 spousit togeddar thay wald ceis the lang debetit that has
 beine for the crowne of Ingland thir money dayis bygaine
 10 betuix harie the saxt and the duik of zork. Harie heirand
 thir offeris weill and vpone this maid ane aggriement and
 conclwsoun that he wald stand at thair counsall so thay
 wald be sworne to tak his pairt heirin the quhilk thay
 promeisit faithfullie to do. Vpone this prince harie passit
 15 to the king of france and schew him the maner how it
 stuid at that tyme in the realme of ingland, and quhat
 was promeisit to him be the lordis and barronis of
 ingland and quhat he conclwdit againe and purposit to
 do so that he micht haue his support and help thairin.
 20 The king of france heirand this was verray glaid of his
 desyres and grantit him thankfullie quhat support he
 pleisit to pas in Ingland with him aganis richard the lait
 king quha onvorthilie had vsurpat the crown of Ingland
 the spaice of twa zeiris befor for the king of france knew
 25 him to be bot ane tyrane thairfoir he wald haue beine
 quyt of him and furnessit the said harie with better will.
 This beand done prince harie maid his prowisioun to pas
 to the sie and saill to Ingland to the effectt foirsaid with
 the number of xxx schippis with thame ten thowsand
 30 men of Inglis frenche and Scoittis viz :—thrie thowsand
 inglismen, of frenchmen sex thowsand, of Scoittis men
 ane thowsand men of armes quhilk vas callit the Scoittis
 cumpanie quha had to thair captaine ane nobill knicht
 quhilk was callit Schir Allexander bruce of Erlshall.¹
 35 This prince harie and his armye meid him hestelie
 to the sie and saillit to Ingland and heireftir landit

¹ See Introduction and Notes.

I, fol. 40 A.

at the port of milburne¹ in the moneth of august in
the zeir of god I^m iiij^o lxxxv zeiris. Bot quhen thir
tydingis come to king richart that harie the sone of
the erle of richmond was come out of france with ane
armye and landin at the port of millburne and as thay 5
alledgit his intentioun was to haue the crown zit king
richart heirand of this he meid litill defence to his
landin thinkand that he fearit him litill Bot this king
richart had meid gret persecutioun vpone all king ed-
wartis freindis a litill befor and had justifeit mony of 10
thame that he trowit wald ryse or vsurp aganis him
Thairfor he vas the war loweit² with all the rest of
lordis and barronis and commonis that was behind
for his tyrannie gave thame occatioun to pas to harie
at his landing and to tak pairt with him. Than king 15
richart heirand tell that the nobillis and commonis of the
cuntrie war passand to harie to his landin to tak pairt
with him he was nocht content thairwith and gart
incontinent mak proclamatiounis throch all the realme
of ingland that all maner of man speirtwall or temporall 20
to rys and pas with the king and tak pairt with him
aganis harie the erle of richmondis sone quha was
cum in ingland with ane armye to inuaid him. The
proclamatiounis past the armyeis gadderit on baith the
syddis the king of Ingland come fordward with fyiftie 25
thowsand horsmen and als mony fute men quhilk was
to the number of ane hundreithe thowsand men in
awfull arrey and guide ordour. This king richart come
fordarwart to meit the said harie quha at that tyme was
makand greatt provisioun aganis the said king richart in 30
maner as eftir followis that is to say eftir the said harie
had landit he humblit him sellff vpone his kneis prayand
to his lord god thankand him of his gret graice and
mercie and benefeittis that he had schawin and bestowit
vpone him in the bringing of him throw the raiging sea 35

¹ "Milburne" = Milford Haven. See Notes.

² *I.e.*, "the worse loved by."

bot ony storme of violence of wether and that he was
 saiffie landit bot impediment of any enemyeis and thair-
 foir he gave lowein thankis vnto the lord his god on this
 maner singing the xliij psalme 'Judge and rewenge my
 5 'caus O Lord.' Quhan he had meid ane end in this
 maner of his prayeris and suplicationis vnto god he than
 passit to his cunsall and adwysit quhat was best to be
 done in defence contraire the tyrane king richart that
 was cummand aganis him with so greit ane number baith
 10 on fute and hors his counsall concludit that it was best
 to send secreitlie amang king richartis armye to sie quhat
 moyanis micht be maid thair foir helpe or support of
 the said harie and his small number And in speciall
 to pas to ane lord Stanlie quha was captaine of ane
 15 thowsand bowis of ordinance quha was ane gret pairt
 of king richartis wangard and thair to sie gif he micht
 be ony meanis be drawin fra king richard in ony way for
 haries support and to cum to him quha promissand to
 him gif he obtenit the crowne of Ingland at that tyme
 20 frome king richart that he sould thaireftir mak him the
 grettest lord in Ingland for his support and help. This
 message past quyetlie to the lord stanlie quhair he was
 lyand with his marrow and companioun Schir Edward
 brakinberrie leiftennand of the towr of londoun and
 25 captaine of the gret ordinarris¹ quhilk had the kingis
 wangard in thair governance. Bot quhen they hard this
 secreit message of prince harie and his counsall they
 were weill contentit heirof and exceptit the samyn thank-
 fullie thinkand weill that thay sould haue thair will
 30 and desyres of king richart at that tyme or than thay
 suld fulfill prince haries desyres and returne fra the
 king and cum to him as thay did efterward as ze sall
 heir. Thairfoir I think it nocht guid nor wisdome for
 ane king that hes ony trubillis or ciuill weir in his cuntrie
 35 to mak men of bass degrie and law estait to gif thame

¹ I has "ordinance."

ony gret authoritie or power or gouvernement ovir feildis
 or battellis or zit in keipin of strenthis or castellis quhair-
 by thay may haue preheminance ovir thair nichtbouris.
 The quhilk will caus gret lordis and barronis quha
 ar thair nichtbouris to be discontentit thairwith that 5
 sic men of law reputatioun to be promoweit abone
 thame of the nobillitie. Fordar one the vthir pairt it
 will caus thame that ar promoveit in this maner and
 hes so gret authoritie in thair handis for to disawe
 thair maisteris and princis quha gifis thame the samyn 10
 quhan tyme occuris that the enemyeis persewis thame
 and promesis sic fair hechtis vnto thame and gives
 thame sic rewardis of gold and siluir and speciallie
 thir men quha hes nocht beine descendit of auld an-
 tient housis nor zit succeidand to na grett heretaige 15
 bot come vp as ane captaine of weir and thareftir
 fallis in familiaritie with thair prince that ar promoveit
 to sic thingis as I haue schawin to zow of befoir. The
 nature of thame is evir reddie to tak siluir of baith the
 handis and quha that will gif thame maist thay will be 20
 thairis and tak contrapairtie aganis thame quha ar thair
 promovearis or vpputaris to that he estait or authoritie
 quhilk was weill kynd¹ on thae men and vthiris sensyne in
 the realme of Scotland quhilk ze will heir heireftir. Bot
 we will returne to haries messingeris quha brocht him 25
 guid ansueris fra thir captanes of the king of inglandis
 wangard schawand to thame thair promiseis quhilk he
 was verrie reioysit thairof and his cunsall and gart in-
 continent pas to his schippis quhilk was lyand in the
 reid at that tyme eftir his landin and gart bring out 30
 of thame all the arteilzerrie pouldar and bullattis with
 all maner of vaponis with men and victuallis and all
 thingis that was proffitabill he gart bring out of thame
 and syn sett thame in fyre and brunt thame that thay
 sould nocht be ane saif gard nor occatioun to his men 35

¹ "Kenned" or known.

to flie quhan he asseilzeit in battell with king richart
 quha was cummand aganis him verie awfullie with displayit
 baner to the number of ane hundreith thowsand men. And in
 this meintyme lord stanlie and Schir
 5 Edwart brakinberrie quha had the kingis wangard in
 gouvernement come to king richart and desyreit of him
 to haue sum of thair freindis restoirrit to thair landis
 quha was forfaltit befor be him becaus thay war king
 Edwardis principall servandis with vthir gret desyres
 10 thay desyreit at king richart at this tyme the quhilk
 he was nocht content withall becaus the tyme was so
 schort and his enemeis at hand quhilk was to reave
 frome him the croun as he had done befor. Thairfoir
 he gawe thame ansuer in this maner saying 'It
 15 'is tyme to seik zour reward quhan ze haue serwed¹ it.
 'I haue no lasour at this tyme to be occupyeit in sic
 'matteris.' Of this ansuer thir captanes war nocht
 contentit and passit from king richart in vraith and anger
 as appeirit weill eftirward for thay send vord to prince
 20 harie incontinent and baid him cum fordward and feir
 nocht for thay suld set the crowne of Ingland vpone his
 heid Of thir messageis prince harie was weill contentit
 and so was all his cunsall and nobillis that was with him
 and incontinent gart sound his trumpattis and put his
 25 men in ordour quhilk was in number than be the supplie
 of inglismen xxx thowsand of guid lyk men and he
 directit ten thowsand of thir to be in his wangard and
 thae to be reullit be twa scoittis captanes his companie
 30 in france To wit Allexander bruce knyght of Erleshall²
 and captaine henderson ane borne man of hadingtoun³
 quha was captaine to the futemen of the Scoittis and
 Schir Allexander bruce captane to the horsmen quha

¹ Deserved. See Glossary.² See Introduction and Notes.³ Major, History, vi., chapter xx., says, "John son of Robert of Haddington." See Notes.

past forward in the wangard of prince haries battell. Bot
 quhan king richart of Inland saw prince harie cummand
 foirdward so awfullie and stoutlie he callit vpone his
 counsall to sie quhat was best to be done at that tyme
 for his defence bot his lordis concludit that thair was no 5
 remeid bot to gif battell and fecht or ellis to gif ovir the
 crowne of Inland at that tyme the quhilk he was verie
 laith to do bot gart call Incontinent to him for lordis
 and send thame for the crowne of Inland quhilk was
 nar hand by at that tyme and gart bring it to his pail- 10
 zeoun in the presence of his lordis and ane scoittis am-
 bassadour callit the bischope of Dunkell¹ [who] happnit
 to be thair for the tyme in dressin of his maister the king
 of scotlandis bissienes and in presens of thame all said
 in this maner as eftir followis 'gif I sould fecht this day 15
 ' for the crowne of Inland it salbe vpone my heid and
 ' than lat thame win it and haue it and gif I die in battell
 ' I sall die crownit king of ingland' and to that effect
 gart tak out the crowne befor this bischope and in
 presence of his lordis gart set the samyn on his heid 20
 with sic cerimonies as he gart vse at that tyme And said
 ' quhen evir he zeid in battell it sould be on his heid.'
 With this This ambassadour of scotland to wit the
 bischope of Dunkell² was depassit and gat his ansuer
 of the king and tuk his guid nicht at him and depairtit. 25
 This bischope had ane hieland man with him quha was
 his meist secreit serwand callit Makgregour³ quha happnit
 to be with the bischope in the pailzeoun with the king
 quhair he was at commoning at that tyme to spye and
 perceave quhair ane inglisman set the croun vp in keip- 30
 ing quhilk he wald faine haue beine in handis withall.
 In the meintyme thair come ane fray in the kingis oist
 be discord of twa lordis quhilk the king wschit out and
 all his companie to stenche thir twa lordis of thair com-

I, fol. 41 B.

Makgregour
 hielandman
 staw away
 the crown of
 ingland.

¹ See Notes, and A. P., p. 170, 26th May 1485.

² The Bishop of Dunkeld at this date was George Brown. See Notes.

³ See Notes.

bat and tuilzie. This hielandman tareit and seand the
 pailzeoun and nane intill it and beheld and knew quhair
 the crowne was sett and sieand na man to spye him tuik
 the samyn and wand it in his playd and passit heistellie
 5 eftir his maister the bischope quha was than loupand on
 hors to ryd his way becaus he saw the armyeis or feildis
 so nar vthir reddie to come and gif battell he thocht it was
 guid to him to be away rather nor in plaice. Bot incon-
 tinent the king come in and his lordis and zeid to the
 10 counsall bot he that keipit the crown mist the samyn in-
 continent and gart searche and seik bot it cuild nocht be
 gottin be na way, Thairfore they send proclamationis
 throw the oist to gar stop all men that was passand ony
 way fra the oist to bring thame away quhill the crown
 15 war searchit and gottin againe. Amang the rest thay
 brocht the scoittis bischope againe and his hieland man
 with him quha was Inquyrit eftir his gaine cuming gif
 he knew ony thing of the kingis crowne or quha had
 teine it away quha purgit him selff richt effectuouslie
 20 that he knew it nocht nor tuk it nocht nor nane of
 his as he beleiwit. Zit this bischope rememberit him
 that he had ane lous man with him in his companie
 callit Makgregour quhilk he suspectit gif ony thing
 war in missing it wald be found of tymes throw his
 25 handis. Thairfoire he callit him befor him and ex-
 aminat him gif he knew of that croun or nocht or gif
 he had teine it bot incontinent the bischop knew be
 his cuntinace that he had the samyn. Thairfoir incon-
 tinent [he] delyuerit him to the king and the lordis quha
 30 accusit him schairplie how he durst be so peirt for
 to mell with the honourabill croun of ingland to steill
 it or to tak it away. Quha ansuerit the king and the
 lordis againe in this maner as eftir follows — 'Schir
 'and it be zour graces pleasour to gif me leiwe I will
 35 'schew zou the veretie quhairfoir and quhy that I tuik
 'zour croun and thocht to haue had the samyn with me.
 'Schir ze sall vnderstand that my mother pronusticatt

Megregoris
 ansuer quhy
 he staw the
 crown.

' quhan I was zoung and wad ding my brother and wald
 ' craib hir scho wald ding me and said that I wald be
 ' hangit as the leave of my foirbeiris was befoir me
 ' thairfoir I thocht one hir sayings and tuik her to be
 ' ane trew woman zit I thocht that it sould be for na 5
 ' litill matter that I sould die that deid. It sould nocht
 ' be for scheip nor nolt nor hors nor meiris as my foir-
 ' beiris did to steill and be hangit for. Bot I think it
 ' ane gret honour to my kin and freindis for the riche
 ' croun of Ingland that so mony honourable men hes 10
 ' laitlie dieit for, sum hangit sum heidit and sum mur-
 ' drest and sum fecht to deid for luiffe of this riche croun
 ' quhilk ze offerrit zour selff within this hour to die for
 ' or zour enemye harie gat it of zour heid. Be my faderis
 ' saull Schir gif me credence gif I had it in scotland in 15
 ' blair in athole thair sould nevir ane of zou haue seine
 ' it fecht als as fast as ze will for it.' At thir wordis of
 this hieland man that cuild nocht speik guid inglis bot
 evirie word was ane mow that he spak quhilk causit the
 inglis lordis to lauche thairat and meid thame so mirrie 20
 and reioysit at his speikin that thay obtenit him graice
 frome the kingis handis and ane remissioun of that fault
 and depassit him and his maister and convoyit thame
 out of the camp with saiff conduck to pas to Scotland.
 Bot on the morrow heireftir prince harie and his armie 25
 come fordward aganis king richart. Richart seand that
 beith the armyeis was in sicht maid frekly to battell and
 causit the vangard to pas befoir and his gret arteilerie.
 Than one the vthir pairt harie marchit fast fordward
 richt desyreous to haue victorie of that tyrane king 30
 richart quha had put downe his bluid and had vsurpatt
 the croun oniustlie for that caus he knew his quarrell to
 be guide and just aganis that tyrane prayand to god that
 he micht haue that graie¹ and victorie of him quha was
 his enemye at that tyme. With this prince hareis van- 35
 gard marchit fordward first to king richartis battell bot

I, fol. 42 a.

Mcgregour
remitit for
steling of the
croun.

¹ "Graie" = gree. See Glossary.

king richartis vangard that sould haue incontratt thame
 gave thame plaice and lut thame gang by thame syne
 turned thame round about and thair faices to king
 richart as thay had beine his enemies. King richart
 5 seand this zokkit with hareis wangard quha faucht
 tham stoutlie ane lang quhyle with oncertaine victorie
 bot at last mony of king richartis battell fled frome
 him and past to prince harie dreiddand that the vic-
 torie sould fall to him at lenth. Sum vtheris of king
 10 richartis armye stude and lukit on quhile thay saw
 quha had the victorie Be this king richart faucht so
 crewellie that he was slaine for he wald nocht be
 tein and thair was slaine on his pairtie with him the
 Duik of Norphoik with money vthir lordis and gentil-
 15 men and in lyk maner was tein on lyve his sone the
 erle of surrie and had to the tour of londoun and put
 in presoun quhair he remanit ane lang tyme or evir he
 was releiuit. Be this king harie passit ouer this battell
 and wan the victorie thair of and that be the scoittis and
 20 frenchmenis support ¹ Schone eftir this wailzeant act was
 done king harie passit to londoun and resawit the croun
 of ingland with gret gloir honour and trywmp as ze will
 heir heireftir bot he was twa zeir thaireftir in gret trubill
 or he gat his realme dantenit and brocht to pace and
 25 rest. Bot we will leave this matter and returne to our
 awin historie of scotland how king James the thrid past
 athort all Scotland at his plesour with peace and rest.] ²

King James the thrid being in goode peace and rest

¹ See Notes as to battle of Bosworth Field, 22nd August 1485, whose name Pitscottie does not seem to have known.

² Here the addition from MS. I ends, and MS. A again begins.

This is the shortened narrative of A in place of the longer one in I given in the text: 'And in this mean tyme thair was great wearis
 'in Ingland betuix Edwart the Duik of Zork quhilk wsurpit the
 'kingdome of Harie the Sext, and in the meane tyme had the said
 'Harie the Sext in presone, and the Duik of Clarens and his wyffe
 'witht wther certane of kin and freindis past to Normandie at that
 'tyme to remaine thair witht the Duik his goode brother quhill he
 'saw forther. Bot we leif the affairis of Ingland at this tyme and
 'we will returne to our historie againe.'

King Rich-
 art slain be
 prince harie.

Hou king
 harie the vij
 come to ing-
 land out of
 france and
 landit his
 armie at the
 port of Mil-
 burne and
 thaireftir
 come ford-
 ward and
 met king
 richart at
 lisister and
 faucht with
 him and wan
 the feild and
 thaireftir
 past to lon-
 doun and re-
 sauit the
 croun of ing-
 land in the
 moneth of
 August in
 the zeir of
 god 1m iiii^o
 lxxxv zeiris
 &c. &c.

Fol. 64 b.

How thair
 was great
 cummer in
 Ingland be-
 tuix the
 Duik of
 Zork and
 King Harie.

Quhen the
king went to
Stirling and
remainit and
how he
foundit ane
colledge
within it.

as we haue schawin affoir, he went to Stirling and remainit
thair the maist pairt of that zeir, for he tuik sic plesour
to duall thair that he left all wther castellis and touns in
Scotland because he thocht it maist pleasentest duelling
thair because ¹ he foundit ane colledge witht in the said 5
castell callit the chapell ryall and also he bigit the great
hall of Stirling.² Also he maid into the chapell Ryall all
kynde of office men to wit, the bischope of Gallovay the
deine, and the archedeine and thesawrar and subdeine
and chanter and subchanter witht all kynd of wther 10
officeis pertaining to ane colledge, and also dublit
thame to that effect that they sould ewer be redy, the
ane half to pase witht him quhair ever he pleissit that
they might sing and play to him and hald him merrie
and the wther half sould remaine at hame in the said 15
chapell for to sing and pray for him and his successouris,
and for this cause he maid great foundatiounis of the said
chapell Royall. And in the meane tyme the benifice of
Colldinghame waikit and the king thocht to have geuin
the same to the chapill Royall of Stirling, bot the Homes 20
heiring of this was no wyse content, and in spetiall ane
Home in Fallis castell, quho had money steilings³ of
Colldinghame into his handis for the tyme, beleifand for
to gett the same in few⁴ efterwart. Because the Homes
ever intendit to haue ane pryour in that roume of thair 25
awin surname quhairfoir they thocht the king greatlie
to be thair eneme because he intendit to mell witht ony
thing that they had eie to, and spetiallie the pryorie of
Colldinghame. And ffor this caus the said Homes and
Hepburnes witht certane wther lordis and barrouns of 30
the contrie and spetiall the lordis that was put in the
castell be the king befoir for the consperacie of Lauder
brege essembellit all together to ane conventioun and

Quhen the
benifice of
Colldinghame
weekit and
the king
thocht to
haue it to
the chapel.

Fol. 65 a.

How the
Homes and
Hepburnes
assembelit
together
against the
king.

¹ I has "and for that caus."

² See Notes.

³ "Steilings" = holdings or farms. Perhaps "steidings" = stead-
ings. See Notes.

⁴ "Few"—i.e., feu. See Notes.

consall aganis the king, and bandit thame selffis together
 that they thocht they sould be pairtie to the king quhen
 ewer he laid ony thing to thair chairge. The king
 hierand of thir newes causit to sent ane harrott to thir
 5 forsaid lordis and chairge them and their cawtioneris to
 enter to wnderly the law withtin the space of xl dayis for
 sic thing as he had to lay to thair chairge; bot the harrott
 was ewill intreitit in the executioun of his sowmondis,
 was manifestly deforceit and his lettres revin, at the
 10 quhilk the king tuik great displesour and knew weill
 that thair was nothing bot rebellieoun.

THE X CHAPTER.

Hou the king passit to Striveling and delyviret his sone to the
 captaine hereof in keiping. Hou the king pat his pois in
 the Castell of Edinburghe in keiping and hou he past to
 Northland.

For the quhilk cause the king passit to Stirling and
 garnist the castell witht wyne and wictuall and maid
 ane callit schaw Laird of Sauhie¹ captane of the said
 15 castell and delyuerit him James his eldest sone in
 keiping, and commandit him straitlie as he lowit his
 honour and his lyfe that he lat na man in the said
 castell nether great nor small till his returning agane,
 nor zeit lat his said sone out of the said castell to play
 20 at no game nor to meit witht no man bot to keip him
 straitlie withtin the said castell to his returning as we
 have said befor. This being done the king come to
 the castell of Edinburgh and furnischit the same in lyk
 maner and pat his wholl pose² of gold and sillwer in

How the
 king past to
 Stirling and
 deliuerit his
 sone to the
 captane
 thair of in
 keiping.

How the
 king pat his
 pose in the
 castell of
 Edinburgh.

¹ Sauchie.

² I has "all his heill pois." "Pois" or "pose" = deposit—*i.e.*,
 his treasure.

Fol. 65 b.

the said castell and requyrit the said captane to watch
 and keip the said castle wyslie and schew to him he
 was to ryde to the norland amangis his lordis and thair
 to seik consall and support of his lordis aganis this
 new rebellieoun. The morne efterhend he past to 5
 Leyth and thair schipit in ane scheip of Captane
 Wodis quhilk was bound to Flanderis for the tyme.
 Sum of thir consperatouris quho hard tell of the kingis
 dyat followit fast the king to Leytht and trowit to haue
 gottin him thair bot they mist him and gat pairt of his 10
 cofferis witht money and clething. Bot they beleiffit
 suirle [because the king inbarkatt]¹ in ane scheip of
 Captane Wodis quhilk was bound to Flanderis that he
 had bene passand thair him self and caussit them to
 tak the lese feir, and be the mair hardy in spoillzeing 15
 of his servandis. Bot the king caussit the said Captane
 Wode to land him in Fyfe and ryde throcht the same
 to the norland lordis that fawored him and wald tak
 his pairt. Bot zeit or he past he left worde behind
 him to the schereffs of Fyfe, Stretherne, Angus, to mak 20
 proclamatoun ower throw the said schyris that all maner
 of man betuix sextie and sextene zeiris temporall and
 sperituall as weill burcht² as land that they sould be
 redy at ane certane day at his cuming, to pase witht
 him quhair he pleissit to dantoun this new rebellieoun of 25
 consperatouris and rebellis aganis the king. They heir-
 and of this the kingis provissioune aganis them cast all
 the wayis and craftie meanes they could to mak thame
 selffis abill aganis the king and all that wald tak his
 pairt, thinkand weill that they sould ether fight witht 30
 the king and give him battell or ellis cause him to the
 flight out of Scotland. And zeit becaus thair tytill
 was nocht goode, they durst not apply nor attempt the

¹ The words in brackets are from I, as the reading in A, "be the king was maryit," is corrupt.

² "Burcht"—*i.e.*, burgh. See Glossary.

same cause, because they knew the king to be weil
 lowit witht all the commons and burrowis, and in
 spetiall witht all the aigeit and ancient lordis and bar- Fol. 66 a.
 rouns of the cuntrie quho was so wyse that thai knew
 5 the danger quhat was to rebell aganis ane crownit king.

THE XI CHAPTER.

Hou the homes and the hepburnis send for the Captane of Strivel-
 ing: hou the Captaine delyverit the prince to thame: hou
 they made proclamatiounis. Hou lord David Lyndsay pre-
 sentit ane horse to the king. The number of the kingis men.

Thir motiouns and wther thingis was ane greit hinder
 to thair consperatouris to put hand in thair prince, bot
 zeit ane certane of the eldest to wit, the earle of Angus,
 the lord Annerdail,¹ the lord Bothwell, Lord Home
 10 witht vther diuerse concludit be thair consall not to mell
 witht the king without they had the prince his sone in
 thair handis. And to this porpois they concludit all
 haill and thairto fand ane craftie moyen that is to say,
 they send ane messinger quyitlie to the captane of How the
Homes and
Hepburns
send for the
captane to
Stirling.
 15 Stirling desyrand him effectuslie that he wald come and
 speik witht them for his awin weil and singular pro-
 ffeit quho was werie laith to come to them. Bot zeit at
 the last they maid him so fair promissis and gaif him sic
 giftis of gould and silluer to thair purpois and grantit all
 20 the petitionis they desyrit of him at that tyme to wit
 that he sould deliuer the prince in thair handis incon-
 tent, and keip the castell still in the princes name
 and thairis and that he sould not resae the king in
 tyme coming nor nane of his in the said castell. For How the
captane de-
liueret the
prince to
them.
 25 this cause they gaif him great sowmes of money and he
 inmedeatlie deliuerit the prince to them, quho went
 witht thame to Lythgow and thair maid proclamatounis

¹ I has "Evindail."

How they
maid pro-
climation.

Fol. 66 b.

to all maner of man that wald come and defend the prince because they alledgit that the king had suspitioun at his sone and at them lyke as he had to his brether beffoir, and was command witht ane great airme to tak him and put him in presone. Thairfor they desyrit all 5 men that loweit the commonweill to come to defend the prince and also they sett waguns¹ and men of war to pase witht men² witht the kingis awin money that they gat at Leytht and past all fordwart witht the prince against the kingis incoming; quho knew nothing of this 10 tressone wrocht at this tyme be the captane of Stirling nor zeit of the deliuerance of his sone, bot pairtlie come fordward with all the northt of Scotland, that is to say, Rose, Sutherland, Caitnes, Mar and Murray, Buchan and Meirnes, Angus, Gowrie, Fyfe, Stretheirne, Stirling- 15 schyre Atholl and Argyle witht sum of the lordis of Wastland that fawored him, for thair was nane in all thir forsaid schyris bot they tuik pairt witht him batht gentillmen and commons allanerlie except the Lord Gray in Angus and the lorde Drowmond in Strethearne, 20 that was witht the wther pairtie aganis the king. Nocht-withstanding the king pairtlie come to Saint Johnnstoun and thair warnit all the lordis and gentillmen of Fyfe to meit him with all the haill commons thairof batht on horse and futte quho come obedentlie in to the king, 25 witht them in companie Lord Dawid Lyndsay of the Byiris as captane and lutennent to them at the kingis command for he had bene lang in France and weill experimentit in weiris and exerceissit in the samin. Quhairfor the king thocht him maist abill at that tyme 30 to gif him charge because he knew him batht hardie and trew to his grace sindrie tymes befor quhen he had ado. Thairfor the lord Dawid mett him at Saint Johnnstoun witht thrie thowsand futmen and thrie thowsand horse-

¹ I has "feit wageouris" = feed men who served for wages.

² I has "thame."

men in number, ready to wair thair lyffis all witht him
 in his defence, the said lord Dawid rydand all inairmett
 wpoun ane great gray curser and lychtit doun and maid
 his obedience to the king; thairefter presentit the said
 5 curser to the king, schawand his grace that gif he had
 ado in his extremitie ether to flie or follow that horse
 wald war all the horse of Scotland at his plesour, gif he
 wald seit weill. The king then thankit him greatlie. Also
 Alexander lord Ruthven¹ brocht to him ane weill faworit
 10 companie of men, to wit, ane thowsand gentill men
 weill horssit, jake and speir, ane thowsand bowis ane
 thousand half-lang² suordis and haberjouns quhilk con-
 tennitt in the haill number iij^m, by the toun of S. Johnn-
 stoun quhilk passit in companie witht the schereff; and
 15 all the rest of the norland men and wastland men mett
 the king at Stirling, sa the king was of haill number
 quhen he enterit to Stirling xxx^m abill men, by the
 commones.

How lord
 Dawid
 Lyndsay
 presentit the
 horse to the
 king.

Fol. 67 a.

The number
 of the kingis
 men.

THE XII CHAPTER.

Hou the king past to the Castell of Stirveling and desyreit to speik
 with his sone. Hou the king wald nocht treat pace. The
 order of the kingis armyes. Hou the word come that thair
 contra partie was in sicht. Hou the king raid to sie the
 maner. Hou the king remembereit the speikin of the
 wiche.

Quhan the kings haill airmie was gadderit as ye may
 20 reid before declarit, he past to the castell incontenent
 and desyrit to be in, but the captane denyit and refussit
 to ressaue him. The king seing that desyrit his sone
 for to speik with him. The captane refussit in lyk
 maner and said he wald nocht speik witht him at this
 25 tyme; zeit the king requirit gentillie quhair he was and
 he schew him that he was witht the lordis quho had

How the
 king past to
 Stirling and
 desyrit to
 speik witht
 his sone.

¹ I adds "schereff of Stratherne."

² I has "halfen."

taine him frome him aganis his will. Then the king
 ansuerit, 'Fy, tratour, thow hes desauet me and gif I
 'leif I sall revenge it on the and thow salbe revairdit as
 'thow hes servit.' The king heirefter past to the toun
 and ludgit all night and caussit ane strait watch of his 5
 airme to stand about the toune that night quhill on the
 morne the day brak. The king raise and his consall and
 lordis that was witht him and passit fordwart to the
 Torwode in arrayit battell and planted doun quhill ma
 come to him. Bot the kingis enemeis on the wther 10
 syde come pairtlie fordwart to the watter of charrane¹
 abone the brige to the number of xij^m horse men and
 vj^m futemen and planted thair that night, quhill on the
 morne thair come wyse men on baitht the sydis to treat
 peace; bot the king seand he was so great of powar 15
 abone his enemeis that he wald on nowayis bot fordwart
 to be revengit on his enemeis quho had rissin and
 rebellit aganis him. Then the king arrayit his battell
 and maid fordwart to the feildis and put all his men
 in ordour as efter followis, that is to say, ten M men 20
 of the hieland witht bowis in the wangaird, the Earle of
 Huntlie and the Earle of Atholl ledaris of the said ost;
 syne in the reirgaird wther ten M men of the wastland
 and Stirling schyre witht the Earle of Menteith lord
 Erskin and lord Ghrame leaderis of them; the king 25
 himself in the great battell witht all the burrowis and
 commons of Scotland. On the on wing on his richt
 hand passed lord earle of Craford and lord Dawid
 Lyndsay of the Byiris, witht them in companie Fyfe
 and Angus, in number tua thowsand horsmen and sex 30
 thowsand footmen and on his left hand wing passed
 Alexander lord Ruthven witht all Strethearne and the
 Setmond,² to the number of fyue thowsand men.

How the
 king wold
 not treat
 peace.

Fol. 67 b.

The order of
 the kingis
 airme.

¹ "Charrane"—*i.e.*, Carron.

² I has "Starmond"—*i.e.*, Stormont, the county between Blairgowrie and Dunkeld.

This the king being in order passit fordwart in arrayit
 battell, the word come to him that his enemeis was in
 sight. Then the king cryit for horse and lape on the
 horse that lord Dawid had gevin him, to ryde to ane
 5 know to sie the maner of thair comming. The king
 beheld them in thrie battellis witht the number of
 vj M men in everie battell, the Homes and Hepburnes
 haueand the wangaird, with them in companie Merse
 and Tewedaill witht east Lowthieane; and nixt thame
 10 in battell Lidisdaill and Annerdaill, and money of Gal-
 loway, and syne came the haill lordis that conspyrit
 aganis the king and brocht witht them in companie the
 prince to be thair bucklar and saifgard and haistit fast
 fordward witht great curage because they knew the
 15 kingis facultie that he was newer hardie nor zeit constant
 in battell.

How word
 com that
 thair con-
 trair pairtie
 was in sight.

How the
 king raid to
 sie the
 number.

Fol. 68 a.

THE XIII CHAPTER.

Hou the king tuik purpois to flie. The field of bannokburne : hou
 the king fled : hou the king fell from his hors and almost deid :
 hou the king cryit for ane preist : hou the king was slane. The
 zeire of his death. The wriesoun.

So the king beheld, and seing his enemeis command
 witht his awin baner displayand aganis him he remem-
 berit the wordis of the witche that said to him befor
 20 that he sould be distroyit and put doune be the neirest
 of his kin, quhilk he saw appeirandlie for to come to
 pase at that tyme; and be the wordis of the forsaid
 witch elustrine¹ and intisment of the dewill he tuik
 sic ane waine suspitioun in his mynd that he desyrit
 25 and haistalie tuik purpois to flie. In this meane tyme
 the lordis seing the king tyne curage desyrit him to
 pase by the ost quhill they had fouchin the battell.

How the
 king remem-
 berit the
 spelking of
 the witch.

How the
 king tuik
 purpois to
 flie.

¹ I has "elisioun" = illusion.

The field of
Bannoburne.

How the
king fell of
his horse and
was almost
deid.

Fol. 68 b.

Bot be this the Homes and the Hepburns came so fast
wpoun the kingis waingaird bot on the wther syde they
schott them so fast witht arrowis that they hourt money
of thair horssis and put them abak. Bot at the last the
theiffis of Annerdaill come in schotting and crying and
feirit the king sa that he had no praticke in weir, that he
tuike purpois and raid his way and thocht to win the
toun of Stirling bot he spurit his horse at the flyht speid
command throw the toun of Bannoburne. Ane woman
seand ane mane runnand fast wpoun ane horse, scho
standand in ane slake¹ bringand watter scho ran fast
away and left the king behind hir. The kingis horse
seand this lap and fred the slake of fre will, bot the
king was ewill sittin and fell of the horse befor the
myle dore of Bannaburne and was sa brucklit in his
harnis witht the fall that he fell in deidlie swne and
the millar and his wyff harllit him into the myle and
nocht knawand quhat he was bot cast him wpe in
ane nuke and coverit him with ane claith. Quhill at
the last the kingis ost knawand he was gone and fled,
debaittit them selffis manfullie and knawand that they
war bordararis and theiffis that delt with thame, thair-
for they had the more curage to defend them selffis.
At last they returned and fled in goode order quhill
they gat the Torwode and thair debaittit lang tyme
quhill nicht come they desseuerat batht the armeis.
Bot at the last money of the said airme was passit
to Stirling and thair enemeis followand them; money
was taine and hurt on baitht the saydis bot few slaine.
Bot at last quhen all the ost was passand by, and the
enemeis returning againe the king overcame² lyand

¹ I has "in ane flaik zett fechand wattir scho ran fast away and lute to the flaik zett behind hir. The kingis hors," &c. This is probably the right reading, "flaik zett" = gate made of flakes or palings. Dalzell reads "left the pig" (pitcher) instead "of the king" behind her. "Slakin" means a narrow pass or gap. See Notes.

² I has "overcome."

in the myle and cryit, gif thair was any preist thair
 to mak his confessieoun. The millar and his wyffe
 heirand thir wordis requirit of him quhat man he was
 and quhat was his name. He hapnit out wnhappelie
 5 and said 'I was zour king this day at morne.'¹ Then
 the myllaris wyffe clapit hir handis and ran fourtht
 and cryit for ane preist to the king. In this meane
 tyme ane preist was command by,—sum sayis he was
 the lord Grayis servand—and he ansuerit and said
 10 'Heir ame I, ane preist, quhair is the king.' Then
 the myllaris wyffe tuik the preist be the hand and
 led him in to the myle quhair the king lay. Allis sun
 as the said preist saw the king he knew him incontenent
 and kneillit doune wpoun his knie and speirit at the
 15 kingis grace gif he might leif gif he had good leiching,
 quho ansuerit him and said he throwit he might, bot
 desirit ane preist to make his devyse and gif him his
 sacrament. The preist ansuerit, that sall I do haistelie
 and pullit out ane quhinger and gif him foure or fyue
 20 straikis ewin to the hart, and syne gat him on his bak
 and had him away but no man wist quhat he did witht
 him nor quhair he eirdit him ffor no wit was gottin of
 him nor of his deid nor zeit quho slew him, ane moneth
 efterhend. Nochtwithtstanding the battell was deseuerat
 25 in maner as I schew zow befoir, the kingis battell fled
 to Stirling and the wther past that night to thair tentis
 and on the morne to Lythgow. I can not heir of no
 man of reputatioun that was slaine at that tyme, bot
 thair was mony lordis, earleis and barrouns that was
 30 taine and ransomit. This wnhappie battell was strikin
 in the monetht of Juin² the zeir of god I^m iiij^o lxxx
 and aught zeiris. This may be sen and knawin to
 all kingis that comes efter to gif thame ane document
 or ane lessone that they fall not from god wssing thair

How the
king cryit
for ane
preist.

Fol. 69 a.

How the
king was
slaine.

The zeir of
his death.

The
wriesown.

¹ I has "the day morne."

² I has "the xj day of Junij in the."

weckit lywes to thair awin sensuall plesour, and syne
 be enchantment of sorcerie or witchcraft to seik know-
 ledge or support of the devill as this febill king did,
 ffor it will cause them to fall in suspitioun witht thair
 leidges and thair kinsmen quhilk at last [it] sall caus 5
 them to wse sic tiranie and iustice in thair realme be
 ellusioun¹ of the devill that they salbe brocht at the
 last to sic haittrent with thair barrouns that they salbe
 murderist as this misfortunat king was. For gif he
 had wssit the consall of god and his lordis and bar- 10
 rouns he had nocht comd in sic desperatioun nor in
 suspitioun, the quhilkis he tuik of them wickit per-
 souns quhilk brocht him at the hinderhend to mis-
 cheif. Thairfoir we pray all godlie kingis to tak
 exampill be him and feir god and wse wyse consall 15
 and minister iustice equallie² baith to great and small
 witht ane mesure, and leif covettousnes quhilk is the
 rutte of all wyce and wickednes as we may sie in
 the proceidingis of this kingis lyfe. Bot now we will
 lat him rest in god and speik of his sone James the 20
 fourt.

Fol. 69 d.

¹ I has "mischeiff."

² Dalzell stops here, and has omitted what follows, or possibly the MS. he used did not give it.

¹ANE EXCLAMATIOUN OF KING
 JAMES THE THRID AND OF
 HIS WICKIT CUNSALL
²AND QUHAT SUCCESS
 AND FOR COUNSALL
 IT ZE SAMYNE.

My Hairt is peirsit with panis for to pance
 Or wreit that wicked³ variatioun
 Off James the thrid quhan that he had gournance
 The dolour dreid and desolatioun
 5 The chainge of court and consperatioun
 hou that Cochran with his cumpanie
 That tyme in court clame so presumpteouslie.

It had beine guide thaie birnis⁴ had neuer⁵ beine borne
 Be quhom that nobill prince was so abusit
 10 Thay grew as wyddis dois⁶ abone the corne
 That prudent lordis cunsallis war refussit
 And held him quyett as he had beine inclossit
 Allalice that prince be thair abusioun
 Was finalie brocht to confussiou.

¹ I after "James the fourt," p. 210, has the following verses, taken with slight variations, the chief of which are noted below, from Sir David Lyndesay's 'Testament and Complaynt of the Papingo,' cf. Laing's Ed., i. p. 77, l. 444 *et seq.* See Notes.

² The words that follow seem corrupt.

³ "Courtis" instead of "wicked."

⁴ Beirnes.

⁵ "Neuer" omitted, and "unborn" instead of "borne."

⁶ Did the weid.

Thay clam so hie and gat sic audience
 And with thair prince grew sa familiar
 His german brether mycht get no presence
 The duik of albanie nor the erle of mar
 Bot lyk baneist men war hauldin at the bar 5
 Till in the king thair grew sic mortall feid
 He flimed ¹ the duik and pat the erle to deid.

This cochran with his cative cumpanie
 forcit ² thame to flie bot zit thay vantit feddaris ;
 Abone the hie cedderis of libounie 10
 Thay clame so hiche till thay lap ovir the leddaris
 On lather brig syne keppit war in tetheris
 Stranglit to death thay gat no vther graice
 Thair king captive quhilc was ane cairfull caice.

To put in forme that fact unfortunate 15
 That mortall chance perturbit my ingyne
 My wit beine waik my fingeris fatigat
 To dyte or wreit the rancour or ³ ruwyne
 The ciuill weir the battell intestine
 Nou that the sone with baner bred displayit 20
 Aganis the fader in battell come arreyit.

Wald god that prince had beine that day confortit
 With the sapience of the prudent salomon
 And with the strenth of strang sampson
 With the bauld oist of the gret agamemnone 25
 Quhat sould I wysche remedie was thair none
 At morrow ⁴ a king with ceptur ⁵ suord and croun
 At evin ane deid deformed carioun.

¹ "Flemit"—*i.e.*, banished. See Glossary.

² And.

⁴ Morne.

² Forsit.

⁵ Sceptour.

HEIR BEGINNIS THE XX BUIK OF
 THE CRONICKILLIS OF SCOTLAND,
 OF JAMES THE FOURT AND
 QUHAT ACTIS AND
 WALZEANT DEID-
 IS WAS DONE
 IN HIS
 DAYIS.

THE I CHAPTER.

Hou word come and schew the lordis that Captane wodis schippis was travissin up and doune the firth : And hou the lordis send to sie gif the king was in his schippis. And hou he denyit that he was thair. Hou the lordis send for Captain wood and hou he wold not obey without pleagis. And how the pleagis were grantit to him. Captane woodis ansuere to the lordis. Hou Captain wood zeid to his schippis agane.

James the thrid wnworthelie slaine in this maner as Fol. 70 a.
 is affair reherssit, James the fourt and all the rest of
 the consperatouris that came against the king passit
 to Lythgow and thair remanit till they gat word that
 5 the king was slaine or nocht. In this meane tyme thair
 come ane man to them in Lythgow schawand to them
 that thair was tuo schipis of Captane Wodis¹ trevessing
 wpe and doune the firth, the quhilk schipis the ane
 of them was callit the flour the wther the zallow caruall
 10 schipis, and send thair flot bottis to the land and ressawit
 money hurt men out of the feild into thair schipis ; of

¹ "Schipis of Captane Wodia." See Notes.

How the
prince and
the lordis
send to Cap-
tan Wodis
schipis to sie
gif the king
was thair.

Fol. 70 A.

quhome they beleifit the king sould haue ben ane of
them. Of the quhilk tydingis the prince and the lordis
that was witht him tuik coniectour of the samin, thinkand
that captane Wode was principall servand to the king
at that tyme and haueand wages of him and furnist him 5
and his schipis oftymes to pase quhair he pleissit, thair-
foir they beleifit that he sould haue waittit on the king
in the feild and haue brocht him to the schipis. They¹
certiefieit of this mater, [they] raissit thair airme and came
all to Leyth and thair remaned tuo dayis, and in the 10
meane tyme send messingeris desyring to know gif the
king war in the schipis or nocht quho denyit and said
he was not thair and bad them searche and seik his
schipis at thair awin plesour gif they wald not gif him
credance. Wpoun this ansuer the messingeris depairtit 15
wnto the prince and lordis schawand captane Wodis
ansuer, of the quhilk the prince and lordis could not
be contentit bot send messengeris againe to Captane
Wode desyrand him to come to the consall, that they
might inquiryre of him how the matter stude. Bot hie 20
on the wther pairt knew² that they murdreist his maister
in maner forsaide as I haue schawin, tuik sic suspetioun
of them that he wald not come in thair handis without
pledgis that he sould saiffie be deliuerit but harme and
skaith againe into his scheip. This ansuer againe the 25
messinger brocht into the prince and lordis quho in-
continent gart tuo lordis pase in pledge for the said
captane Wode quhill be sould be deliuerit againe
skaithles into his schipis, to wit, the lord Seytoun and
the lord Flemming and thair to remaine into the said 30
schipis quhill thair captane war deliuerit. This being
done, and the lordis ressawit into the schipis, the said
captane went³ [aboorde and come to land] and pre-
sentit himself befor the prince and the lordis in the

¹ I inserts "to be."

² We should now say "knowing."

³ I has "wentt aland," and omits words in brackets.

toun of Leyth for they war thair for the tyme. Bot allis
 soun as the prence saw the said captane present him
 witht certane gentill men in companie, beleiffit suirle
 that it had bene his father and inquirit of him, 'Schir ar
 5 'ze my father,' quho ansuerit him againe witht teairis
 falling frome his ene, 'I ame nocht zour father bot I was
 'zour fatheris trew servand and sall be to the autorietie¹
 'till I die and eneme to them quho was the cause of his
 'doune putting.' The haill lordis requirit of captane
 10 Wode gif he knew of the king or quhair he was. He
 ansuerit that he knew nothing of him or quhair he was.
 Then they speirit quhat thai war that come out of the
 feild and past to the schipis in the flotbottis. He an-
 suerit 'that it was I and my brother quho was redy witht
 15 'the king to have wairit our lyffis in his defence.' Then
 they² said, 'is he not in zour schipis' quho ansuerit, 'he
 'is not, bot wald to god that he war thair saiffle, I sould
 'defend him and keip him skaithles, contrair frome all
 'the tressonabill tratouris that hes cruellie murest him,
 20 'ffor I think to sie the day to sie thame hangit and
 'drawin for thair demerittis.' Than the lordis seing
 nothing of Captane Wode bot dispytfull ansueris and
 proud speikingis was not content thairwitht, zeit they
 durst not put handis in him to do him skaitht because
 25 of the lordis that was pledgis for him, for gif they had
 done him ony skaitht his brother wald incontient haue
 hangit the pledgis quhilk as it was chaipit³ narowlie be
 resson of the lang tairing⁴ of the said captane. Thair-
 foir the lordis haistit away the captane to his schipis and
 30 inquirit no mo tydingis.

Captan
 Wodis an-
 suer to the
 lordis.

Fol. 71 a.

¹ *I.e.*, servant to the authority.

² So I. A has "he," which is wrong.

³ "Chaipit"—*i.e.*, escaped.

⁴ I has "tarying."

THE II CHAPTER.

Hou the pleagis had almaist bene hangit. Hou the skipperis and marineris of leith refusit to assailise Captaine wood. The king crounit. Hou the Castill of Edinburgh was randerit and als the Castill of Stirvilling.

How the
pledgis all-
most had
bene hangit.

Than sac shone as the Prince and Lordis was deliuerit and came a land againe that was pledgis, quha was richt flied,¹ and schew the prince and the consall gif they had haldin Captane Wode ony langer they had ben botht hangit. At this batht the prince and the lordis 5 was werie commovit and desyrit certane scheipis of Leyth to pase fourtht to the firth incontenent to tak the said Captain Wode and bring him to this effect as is forsaide and callit all the skiparis and marienaris of Leyth beffoir the consall to sie quhilk of them wald 10 tak on hand to pase wpoun the said captane and they could be furnist wiht men artaillzerie and wictuallis * wpoun the prince and the lordis expenssis. Bot the saidis skiparis and marienaris refussit all bot ane ² Cap-
tane Bartane ansuerit befor the counsall and said that 15 thair was not ten schipis in Scotland wald gif Captane Wodis tua schipis the combat for he was so weill practissit in weir and sic artaillzerie and men that it was hard deilling wiht him be sie or be land. This beand spokin the prince and his consall considderit 20 the samin and thairefter continiuit that matter quhill efterwart and immediatlie passit to Edinburgh and thair remanit ane quhill and send out lettres to all pairtis baitht in burgh and land, desyrand the hail lordis and nobilietie and commissionaris of burrowis to convene 25 at ane certane day at Edinburgh to sie the king crownit

How the
skiperis and
marienaris
refussit to
assailise cap-
tane Wode.
Fol. 71 A

¹ I has "fleyt"—i.e., frightened.

² I.e., "all refused, and one Captain Bartane."

and gif thair consent thairto. Bot not withstanding, the day being comde few compeirit except a few commissionaris of burrowis and the fallis consperatouris quha was consallouris to the king for the tyme and thair
 5 they crownit the king, and sune send ane harrott to the castell of Edinburgh and desyrit the samin to be randerit to the king and his captans quhilk was done obedientlie at the kingis command. Bot the captane thairof maid sic moyane witht the lordis of the consall
 10 and they that war courteouris¹ for the tyme that he was contenit still in his office. Sum sayis that he certieffit sum of the lordis quhair the kingis pose was and caussit them to obtain the samin quhilk was the cause of his continwance in the said office. This being
 15 done the king passit to Stirling and requyrit the castell to be randerit in the same maner quhilk was done incontient and the king and his court resawit thairin and ane new captane maid thairof to wit Schir Johnne Lyndsay² knyght. The king remanit ane quhill
 20 the castell of Stirling and daylie passit to the chapell Royall.

The king is crownit.

How the king gart rander the castell of Edinburgh.

The castell of Stirling randerit.

THE III CHAPTER.

The king moweit to repentance. Ane parliament set at Edinburgh: the number of thame quha was summond. Hou lord david lyndsay was first specifeit in the summondis: lord david lyndsay ansuere to the lordis. The Chancellor to the king. Hou maister patrick lyndsay desyrit to speik for his brother.

The king beand in the Chapell Royal and heirand the mese and ewin song, the quhilk everie day the saidis chaplans prayit for the kingis grace deploiring and

¹ I has "courtitianis."

² I has "Lundye." Sir John Lundye does not appear as Captain of Stirling Castle. Sir John Lindsay does, but not till 1496 in the Exchequer Rolls. See Notes.

Fol. 73 a.
The king
movit to
repentance.

lamenting the deid of his father quhilk brought the king
in Sterling to repentance that he hapnit to be consallit
to come aganis his father in battell quhairthrow he was
murderst and slaine. To that effect he was movett to pase
to the deine of the said chapell Royall and to haue his 5
consall how he might be satisfieit in his awin conscience
of the airt and pairt of the crwell act quhilk was done to
his father. The Dein¹ being ane godlie man gaif the
king ane goode confort [and] seand him of repentance
was werie glad thair of, bot zeit this godlie man durst 10
not wtter his mynd to the king sa far as his conscience
serwit him, because the king was zoung and² [dett-
full and haid no constancie] to keip consall or secret
thocht albeit it be ffor thair awin proffitt. And allis sa³
this godlie man dread the lordis and thame that was 15
conspertouris of the kingis deid his father, thinkand
that they murderaris wald be discontentit and wtterlie
displeissit at him gif he had gevin the king his consall sa
far as his conscience dyttit him; thairfor he continewit
the samin quhill he saw the king farder in aige and 20
wther consallouris about him. Bot in the meane tyme
he gaif him fair wordis and pat him in goode hope of
forgiuenes thairfor be godis marcie in Jesus Christ. Sa
the king continewid in the said castell ane sessone bot
he was ewer sade and dollorous in his mynd for the deid 25
of his father that he was constranit be his conscience to
wse ane signe of repentance, and for this same cause
gart mak ane belt⁴ of irone and wore it dailie about
him and eikit it everie zeir during his lyftyme certane
wnce wyght as he thocht goode. 30

The lordis sieand this, quho was consperatouris think-
and into thair myndis that the king was dollourus and

¹ The Dean.

² I has "zoutheid is nocht constant," and omits words in brackets.
"Dettfull" is probably a contraction for "deceitful."

³ "Allis sa"—*i.e.*, also.

⁴ Freebairn has "girth" instead of "belt." See Notes.

- ewer mussing in his mynd thinkand that he wald sum tyme be displeissit witht thair proceidingis, thairfoir they consultit amangis them sellues that they wold consall the king to thair effect quhill he was zoung. And also they
- 5 feirit the lordis on the wther pairt that was with the king¹ at the tyme of his slaughter to haue defendit him, thinkand that they wald gett the king at thair oppinioun that thay might be revengit of thair maisteris deid be thair conspiracie. And for the same cause till avoyde
- 10 all sic suspitioun quhairby thai might be clengit of the fact, caussit the king incontenent to sett ane parlieament at Edinburgh withtin the space of xl dayis and sumond and wairnit all the haill lordis of Scotland and great barrouns thair of, commissionaris of borrowis to compeir
- 15 at Edinburgh the day and place foirsaid and thair to heir and sie iustice ministrat lyke as it was in tyme of befoir and of thair forbearis. Bot thair was ane spetiall sowmondis drectit on them quho was pertakeris witht the kingis father aganis him self and also of the barronies,
- 20 quhilkis haill number was of the lordis xxviiij and viij^{xx} of barrones.² Thir forsaid number was soumond per-
 ticullarlie everie ane be him self to compeir at Edinburgh wpoun the space of xl dayis to ansuer thair and compeir for the cruell and tressonabill cuming witht the
- 25 king his father at Banaburne³ aganis him self thinkand thair to cause his father to devour the sone, witht wther poyntis of ditta quhilk I neid nocht to rehearse for spending of tyme. Fforder the first lord that ewer was speciffieit in the sowmondis was lord Dawid Lyndsay of
- 30 the Byiris because he was maist familiar witht King James the thrid at that tyme and was frankest in his oppinioun and wssit him self manfullie in his defence

Fol. 72 b.

Ane parlieament at Edinburgh.

The number of them quho war sowmond.

How lord Dawid was first speciffieit.

¹ I adds "his father."² B has "aught score of great barrones"; I has "barronis," which is right, and means lesser barons as contrasted with lords. A reads wrongly "borrowis."³ I has "Bannokburne."

Fol. 73 a. aganis his enemeis, thairfor the consperatouris had
greatest invy at him. And quhen the tyme come all the
hail lordis of Scotland compeirit baith on the ane syde
and the wther in presentis of the king and consall in the
tollbuth of Edinburgh. The king sittand in iudgement 5
himself the sowmondis was rede and lord Dawid Lynd-
say callit first as we haue said and his ditta rede in this
maner as efter followis, that is to say, 'lord Dawid
' Lyndsay of the Byiris, compeir and ansuer for the
' comming cruellie aganis the king at Bannaburne¹ witht 10
' his father giueand him consall to haue devoirit his sone
' the kingis grace heir present and to the effect gaif him
' ane goode suord and ane goode horse to fortiefie him
' aganis his sone. Zour ansuer heirto.'

This lord Dawid Lyndsay being ane man of small 15
ingyne and rude langage, thocht he was stout and hardie
in the fieldis and weill exerceissit in weiris zeit he had
small practick in the lawis and could not ansuer formelie
to thair ditta and could gett no man of law to speik for
him. Because the king sat in judgement himself thair 20
durst no man speik for feir of the king and his lordis,
and spetiallie of thame that was accussit of treassone
befoir the king at that tyme. Zeit lord Dawid Lyndsay at
that tyme heirand him callit so oft in ditta fairsaid rede,
ansuerit on this maner, 'Ze ar all lurdanis I say, ze,² and 25
' fallis tratouris to zour prince and that I dar preif witht
' my body on ony ane of zow quhilk haldis zow best,
' fre the kingis grace done. Ffor ze fallis lurdanis and
' tratouris hes caussit the king be zour false seditioun
' and consperacie to come aganis his father in plaine 30
' battell quhair that nobill prince was cruellie muredrest
' amangis zour handis be zour adwyse that ze brocht the
' king in presentis ffor zour behufe to make him zour
Fol. 73 b. ' bucklar and zour wickit interpryse. Thairfor fallis

The ansuer
of lord
Dawid
Lyndsay to
the lordis.

¹ I has "Bannokburne."

² This second "ze" is perhaps=yea. See Glossary.

'lurdanis and ¹ the king punische zow not haistallie for
 'that murther ze will murdris him self quhen ze sie
 'tyme as ze did his father. Thairfor schir bewar witht
 'them and giue them no credance for they quha was fallis
 5 'to zour father can never be trew to zour self. Schir I
 'assuire zour self, ² war zour father leifand zeit I wald
 'tak his pairt and stand no aw for thir fallis lurdanis;
 'and in lykwyse gif ze had ane sone that wald be con-
 'sallit to come in battell aganis zow, ³ [be] the evill con-
 10 'sall of fallis lurdans lyk thir I wald tak zour pairt aganis
 'them and fight aganis them in zour iust quarall ever
 'witht thrie aganis sex of them of thir fallis trukeris
 'quhilk cause zour grace to beleif ewill on my handis.
 'I sall [be trewar at lenth to zour grace nor they
 15 'salbe].'⁴

The chancellor and the rest of the lordis that sat
 witht the king in iudgement at that tyme heirand the
 grose and rude speiche and scheirp accusatioun of lord
 Dawid Lyndsay in presentis of the king and all the
 20 lordis and haill nobilietie of Scotland, the said chan-
 cellar thocht he hatt thame ower neir, ⁵ thairfoir the chan-
 cellar to excuse the matter ansuerit an spak to the king
 on this maner:— 'Schir gif it pleis zour grace, lord
 'Dawid Lyndsay is bot ane mane of the auld world and
 25 'can not ansuer formelie to zour grace, nor zeit in zour
 'presentis cane speik reverentlie. Zour grace mon be
 'goode into ⁶ him and I trust he will come in zour
 'graceis will.' And he spak into lord Dawid, sayand,
 'my lord I counsall zow to come in the kingis will,⁷
 30 'that it might be ane preparatiue to all the laif that

The chance-
lars ansuer
to the king.

Fol. 74 a.

¹ "And"=if. ² I has "graice." ³ I inserts "be."

⁴ So I. B has "tyme sall try me at lenth to be truer nor any of thame." A is corrupt, and makes no sense, reading "turne at lenth to zour grace nor."

⁵ I has "ovir neir the quick."

⁶ "Into"=unto.

⁷ I has "and I trest he wilbe guid to yow. Thir wordis war spokin be the chancellor purpoislie to caus lord dauid lyndsay cum in the kingis will that he mycht," &c.

' was wnder the sowmondis of forfalltour to follow and
 ' to come in the kingis will and thocht to haue cuttit
 ' them of ane be ane that way.' Bot ane Mr Patrick
 Lindsay brother germane to lord David Lyndsay
 of the Byiris heirand¹ his brother to come in the kingis 5
 will was not content thairwitht to that effect strampit
 sadlie on his brotheris foott to gar him wnderstand that
 he was not content witht the desyre that the chancelar
 proponit to him. Bot the strampe of Mr Patrickis was
 so sade wpoun his brotheris footte quho had ane sair toe, 10
 for the paine was werie dolorous wnto him; thairfoir
 luikit to his brother and said, 'Thow art ower pairt,
 ' lurdane and sad to strampt on my fute, war thow out
 ' of the kingis presentis I sould tak the on the mouth.'
 Mr Patrick heirand thir warm wordis of his brother plat 15
 on his kneis befor the king and the Iustice and maid
 his petitioun to them on this maner as efter followis,
 that is to say, 'Schir and it pleis zour grace and honour-
 ' abill consall and Iustice I desyre at zour grace and
 ' zour Iustice for his saik that is Iudge of all, that zour 20
 ' grace wald gif me leif to speik this day for my brother
 ' ffor I sie thair is nane in Scotland this day that is ane
 ' mane of law that dar speik for him foir feir of zour
 ' grace; and thocht hie and I hes not bene at ane
 ' thir money zeiris, zeit my hairt may nocht suffer me to 25
 ' sie my natiue house, that I ame of, to perische and
 ' the memorie thairof abolischit. Bot fervent lufe and
 ' naturall ressonne constranis me to speik for the samin
 ' and to defend it sa far as naturall knowledge will serue
 ' me, sa I haue or may haue and obtene zour grace 30
 ' liecence and zour Iustice, quhilk I desyre werie
 ' ferventlie.'

How Mr
 Patrick
 Lindsay
 spak for his
 brother.

¹ I has "the chancellar desyrand his," &c.

THE IIII CHAPTER.

Hou maister patrick lyndsay gat license to speik for his brother. Hou
the sumondis was continuit. The kingis ansuere to maister patrick
lyndsay : in quhat zeir and month this parliament was set.

Wpoun this the kingis grace and his iudges grantit his Fol. 74 b.
petitioun and bad him speik for his brother the best he
could. Thene Mr Patrick raise of his kneis and was
werie blytht quhene he had obtinitt the said licence with
5 the kingis favour and Iustice, [and] begane to speik werie
reverentlie in this maner as efter followis, sayand to the
haill lordis of parlieament and to the rest of theme that
was accuseris of his brother at that tyme, witth all the
laif of the lordis that was in the sowmondis of¹ [forfaling
10 at that tyme] quhilk was enterit in to the bouse wondow
and thair to thoill ane syse conforme to thair ditta,
sayand :—‘ My lordis I beseiche zow all that is heir
‘ present ffor his saik that man^v giue sentance and iudg-
‘ ment on zow on the last day that ze will remember that
15 ‘ now instantlie is zour tyme and we haue had ane tyme
‘ in tymes bygainne as we efter may haue ; siclyk desyrand
‘ zow to knaw zour estait that all is changeabill wnder the
‘ sone, bot godis iustice and iudgement standis ewer
‘ firm and stabill. And now thairfoir do as ze wald be
20 ‘ done to in the mipistratioun of iustice to zour nicht-
‘ bouris and brether quho is accussit this day now of
‘ thair lyues and herietage, quhois iudgment standis in
‘ zour handis.’ Be this Mr Patrick had endit his speiche
the chancelar bad him say sum thing for the defence of
25 his brother and to ansuer to the poyntis of the said
sowmondis maid wpoun his brother and the rest of the
said lordis and barrouns. Mr Patrick ansuerit in this

¹ I has “quha,” omitting the words in brackets.

Fol. 75 a.

maner as efter followis sayand, ' And it pleise the kingis
 ' maiestie and zour honouris that is heir, I say aganis
 ' the kingis grace that he aught not to sitt in iudgement
 ' aganis his barrouns becaus he hes maid aith of fidelietie
 ' quhene he resawit the croun of Scotland, that he sould
 ' never gif iudgement nor come in iudgement against his
 ' lordis and barrouns in no occatioun quhair he is pairtie
 ' him self. In this occatioun, becaus he is bath iudge
 ' and pairtie in the said cryme and was present at the
 ' committing of the samin thairfoir he aught not be the
 ' law of god nor man to be iudge nor sit in iudgement
 ' at this tyme. Thairfoir we desyre him in the name of
 ' god to ryse and depairt out of iudgement quhill the
 ' matter be forder dispuittit conforme to iustice.' Wpoun
 this the chancelar and the lordis advyssit and concludit
 wpoun his petitioun that it was ressonabill. Thairfor
 they counsellit the king to ryse and gang ben to the
 invart tollbouth quhilk was werie wnplessand to him ffor
 the tyme, beand ane zoung prence sittand wpoun the
 sait royall, to be raissit¹ witht his subiects [he] thocht
 the matter had bene asklent.² Bot the lordis thinkand
 schame to break iustice removit him on this maner, and
 then callit wpoun the said lorde Dawid and Mr Patrick
 his procuratour to ansuer fordward to the sowmondis.
 The said Mr Patrick witht all humilieatioun ansuerit
 rewerentlie sayand to them, ' my lordis, I beseik zow for
 ' his saik that suffeirit patiently³ for zow and all wther
 ' sinfull persouns, and man be Iudge to zow and to all
 ' wtheris in the day of iudgement, that ze will consider
 ' steidfastlie in zour myndis and remember that we haue
 ' bene in the place that ze ar now in, and sowme wthers
 ' or we may be in your place againe to haue the king
 ' and court at our plesour as ze haue now. Thairfoir luik

¹ "Raissit" = made to rise.

² "Asklent"—*i.e.*, asquint or aslant = one-sided. See Glossary.

³ I has "passioun."

- 'that zour proceedingis be honest godlie and iust in all
 'the leiding of zour proces.' The chancelar sayis, 'Ze sall
 'haue no cause to plent; bot we pray zow to ansuer
 'scherplie to zour sowmondis and mak ws no hinder Fol. 75 b.
 5 'and ye sall haue iustice.' Mr Patrick ansuerit and
 said, 'I trow the sowmondis be desert and ewill of the
 'self, because it was sowmond to compeir to this court
 'and parlieament wpoun the number and space of xl
 'dayis without continuatioun of dayis.¹ No mentioun
 10 'is maid in zour letter quhair nor quhat place, bot
 'generallie befor the king and consall at Edinburgh,
 'and now, my lordis I beleif it be ane and xl dayis;
 'thairfoir the day is expyrit of it self we aught not to
 'ansuer till we be new sowmond and lauchfullie callit
 15 'thairto.'

- The lordis luikit the sowmondis and the indorsatiouns
 thairwpoun and quhene they had tryit the matter they
 fand it sa as Mr Patrick alledgit. Thairfoir be the
 prattick and order of Scotland the sowmondis was
 20 cassin and the parlieament fenceit zeit they caussit
 the saidis lordis that was wpoun the pannell that sould
 thoill iudgement to find cawtioun everie man for him
 self wnder the paines of sowmes of money to enter at
 sic ane day as was appoyntit to them. Zeit thir lordis
 25 was werie blytht thinkand that all ewill was guid of frist²
 and was contentit that they had eskaipit so at that tyme,
 bot in spetiall lord Dawid Lyndsay quho was so reioyssit
 at his brother Mr Patrick of his labouris that he brust
 fourtht sayand to him in this maner, 'Weriellie brother
 30 'ze haue fyne poyt³ wordis I wald nocht haue trowit
 'that ze had sic wordis; be Sanct Marie, ze sall haue

How the
sowmondis
war con-
tinowit.

¹ See Notes.

² Freebairn and Dalzell both read "frist"—*i.e.*, delay, which is probably right, though the MSS. look more like "first." See Notes for meaning of this passage.

³ I has "poyatt"—*i.e.*, "pyet"=magpie or chattering words, or "pied"=coloured words. See Notes.

The kingis
ansuer to
Mr Patrick
Lyndsay.

In quhat
moone and
quhat zeir
this parlia-
ment was
sett.

Fol. 76 a.

' the manis ¹ of Kirkforther for it.' The king heirand thir wordis was displeissit at the said Mr Patrick and said to him he sould gar him sit quhair he sould nocht sie his feit thair for ane zeir; and inmedeatlie thair efter gart haue him to Rose ² of Buite and pat him in presone 5 quhair he remanitt ane zeir or he was lowssit. This parlieament was haldin at Edinburgh the tent day of May the zeir of god I^m iiij^o lxxxix zeiris.

THE V CHAPTER.

Hou ane certain scheppis of Ingland come in Scotland. Hou schir androw wood knicht of largow faucht with the samyn schippis. Ane proclamatioun meid in ingland. Hou Captane Stewin bull wacht schir androw woodes hame cuming out of flanderis. Stewen bull vincuist.

How ane
certaine of
Ingliche
schipis come
in Scott-
landis firth.

In the same zeir ane certane Ingliche schipis come in our firth and spullzeit our marchandis greitlie with 10 all wther passingeris or freindis that come in our watteris. Of this the king and the consall thocht great ewill and desyrit effectuslie to be revengit thairof wpoun the said Inglishemen bot they could gett no man nor maisteris of scheipis marinaris nor skipperis 15 that wald tak in hand to pase fourtht wpoun the said enemeis quhill at last they sould send for Androw Wode, knyght of Largo, and desyrit him to pase fourtht wpoun thir said Inglishemen and to that effect he sould be weill furnischit with men wictuallis 20 and artaillzerie, and forder he sould haue the kingis fawour grittumlie and to be revairdit lairglie for his trawell and labouris. Of this desyre Schir Androw Wode was weill contentit and passit fourth to the firth

¹ "Maines"—*i.e.*, mains=the home or domain farm and the house belonging to it, commonly so called in Scotland.

² I has "the rose," &c.—*i.e.*, the Ross of Bute.

- witht tua schipis weill mantenitt and artaillzeit to pase
 wpoun the said Inglischemen quhome he forgadderit
 with all immedeatlie befor the castell of Dumbar quhair
 they faucht lang together with wncertane wictorie. Schir
 5 Androw Wode being bot tua scheipis as forsaid, the
 Zallow caruall and the Floure, the king of Inglendis
 schipis was fyue in number witht great artaillzerie,
 zeit notwithstanding the Scottis scheipis prevaillit at
 the length and that be wosdome and manheid of
 10 thair captane quhilk tuik all the fyue Inglis scheipis
 and brocht them to Leyth as pressoneris and delyuerit
 thair captans to the kingis grace and consall. For
 the quhilk wictorieous and manlie act captane Schir
 Androw Wode was weill revairdit witht the kingis
 15 grace and consall and haldin in great estimatioun
 thairefter witht the nobilietie of Scotland. Bot sune
 efter the king of Ingland hard tell of thir nowellis
 and how his schipis was so foughin and taine be
 Schir Androw Wode as forsaid [and] was greatlie dis-
 20 contentit thairwith and maid procliematioun throw all
 Ingland quho wald pase to the sie and fight witht
 Schir Androw Wode and gif he hapnit to tak him
 pressonar and bring him to him he sould haue for
 his reward M pound starling to spend be zeir. Thair
 25 was money that refussed because they knew Schir
 Androw Wode to be sic ane captane wpoun the sie
 and allis so schancie¹ in battell that oftymes obtienit
 the wictorie: thairfoir² they had the les will to as-
 saillzie him. Nochtwithstanding ane captane of weir
 30 and ane gentillmane nameit Stewin Bull tuik in hand
 to the king of Inglendis maiestie to pase to the sie
 and fight with Schir Androw Wode and to bring him
 pressonar to the king of Ingland ether deid or quick.
 Wpoun this the king of Ingland was richt reioyssit

How Schir
 Androw
 Wode,
 knyght of
 Largo faucht
 witht the
 same schipis.

Fol. 76 b.

Ane pro-
 cliematioun
 maid in
 Ingland.

¹ This means so skilful that there was no chance against him.

² I. A has "thairof" wrongly.

How captane
Stewin Bull
waitit Schir
Andrew
Wodis hame
comming.

Fol. 77 a.

and gart provyde the captane Stewin Bull thrie greit scheipis weill man steid, weill wittallit and artaillzeit. Suine efter this the said captane passit to the sie and saillit till he come to the Scottis firth, that is to say at the bak of May, and thair lay and waittit Schir Andrew Wodis hame coming, quho was then in Flanderis for the tyme trusting then nothing bot peace. Zeit notwithstanding this captane Stewin Bull waittand his tyme at the bak of May as I haue schawin zow, tuike money of our bottis quho was trawelland in the firth for fisches to win thair leving, nochtwithstanding the said Stewin Bull ranssonat the skiparis, and held money of the marienaris presonaris to that effect that they sould gif him knowledge of Schir Andrew Wode quhene he come in the firth; quhill at the last wpoun ane summar morning a lyttill efter the day breaking ane of the Inglishsche scheipis persauet tua schipis command wnder saill by Sancttabbis¹ heid. Then this Inglische captane caussit sum of the Scottis pressonaris to pas to the tope of the schipis that they might sie and spy gif it was Schir Andrew Wode or nocht, bot the Scottismen had no will to schew the werietie bot feinzeit and said they knew them not. Bot at last the captane promissit them thair ransone frie gif they wald tell him gif it was Schir Andrew Wode or not, quho certiefied him that it was hie in deid. Then the captane was blytht and gart peirse the wyne, and drank about to all his skipperis and captans that was wnder him, prayand them to tak goode curage, ffor the enemeis was at hand. For the quhilk cause he gart order his schipis in the feir of weir and sett his quarter maisteris and captanis everie man in his awin rowme, syne caussit his gounaris to charge his arteillzerie and put all in order and left

¹ So I. A has "Sent Cobbas," B "St Cobes." A mistake probably for Sanct Abbas. Ebba was the name of the saint. St Abb's is the form now used.

nothing wndone pertainand to ane goode captane. On
 the wther syde Schir Androw Wode came pairtlie ¹ ford-
 ward, knawand no impediment of enemeis to be in his
 gait, quhill at last he persaeuit thir thrie schipis makand
 5 wnder sail command fast towartis thame in feir of weir.
 Then Androw Wode seand this exortit his men to battell
 beseikand them 'to tak curage aganis thair enemeis of
 'Ingland quho had suorne and maid thair wowis that
 'they sould haue ws pressonaris to the king of Ingland,
 10 'bot, will god, they sall fail of thair purpois. Thairfoir
 'sett zour sellffis in order everie man to his awin rowme,
 'lat the gounnaris chairge thair artaillze and the croce
 'bowis and make thame redy, with thair lyme pottis and
 'fyre ballis in our toppis and tua handit suordis in zour
 15 'for-rowmes; and lat ewerie man be deliegent and stout
 'for his awin pairt and for the honour of his realme,' and
 thairto he caussit to fill the wyne and ewerie man drank
 to wther.

Fol. 77 b.

Be this the sone begane to ryse and schynnit bright
 20 wpoun the saillis. So the Inglischmen appeirit werie
 awfull in the sight of the Scottis be ressonne thair schipis
 was werie great and strong and weill furnist with great
 artaillze; zeit nochtwithtstanding the Scottis feirit no-
 thing bot cust thame to wundwart of the inglismen
 25 quha seand that schott ane gret cannone or twa at
 the scoittis thinkand that thay sould haue struckkin
 sailles at thair boast. Bot the scoittismen no thing
 affeared thairwith come swiftly avindwart ² wpoun Cap-
 tane Stewin Bull and clipit togither fre hand and faught
 30 frome the sone ryssing quhill the sone zeid to in
 ane lang sommer day, quhill that all the men and
 wemen that dault neir the cost came and behald the
 fighting quhilk was werie terrabill to sie. Zeit nocht-
 withstanding the night sinderit thame that they war

¹ Pertly or quickly.² "Awindward"—i.e., on the windward side.

How Schir
Andro Wode
wanquest
Stewin Bull.

faine to depairt fre wther quhill on the morne that the day begane to break fair and thair trumpis blew on everie syde, and maid quiklie to battell quha clapit to and faught so cruellie that nether the skipperis nor marienaris tuik heid of thair schipis bot fightand still 5 quhill the ebe tyde. And findand that the wond¹ bure thame to Inchchap fornent the mouth of Tay, the Scottis men sieand this tuik sic curage and hardiement that they doublit thair straikis wpoun the Inglischmen, and thair tuik Stewin Bull and his thrie schipis and 10 had them wpe to Tay to the toun of Dundie and thair remanit quhill thair hurt men was curit and the deid burieit. [This battell was struckkin on the sea betuix Schir Andro Wood and Stewin Bull of ingland the zeir of god I^m four hundreith fourscoir ten zeiris 15 one the tent day of August.]²

THE VI CHAPTER.

Hou Stewin bull was had presonare to the king of Scotland be Schir Androw wood. Hou the king of Scotland send hame Stewin bull to his maister the king of Ingland as ane propyne. Pace in Scotland. Hou the king of Scotland vald ryde out throch the realme alone. Hou the king usit mekill justing. Hou the king brocht the realm to gret manheid and honouris.

Fol. 78 a.

Incontinent thair efter [he]³ tuik thair captane and [had] him to the kingis grace and deliuerit him thair as presonar. And his grace againe ressawit him werie glaidlie and thankit Schir Androw Wode greatlie and rewardit 20 him richlie ffor his manheid and labouris; syne heirefter tuike the Inglische captane and all his men and gaue him giftis of gould and sillwer together witht thair schipis

How the
king of
Scotland

¹ I has "southin wind."

² The words in brackets are from I.

³ Andrew Wood.

- and send them hame to the king of Ingland as ane propyne, doand him to wnderstand that he had allis manfull men baitht be sie and be land in Scotland as he had in Ingland. Thairfoir he desyirit him to send
- 5 nane of his captanis againe in tyme comming [to perturb his men withtin his watteris, and gif he wald, they sould not be so weill treitit nor escape so weill in tyme comming]¹ Notwithstanding, the king of Ingland heirand of thir newis was discontentit thairwith,
- 10 bot zeit he thankit the king of Scotland for the deliuerance of his men and the intertenement of them. In this meane tyme was goode peace and rest in Scotland and great lufe betuix the king and his barrouns ffor the king was so liberall that he left nothing wngevin
- 15 to his lordis and barrouns that pertenit to him, quhair he might lesumlie giue. For he thinkand in his awin mynd that the wice of cowitousnes rang into his fater, it sould not rigne in to him nor zeit na couerttis nor pykthankis sould be trust in his companie, nor he wssit
- 20 not bot the consall of his lordis, quhair he obtennit the lufe and favour of all his nobilietie withtin his realme that he had sic perfyte fawour and hope withtin his realme that he wald ryde out throw the haille realme him allone, wknawin that he was king of ony man,
- 25 and wald oftymeis ludge in poore mens houssis as he had bene ane travelland man throw the contrie; and in the meane tyme wald requyre of them that he was ludgit quhair was the king or how the king wssit him self towartis his barrouns or quhat they spak of him
- 30 throw the contrie sa they wald ansuer him as they thocht goode, so the king be this way knew quhat was spokin of him throw the contrie. This prince was wondrous hardie and deliegent in the executioun of iustice [and loweit nothing so weill as abill men
- 35 and guid hors and vsed gret justing]² and treatit his

send hame
Stewin Bull
to the king
of Ingland
his maister
as ane
propyne.

Peace in
Scotland.

How the
king wald
ryd throw
the realme
his allone.

Fol. 78 b.

¹ I omits all in brackets.

² The words in brackets are from I.

How the
king wasit
mikill
iusting.

barrouns wondrous weill that was abill thairfoir, and
sindrie tymes wald gar mak procleratiouns out throw
his realme to all and sindrie his lordis, earleis and
barrouns quhilk was abill for iusting or tornament
to come to Edinburgh to him and thair to exerceis 5
them selffis for his plesour as they war best accustomit,
sum to rin witht speir, sum to fight witht the battell
axe and harnis, sum to feight witht the tuo handit
suord, sum to schut the hand bow, corsebow and coll-
vering. And everie man as he faught best gat his 10
wapouns deliuerit to him be the king in this maner;
he that ran the speir best, he gat ane speir witht gould
deliuerit in to him witht gilt harnis thair to keip in
memorieall of his pratick and ingyne thair to, and also
the harrottis blasonitt him to be the best justar and 15
rynnar of the speir in the realme amang his bretherine;
and the battell axe deliuerit to him that faught best
thairwitht, and in lykewyse the suord, hand bow and
corse bow deliuerit be the heraldis the samin maner
to them that wssit them best. Be this way and meane 20
the king brocht his realme to great manheid and hon-
ouris, that the tyme¹ of his iusting and tornamentis
sprang throw all Europe quhilk caussit money forand
knychtis to come out of strange contrieis to Scotland
to seik iusting because they hard the nobill fame and 25
knychtlie game of the prince of Scotland and of his
lordis and barrouns and gentillmen. Mony strangeris
came bot few reffussit bot they war fouchin witht and
wairit in singular battell be the Scottis men.²

How the
king brocht
his realme to
greit man-
heid and
honouris.

¹ I has "fame." See Notes.

² I adds, "in the zeir of god I^m four hundreith lxxxxij zeiris."

THE VII CHAPTER.

Of ane munsture.¹ Hou the king gart tak gret cuire upon the samyn munsture : quhat heiddis the munsture had. Hou thair come ane duche² knicht in Scotland and desyred justin and hou Schir patrick hamiltoun justit with him and wincuist him and hou the king causit to sinder thame.

In this meane tyme thair was ane great marwell sene in Scotland. Ane bairne was borne, raknit to be ane man chyld bot frome the waist wpe was tuo fair persouns witht all memberis and protratouris³ perteinand
 5 to tua bodyis, to wit, tua heidis weill eyit, weill eirit and weill handit be tua bodyis; the on bak was to the wtheris, bot frome the waist done they war bot on personage and could not weill knaw be the Ingyne of man quhilk of the tua bodyis the legis and previe mem-
 10 beris proceidit. Notwithtstanding, the kingis maiestie gart tak great cure and deliegence wpoun the wpbring- ing of thir tuo bodyis in ane personage, gart nurische them and leir them to pley and singe wpoun the instru- mentis of musick quho war become in schort tyme werie
 15 ingeneous and cunning in the art of musick quhairby they could pleay and singe tuo pairtis, the on the tribill the wther the tennour quhilk was werie dulce and melodious to heir be the common pepill quho treatit thame wondrous weill. Allso they could speik sindrie
 20 and dyuerse langagis, that is to say Latine, Frinche, Italieans Spanis Dutch Dens and Inglische and Earische. Thir tuo bodyis lang conteinuant to the aige of xxviij zeiris and than the ane depairtit lang befor the wther quhilk was dollorous and heavie to the langest levar.
 25 for quhilk⁴ men requyrit of him and bad him be mirrie,

Of ane
monstar.

Quhat heidis
this monstar
had.

Fol. 79 a.

How the
king gart
tak great
cure wpoun
the saym
monstar.

¹ Monster.

² Dutch—*i.e.*, German.

³ I and B have "portraits."

⁴ I has "quhen."

he ansuerit and said, 'How cane I be merrie that h
' my trew marrow as ane deid carieoun wpoun my ba
' quhilk was wont to singe and pleay with me to commou
' and talk in lyke maner. Quhene I was sade he wa
' gif me comfort and I wald do lykewise wnto him; b
' now I haue nothing bot dollour of the beiring of
' heaue ane burthine, deid and cald, wndesolluit on n
' bak, quhilk takis all eardlie plesour frome me in th
' present lyfe. Thairfoir I pray to allmightie god
' delyuer me out of this present lyfe that we may l
' laide and dissollwit in the earth quhair fre we come

Fol. 79 b.

How thair
come ane
Dutch
knycht in
Scotland
and desyrit
iusting.

How Schir
Patrick
Hamilltoun
and the
Dutch man
faught and
iustit
togither.

Sune thair efter come ane Dutche knyght in Scottlar
callit Schir Johne Clokbuis¹ and desyrit fighting ar
iusting in Scotland witht the lordis and barrouns thair
bot nane was sa apt and redy to fight witht him as w
Schir Patrick Hammilltoun, beand then ane zoung ma
strang of body and abill to all thing, bot zeit for lac
of exercioun² he was not so weill practissit as ne
war, thocht he lackit no hardiement strength nor curag
in his proceedings. Bot at the last quhene the Dute
man and hie was assemblit togither batht wpoun gre
horse, withtin the listis of Edinburgh³ wnder the caste
wall, efter the sound of the trumpit ruschit rudlie togith
and brak thair speiris on ilk syde wpoun wther; quhil
afterwart gat new speiris and recounterit freischelie againe
Bot Schir Patrickis horse wtterit⁴ witht him and wald o
nowayis reconter his marrow, that it was force to th
said Schir Patrick Hammelltoun to lyght on footte an
gif this Dutchman battell; and thairfor quhene he wa
lichtit doune, cryit for ane tuo handit suord and ba
this Dutchman lyght frome his horse and end out th
matter, schawand to him ane horse is bot ane wai

¹ I has "Cowplenis," Dalzell "Cockbewis." His name appea
to have been Coupance. See Notes.

² I has "exercisioun."

³ "Listis of Edinburgh." See Notes.

⁴ "Wtterit"—*i.e.*, reared. See Glossary.

warand quhene men hes maist ado. Than quhene bathe
 the knyghtis war lyghtit on fute they junitt pairtlie
 together witht right awfull contenance; ewerie on strak
 maliciouslie at wther and faught lang together witht
 5 wncertane victorie, quhill at last Schir Patrick Ham-
 milltoun ruschit manfullie wpoun the Dutchman and
 strak him wpoun his kneis. In the meane tyme the
 Dutchman being at the eird the king cast out his hatt
 out of the castell wondow and caussit the iudges and
 10 men of armes to sinder and red thame. Bot the har-
 rottis and the trumpitis blew and cryit the wictor was
 Schir Patrick Hammilltounis. This Schir Patrick Ham-
 milltoun was brother german to the Earle of Arrane
 and sister and brether bairnes to the kingis maiestie
 15 and was ane nobill and waliezeant man all his dayis.

How the
 king caist
 out his hatt
 at the castell
 wondow and
 caussit tham
 to sinder.

Schir Pat-
 rick wictor.

In the meane tyme this nobill king James the fourt
 was weil leirnit in the art of mediecein and also ane
 cuning sorugonar that nane in his realme that wssit
 that craft bot wald tak his counsall in all proceedingis.¹

Fol. 80 a.

THE VIII CHAPTER.

Hou king harie the sevint gart taxt the realme of ingland to send
 ane armie in Scotland. Hou the armie of ingland land in
 Scotland, and quha was liuftennant and gouvernour to thame.
 Hou thay ware defiet and chesit out of Scotland. Hou the
 drummondis brunt the Monivaird. Hou dauid drummond
 was heiddit. Hou the king pat ane dume woman in inch-
 keith and patt twa yung bairnis with hir.

20 ²[At this tyme the king of ingland heirand of the gret
 fame and chewallrie of scotland was na wayis contentit

I, fol. 49 b.

¹ See Notes as to the King's Surgery. I adds, "In the zeir of
 god I^m iij^o lxxxv zeiris." Here it ends a chapter, and begins the
 next chapter.

² The passage in brackets is from I.

heirof considerin that he thocht to haue ado with him and to be rewengit on the scharp weiris that he ha maid on him and on his cuntrie in tymes bygane Thairfoir he callit his counsall and was awysed with thame quhat he suld do herein quha concludit that he suld rais ane taxatioun out through all the realme of england to the number of ane hundreith thousand pound stiruiling to that effect that thair suld be an gret armie furnessit thairwith to pas in scotland according to the kingis pleasour to be rewengit vpon the king of scotland and his realme. Bot becaus thay kne the king of scotland to be hardie and stout and weiloweit with his nobillis thay had the les will to mache or haue deill with him zit nochtwithstanding he rais ane gret armye and send in scotland to the number of fyftie thousand men and gave thame in governime to the erle of surrie and lord newall² and chairgit thame to pas in scotland and mak scharp weiris thair vpon out throuch all the bordouris thair of and ceis nocht quhill thay war out throuche merce and tewindaill and meikill of lowthiane and to spair nothing bot destroy all with fyre and sword sa far as thay passit comycht pas the space of xl dayis and evir als lang as thair wictuallis micht serwe thame. Bot in this mearyme the king of scotland hard word and was aduertised of thair cuming and prowdyt ane strong army to meet thame. Bot in the meantyme thair come sic violence of storne of weit that raisit the watteris so gret that the armie of england micht pas na fordar no tweid becaus the watteris rais so gret that the armie micht nocht pas ovir bot heireftir the inglis armie pas west to tewindaill and thair begoud to destroy the cuntrie bot the scoittis war schowne in raddines to meet thame and becaus thay knew the king of scotland thair enemye to be sa nar hand thame with so gre

¹ "Mache" = match.² Neville.³ Teviotdale.

ane armie thay durst nocht pas na fordar foirdward
in scotland bot reteird hamward againe in ingland. Bot
quhan the king of scotland knew that thay war reteird
he gart ane gret armie follow thame and gaif thame
5 the chess and maid gret slawchtar and heirschipp in
ingland and schone returned to scotland againe but
ony battell of inglismen thairfoir the inglismen wysched
that thay had biddin at hame at that tyme for ony
honour thay wan in scotland.]

- 10 In this meane tyme the Drummondis brunt the kirk of
Miniarde¹ quhair in was sex scoir of Murrayis witth thair
wyffis and childerin; bot few escapit thair fre bot they
war ether brunt or slaine be Dawid Drummond,² the
quhilk the king punist heir efter condinglie, and heidit
15 Dawid Drummond witth his compleces at Stirling. And
also the king gart tak ane dum woman and pat hir in
Inchekeytht and gaif hir tua zounge bairnes in companie
witth hir and gart furnische them of all necessar thingis
pertening to thair nurischment that is to say, meit,
20 drink, fyre and candell, claithis, witth all wther kynd
of necessaris quhilk [is] requyrit to man or woman
desyrand the effect heiroyf to come to knaw quhat lang-
age³ thir bairnes wald speik quhene they come to lauch-
full aige. Sum sayis they spak goode hebrew bot as to
25 my self I know not bot be the authoris reherse.⁴

How the
Droumondis¹
brunt the
kirk of
Muniarde.

How Dawid
Drumond
was heidit.

How the
king pat ane
dum woman
in Inche-
keyth.

¹ I has "Monivaird," near Crieff. "Miniard" is the vernacular pronunciation.

² See Exchequer Rolls, x. p. l, and Notes. ³ I has "leid."

⁴ I adds, "Thir actis foirsaid was done in the zeir of god I^m iiij^e lxxxiiij zeiris."

THE IX CHAPTER.

Hou the king of Scotland and his counsall concludit to send ingland ambassadouris for mariage of the king of ingland eldest dochter. And hou the mariage was concludit eftwards. Hou the king was mariet. Quhat promises of pe was maid between the twa kingis. And efterwards how qu margerit cum in Scotland and was ressauint be hir husband t king of Scotland and his lordis.

I, fol. 50 a.

¹[Schort quhyll heireftir the counsall of Scotland co wenit at Edinburgh quhair thay awysit of all matter concernyng the common weill and amangis the re toward ingland quhilk thay thocht thay had done than gret skaith and heirschip in tymes bygaine. Th thinkand and considerine that king harie wald noc sit thairwith bot he wald be rewengit and that to t gret dampnage and skaith quha war gyddaris of t realme of Scotland for the tyme, thairfoir thay dewys and desyred the king to send ane ambassadour to in land to the king and desyre mariage of his elde dochtar to the king of scotland the quhilk thai kne wald satisfie the king of inglandis wraith. Vpone th counsall and conclusioun the king was weill content Thairfor directit and send away to ingland ²

as ambassadouris with commissioun to intreat maria and contractt the samyn conforme to thair commissiou Thir ambassadouris foirsaid passit out of Scotland t ingland in the zeir of god I^m v^c twa zeiris quha w weill resauit and intertenit with king harie the sevir quha rang in ingland for the tyme in his maist triumph gloir and victorie and was richt reioysed of the cumin of the scoittis ambassadouris and finalie aggreit wit thame in all pointis tuiching thair commissioun the

¹ The passage in brackets is from I.

² The names of the ambassadors are left blank in the MS. See Notes.

is to say contractit the king of scotland and Margret
 his eldest dochter and promiseit with hir ane hundreith
 thowsand pound in tochar guide with vthir riche and
 costlie augmentatiounis and propynes to be gevin vnto
 5 the king of scotland to augment his lowe and kyndnes
 vnto him ffor thay maid ane band of perpetuall amitie
 and pace betwine the twa realmes induring the twa
 kingis lyftymes that ather of vther was sworne in the
 haly vangell¹ that nocht ane of thame sould ryse aganis
 10 vther for the lowe thay buire to ony vther natioun bot
 gif scotland war inwaidit with ony strangeris that ingland
 sould ryse vpone the king of inglandis expensis and
 debait scotland to thair utter² power aganis all vther
 natiounis quhatsumevir and in lyk maner gif it happnit
 15 ingland to be invaidit with spainzie france flanderis or
 ony vthir that in that caice the king of scotland sould
 be as ane equall or evin lyk man and keip his awin
 realme and tak na fordar cummar. With this baith the
 kingis war sworne heirto and contracttis maid thairvpone
 20 as I haue schawin to zow befor. This beand done the
 ambassadouris war depassit and returnit hame to scot-
 land and schaw the king and counsall how thay had
 sped and endit thair contracttis conforme to thair com-
 missioun as I schew zow befor quhair of the king of
 25 scotland and his counsall war weill content and reioysed
 at thair expeditioun and lawbouris. This beand done
 in the moneth of august nixt heireftir quhilk was in the
 zeir of god I^m v^e iij zeiris the king send certane ambas-
 sadouris in ingland to wit³ and thair mareit
 30 the king of inglandis eldest dochter vnto the king of
 scotland and resaut hir and brocht hir hame in scot-
 land the tent day of september in the zeir of god I^m

The king of
 scotland
 mareit Mar-
 gret eldest
 dochter to
 the king of
 ingland anno
 1488⁴ zeiris.

¹ *I.e.*, evangel or gospel.

² "Utter" = uttermost.

³ The names are again left out. See Notes.

⁴ This is a blunder. The text has the true date of the marriage,
 1503.

v^e iij zeiris foirsaid at quhais cuming the king and his
 counsall with the heill nobillitie and commonis of the
 realme war verie blyth and reioysed and resauit hir
 with gret reverence and honouris in all the borrowis
 tounis of scotland quhan that scho maid hir entres 5
 evirie ane according to thair estait maid hir sic bank-
 attin feirceis and playes that nevir siclykk was seine in
 the realme of scotland for the entres of na queine that
 was resawit afoirtyme in scotland and speciallie Edin-
 burghe stiruilling Sanctandrois Dundie Sanct Johnnestoun 10
 aberdeine glaskow linlythgow. Thir war the principall
 tounis quhairin scho maid hir entres and seing evirie
 ane of thame mak hir sic honestie and reverence accord-
 ing to thair abillitie and fordar for hir pleasour and
 thair maisteris the king of scotland quhairat the queinis 15
 graice was verie reioysed and so war all the inglis lordis
 and ladyis that war with hir for thay trowit nevir to haue
 seine sic honour and honestie in scotland with mirrines
 and bancatting and gret cheir and speciallie in stir-
 uilling quhair scho remanit the maist pairt of the zeir 20
 and all the inglis lordis and laydies with hir ffor the
 inglis lordis and ladyis that come with hir depairtit
 nocht for zeir and day quhill thay had seine and visitit
 the maist pairt of scotland and war weill intertenit
 with the king and his lordis evir passin thair tyme in 25
 hunttin and halkin iustin singing dansin and playing
 and all vthir knichtlie game. Quhan zeir and day was
 cum sum of thir inglis lordis and ladyis depairtit hame-
 1, fol. 50 b. vart quha war richlie rewardit and propynde to the
 king baith with gold and siluir cleidding and fair horsis 30
 cheinzeis ringis and all vther jowallis and sum of thir
 ladies and [lordis] remanit with the queine indure-
 ing hir tyme. Bot we will leave of this matter and
 speik of barnat stewart quha was maid governour of
 naples at this tyme quhilk was frome our redemptioun 35
 I^m v^e iij zeiris.]

THE X CHAPTER.

Hou barnat stewart was maid gouvernour of naples. The king of france send ane lord to be equall with the gouvernour of naples. Hou munsure deobaine¹ governour of naplis cum to Scotland and hou he was intreattit thair. Hou the king sett ane gret justin and turnament quhilk indurit the space of fourtie dayis.

In this meane tyme Barnard Stewart german brother to the Earle of Lennox and Monser Daubini² in France, haweand the Scottis companie wnder his dominioun, at the king of France command passit to the realme
 5 of Napillis, and thair was maid regent and gowernour of the samin quho rullit it so witht wisdome and gentillnes, that he wan the heartis of the pepill of the said realme and pepill thair of; they obeyit him and loueit him so weill that he was callit³ be the Frinchemen
 10 the pittie roy⁴ of Napillis. At this the king and consall of France was not content thairto, thinkand that [as] he was ane Scottisman, he thocht that he wald wsurpt the croune of Napillis wnto him self; and for this cause devyssit ane great lord in France to pase and be equall
 15 witht the said Monser Deobanie in all autorietie and powar in governance of the said realme of Napillis. Bot fre tyme the said Monser Deobanie know the king of ffrance suspitioun in this matter he wald no langer byde in the realme of Napillis bot hastelie depairtit and come
 20 throw Ingland to Scotland quhair he was weill resawit witht the king and consall thair of; and the kingis grace treittit him werie weill and gentellie, and sett him ewer

How Barnard Stewart was maid governour of Napillis.

How the king of France send ane lord to be equall witht the governour of Napillis.

Fol. 80 b.

How Monser Deobaine governour of Napillis com in Scottland.

¹ Bernard Stuart of Albany, or D'Aubigny, afterwards the famous Marshal. He was uncle of Pitscottie's patron, the Bishop of Caithness. See Notes.

² I has "D'Aubigne."

³ I has "clappit and callit."

⁴ B has "petteroy"—i.e., petit roi. See Notes.

at the tabill witht him self and maid him iudge in all
his iusting and tornamentis, callit him father of weir
because he was practissit in the samyn.

I, fol. 50 A.

¹[Bot this frenche lord quha was left in naples gover-
nour eftir munseur Deobanies pairting the peopill rais 5
and rebellit aganis him and chessit him out of the
cuntrie. And this the king of france gat for his sus-
pitioun that he buire toward monsieur deobanie he tint
the heill realme of naples for defait of guid gowernement.
But we will returne to monsieur Deobanie. Schone 10
eftir he come in scotland he causit the kingis graice
to set ane gret justing and turnament at Edinburgh in
halyrudhous of the dait I^m v^e fyve zeiris and the said
justing and turnament to stand the spaice of xl dayis
but the² warneing and proclamatioun heiroy was ane 15
hundreith dayes befor to the effectt that france ingland
and denmark nicht haue knowledge of the samyn and
quha that pleisit to cum thairto as thay thocht guid.
And also the heill lordis and barronis of Scotland
war commandit to mak thame reddie againe the said 20
day apointed for to enarme thame selffis in thair best
arrey and in the same armur and waponis that thay
thocht thame selffis best to fecht into. The heill bar-
ronis war weill contentit heirwith and prowedyt thame
selffis at the kingis plesour againe the said day as thay 25
war commandit according to thair estait and alsua thair
come money gentilmen out of ingland france and den-
mark. Amang the rest thair come ane knycht and ane
lady callit the quyht rois, thairfoir³ the king gart set the
hail justing and callit the samyn the turnament of the 30
black knicht and the black lady⁴ and maid Monsieur

¹ The passage in brackets is from I.

² "The" is in MS. I written "he" by mistake.

³ "Thaireftir" seems the right reading.

⁴ Dunbar's "Black Lady," Dunbar's Poems, Scottish Text Society Ed., ii. p. 201. It is clearly implied that the king was the "Black Knight." See Notes.

Deobanie iudge in the said turnament and justing and
 set him in his awin plaice and seit royall becaus the
 king iustit him selff dissaguysed onknawin and he was
 callit the blak knicht quha gave battell to all thame
 5 that wald fecht for thair ladyis saik and speciallie of
 the knichtis and gentilmen of france ingland and den-
 mark. The blak knicht sayit¹ thame all bot thair was
 nane that mycht war him at na tyme bot he wan the
 lady frome thame all for he was verie puissant and
 10 strenthie on horsback and faucht and iustit with all
 kynd of weaponis that vsis thairvnto that is to say
 with speir sword and mass² bot thair was nocht ane
 that incountart him that micht byd his straikis he was
 so strang and puissant in his armes thairfoir the iudge
 15 and harrauldis gave him the degrie of that turnament
 that he vsed all kynd of turnament maist manlie and
 knichtlyk of ony that was thair at that tyme. The erle
 of arrane lord hamiltoun gat the degrie that day givin
 to him be the iudgeis and harrauldis of the best archer
 20 athir in horsback or on fut that was in scotland at that
 tyme. The Erle of glencarne in lyk maner the best
 riner of the speir. The lord gray the best fechtar with
 the battellaix. Schir patrick hammiltoun with the twa
 handit sword. One this wayis evirie barroun was com-
 25 mandit³ be the iudge and the harrauldis as thay vsit
 thame sellff vith thair weaponis as was givin to thame
 eftirward be the king for thair reward and adwancment
 of thair honour the quhilk weaponis war of fyne gold
 or of siluir or than doubill ovir gilt and that the said
 30 lordis sould keip thame in memorie for the kingis
 honour and thair glorie in tymes cuming that thair
 posteritie micht sie eftir quhat nummer⁴ thai haue
 beine and how thay vsit thame sellffis to the kingis
 graice thair maisteris pleasour and to the adwancment

I, fol. 51 a.

¹ "Sayit" = essayed.³ Commendit?² *I.e.*, mace.⁴ Manner?

of thair awin honour: this turnament and iusting beand indureit the space of xl dayis as I schew to zow befor that evirie man had tyme and lasour to sey him self gif he pleisit. This beand done the king causit to mak ane gret triumphe and bancat in halyrudhous quhill lestit the space of thrie dayis begoud at nyne houris in the morneing and lestit quhill nyne houris at evin. In the said bancat was all kynd of delicat and deliciouse meittis and drinkis that cuild be gottin in scotland ingland and france and for to reheirs thame it war ane lang space bot betuix everie service thair was ane phairs¹ or ane play sum be speikin sum be craft o Igramancie quhill causit men to sie thingis aper quhill was nocht. And so at the hennest² bancat pheirs¹ and play vpone the thrid day thair come ane clwdd out of the rwffe of the hall as appeirit to men and opnit and cleikkit vp the blak lady in presence of thame all that scho was no moir seine bot this was done be the art of Igramancie for the kingis pleasour [by] ane callit Bischope Androw forman quha was ane Igramanciar³ and seruit the king at sic tymes for his pastyme and pleasour. This beand done the king rewardit all his nobillis and gentillmen and maid threttie knichtis at this tyme.]

THE XI CHAPTER.

Hou king harie the Sewint depairted: and hou his son harie the aucht send to the king of france for his pentioun. Hou bischope Androw forman rid⁴ to Rome.

In the zeir of God I^m fywe hundreith nyne zeiris the souerane prince of ingland harie the sewint depairtit out of this present lyff vpone the settirday befor Sanct

¹ *I.e.*, farce. See Notes. ² "Hennest"—*i.e.*, hindmost or last.

³ "Igramanciar"—*i.e.*, necromancer, but here conjuror. See Glossary.

⁴ *I.e.*, rode.

george day in the nicht, quhilk was the xxj day of
 appryle at richmond quhair at the nobillitie and com-
 monis of the realme was werie sorrowfull zit nocht-
 withstanding thay cuild nocht gainsay the will and
 5 pleasour of god for all the riches and rentis of the
 world wald nocht haue hauldin his lyff ane hair nor
 ane moment langer nor is the will and pleasour of god.
 Thairfoir goddis pleasour is that this foirsaid prince is
 depairtit we craue at almichtie god of heawin that he
 10 may haue mercie vpone his saull and bring him to the
 evirlasting gloir of heawin. This foirsaid prince harie
 the sevint rang in the realme of Ingland xxij zeiris
 and aucht monethis wanting one day and all the dayis
 that he rang in ingland thair was gret pace and tran-
 15 quillitie in his realme and all throche his wisdom and
 vertew. We will declair no moir at this present of him
 bot god haue him in his preserwatioun and keipin and
 we will speik of his sone henrie the aucht for quhan
 his father was depairtit as I haue schawin to zow he
 20 thinkand that he was alyit with scotland to wit that
 the king thairof mareit his sister as ze haue hard thair-
 foir he thocht he had tyme to pas in france.

¹ [In the zeir of god I^m v^e and foure zeiris and in the
 moneth of August, Iames the fourt tuik to his wyfe
 25 Margarit the first [borne] douchter of the king of Ingland,
 and was marieit with hir and solemnettlie be the adwyse
 of the nobilietie of Ingland and Scottland witht great
 soumes of money gevin to him of toucher, also witht
 greit promissis and conditiouns of peace and rest be-
 30 tuix the tuo contrieis, and thair to the tuo kingis gaif
 botht thair bandis and aithis of fedelietie that they
 sould obserue and keip the samin induring the tyme

The marieag
 of king
 James the
 fourt.

The pro-
 missis betuix
 the king of
 Scotland
 and the king
 of Ingland.

¹ The passage in brackets is omitted in MS. I, which has a fuller
 account of the marriage in ch. ix. *ante*. The passage here retained
 from MS. A has got out of place, but is given in both Freebairn's
 and Dalzell's editions. 1504 in it is a mistake for 1503.

of thair lyfe but fraud or gyle of ether of the said pairties, bot ewer allace, thir conditionuns war brokin a schort quhill heireftir as ze sall heir.] For the king of Ingland being allayit witht Scotland in this maner, thinkand that he had his tyme to pase in France to seik his pensioun, thairfor assemblit his haill lordis to ane consall to sie quhat was thair mynd thairin. To quhilk money of them concludit to the samin and gaif him consall to persew his awin right of the king of France, considerand that he was allayit witht the king of Scotland, and ¹ bandit so in peace witht him, tha he neidit to dreid no bak heir² of Scotland as he was wont to do. Thairfoir they tuik the les cure of France thinkand that the king sould obtaine his pensieoun but ony mane of trubill or impediement; zeir the consall of Ingland thocht it goode to the king to send ambassadouris to France to desyre the king of France plessantlie and of ane honest maner to deliuer and rander to him his pensieoun forsaid, with certificatioun gif he wald nocht that he wald come in proper persone him self to seik the samin quhilk wald nocht be to his contentment. Thir ambassadouris passit away to France at the king of Inglandis and consallis command, schew the king of France thair commissioun and desyre quho was not content thairwith beleiffand suire that the king of Ingland durst not attempt ony weiris against him, zeit he was commovit at the ambassadouris and gaif thame ane defyante ansuer quhilk was lyttill to effect.

Fol. 81 a.

How the king of Ingland send to the king of France for his pensioun.

How bischope Androw Forman zeid to Rome.

In this meane tyme thair was ane bischope in Scotland callit Androw Forman, was bischope of Murray, quhilk at that tyme was to pase to Rome for his bussienes, quhilk raid his way throw Ingland quhair he was weill treittit and ressawit be king Harie the aught and

¹ I has "and his father and he bandit swa."

² B has "backchakis," I "bakfeare." See Glossary.

that for the king of Scotlandis saik ; syne passit ford-
wart to Rome quhair he was ressawit be the pope and
treattit thair as ane stranger.

THE XII CHAPTER.

Discord betuix king lues of france¹ and paip Juli. Hou Bischope
Androw forman drew peace betuix thame. Hou the paipe
delyureit his mull² to the said bischope. And hou he maid
him leggit of Scotland.

In the same tyme king Lues of France and paipe
5 July, the second³ of that name, fell at discoird with the
king of France and [the paipe] raissit ane great airmie
witht ane hunder thowsand fightand men to come aganis
the king of France and gaif him plaine battell gif he wald
nocht consent to his desyris. The king of France send
10 and sicand the paipis rigourousnes aganis him, witht the
number of iiij^{xx} M feghtand men came manfullie to the
feildis witht ane triumphant airme aganis him. Thir
tuo airmeis mairchit together withtin the space of ane
Scottis myle redy ewerie ane of thame to come together
15 at the sound of trumpit. Bot this nobill bischope For-
man beand in companie witht the paipe for the tyme
desyrit at his handis that he might speik witht the king
of France to draw good vyte⁴ and bring concoird ffor
the weill of baitht the saidis pairtieis. Quhilk petitioun
20 was grantit to him be the paipe quho was right reioyssit
of his desyre, for this nobill bischope passit in message
to the king of France quhair he was lyand with his
airme in proper persone, and thair ressawit this hollie
bischope witht reverence and intreitit him werie thank-
25 fullie for the king of Scotlandis saik and was werie

The discord
betuix king
Lues of
France and
paipe Juli.

Quhene
bischope
Androw For-
man drew
peace betuix
them.

Fol. 81 b.

¹ Lewis XII.

² Mule.

³ A has "seuint" wrongly.

⁴ I has "wayis," A "vyte"—*i.e.*, wit or knowledge.

blytht of his comming trusting that he favorid him sa for the king of Scotlandis saik that he wald not suffer the paipe to gif him battell gif he myght stope it, and to that effect he gaif him fair wordis and grantit so money of his desyris. This bischope come haistalie to the paipe againe witht good naratioun of the king of France, schawand to the paipe that the king of France was redy to defend the libertie of the kirk, spetiallie his hollienes, to serue him or pas witht him quhair he wald bide him. Thir good wordis and wther sua mitigat the paips hart that he was content to all that bischope Androw Forman desyrit, that is to say, to skaill his airme and to speik witht the king of France and commond kyndlie and tenderlie witht him as he pleissit. Witht this ansuer Bischope Androw Forman passit haistalie to the king of France and schew him the paipis goode will and mynd toward him, quho was weill contentit thairfor and promissid to bischope Androw Forman to skaill his airme in lyke maner as the paip did his, and to meit at the place appoyntit and to speik witht him as the bischope had devyssit. And on the morne heirefter baitht the saidis airmeis skaillit and the paipe and the king of France mett and imbraceit wther tenderlie and aggreit wpoun all materis debettabill betuix them, be the labouris and consall of this hollie bischope who was werie richlie revardit thairfor and obtinitt great favour of great men and of baitht the pairtieis. That is to say the paip lichtit doune of his mull¹ and deliuerit hir to bischope Androw Forman witht great giftis of gold, and had him to Rome witht him and maid him Legat of Scotland; quho maid the paip ane great bankit in ane of his awin pallices in the tyme of his legacie,² and he treitt the paipe and all his cardinallis thairwnto.

How the
paip deli-
uerit his mull
to bischope
Androw For-
man and
maid him
Legat of
Scotland.
Fol. 82 a.
How the
bischope
maid the
paip and his
cardinallis
ane denner.

¹ Mule.

² *I.e.*, legation.

THE XIII CHAPTER.

Hou the bischope maid the paip and his cardinallis ane denner and quhat mirrieness was thairat. Hou the bischope red out of Rome to france. The bischopis reward fra the king of france. Hou he desyrit the bischope to speik with the king of Scotland. Hou margret queine of Scotland¹ [brought hame a son and the king] buldit ane schipp; the lenth breid and thiknes of the said schip. And quhat expensis scho was. And hou scho was seyit.²

Quhene the denner come to the paip and his cardinallis was pleissit and sett according to thair estait. Then the wse was and costome at the beginning of meate that he that aught the house and maid the
 5 bankit sould say the grace and blise the meate; and so they requirit the hollie bischope to say the grace quho was not ane goode scollar and had not goode lattine, but begane rudlie in Scottis fassieoun in this maner sayand 'Benedicite,' beleueand that they sould
 10 haue ansuerand 'Dominus.' Bot they ansuerit 'Daus'³ in the Italieane fassieoun, quhilk pat this nobill bischope by this his intandement that he wist not how to proceid fordwart, bot hapnit out in goode Scottis in this maner, the quhilk they wnderstud not, sayand,
 15 'The Dewill gif [tak] zow all fallis cairllis,⁴ in nomine 'patris et filii spiritus sancti.' 'Amen,' quod they. Then the bischope and his men lewche and sa did all the cardinallis. And the paip inquirit quhairat they lewche, and the bischope schew the paip the maner,
 20 that he was not ane good clark, and his cardinallis

¹ This is not conform to the text, which states, as all other authorities do, that King James built the great Michael. It seems a mistake of the transcriber, who omits the words supplied in brackets.

² "Seyit" = launched.

³ "Deus," so pronounced?

⁴ Dalzell has "cardinals," which is probably wrong.

had put him by his intandement, thairfor he gaif tham all to the Devill in goode Scottis, and they say¹ the lewche at that, the paipe leuche among the rest.²

How he said
out of Rome
to France.

The bisch-
opis rewaird
fre the king
of France.

How he
desyrit the
Bischope to
speik witht
the king of
Scotland.

Quhene the bischope was maid Legat of Scottlan and done all his bussienes as we haue schawin he tui his leif at the paipe and his cardinallis, and passit thro Italie to France quhair he was wondrous willcum bait to king and quene and consall and was richlie reward for his labouris of peace making betuix him and th Paipe of Rome, and gawe him thair for his rewaird th bischoperick of Burges of Barray³ quhilk was to hi zeirlie in profeit iiij^e tune of wyne ten M frankis in gou witht wther small commoditeis quhilk cane not rehearssit. The king of France schew also to th bischope how the king of Ingland had also send t ambassadouris desyrand his pensicoun to be payt ellis he wald come and invade his realme and gif hi battell; quhairfor he desyrit the bischope effectouslie speik the king of Scotland to support him conforme the tennour of his auld band and also prayand t bischope to be his goode freind in consalling of t king ffor his affairis. That is to say quhene the ki of Ingland come in France, that the king of Scottlan wald raise his airme and come in Ingland lykas the au band maid mentioun. To this effect the king France send ambassadouris in Scotland witht t bischope to desyre the samin as is affoir rehearssit; b the king gaif thame ane defferant ansuer because of tl lufe and tendernes that was betuix him and the ki of Ingland his brother in law. Thir ambassadouris pa againe in France nothing content with thair ansue This draif ower.

Margarit our quene of Scotland brocht hame a

¹ I has "said all amen."

² According to MS. I on margin, this was in 1511.

³ Bourges in Berry.

zoung sone in the moneth of [Februar] in the zeir of
god I^m v^o and xij zeiris.

How Mar-
garit quene
of Scotland
buire ane
sone.

Fol. 83 a.
How the
king of
Scotland
buldit ane
great scheip.

In the same zeir the king of Scotland bigit ane great
scheip callit the great Michell quhilke was the greatest
5 scheip and maist of strength that ewer sailit in Ingland
or France. Ffor this scheip was of so greit statur and
tuik so mekill timber that scho waistit all the wodis in
Fyfe except Falkland wode, by¹ all the tymmer that was
gottin out of Noraway. Scho was so strang and wyde
10 of length and breid that all the wryghtis of Scotland ze
and money wther strangeris was at hir devyse be the
kingis commandement quho wroght werie bessielie on
hir, bot it was zeir and day or scho was compleit.

To wit, scho was xij scoir of futtis of length and xxxv
15 futte withtin the wallis²; scho was ten fute thik in the
waill, cuttit jeastis of aik witht hir wallis and burdis on
ewerie syde sa stark and thik that na canon could gang
throw hir. This great schipe cummerit Scotland to get
hir to the sie; ffrome tyme scho was aflott and all hir
20 mastis and saillis compleit, witht towis and ankeris
effeirand thairto scho was comptit to the king to be xxx
thowsand pund of expenssis by¹ hir artaillze quhilke was
werie great and costlie to the king by all the laif of hir
order. To wit, scho buire mony cannons sex³ on everie
25 syde witht thrie great basselis,⁴ tua behind in hir dock
and ane befoir, witht iij^o schott of small artaillzie, that is
to say mayan⁵ and batterit facouns and quarter fallcouns,
slingis, pestelent serpitantis⁶ and doubill doggis⁷ witht
hagbut and cullvering, corsebowis and handbowis. Scho
30 had iij^o marienaris to sail hir, sex scoir of gounnaris

The length,
breid and
thiknes of
said schipe
and of quhat
expense scho
was of.

¹ "By" = besides.

² I has "xxxvj fut with in hir wylis"—i.e., walls.

³ I has "xij."

⁴ "Basilisk" is the more common name for this cannon.

⁵ A medium-sized cannon.

⁶ "Serpentine" is the more correct name.

⁷ Perhaps "daggis," horse-carbines or hand-guns. See Glossary.

Fol. 83 A.

How the
king sayit
hir.

to use hir artailze ffor this scho had ane thowsand men
of weir by¹ hir captans skipiris and quarter maisteris.
Quhene this scheip past to the sie and was lyand in the
rade, the king gart schot ane cannon at hir to say hir gif
scho was wicht, bot I hard say it deirit² hir nocht and⁵
did her lyttill skaith.

THE XIII CHAPTER.

Quhair ye sall find the schap of the kingis schipe and hir pictour.
Hou bischope Androw forman consallit the king of Scotland
to pyk ane quarrell at the king of ingland. The king of ing-
lands ansuer to the Scottis ambassadouris.

Quhair ye
sall find hir
schape and
pictour.

And gif ony man beleiffis that this descriptioun of the
scheip be not of weritie as we haue writtin lat him pase
to the zeit of Tilliebairne³ and thair affoir the samin he
will sie the length and breid of hir planttit witht hathorne¹⁰
againe be the wryghtis that helpit to mak hir. As for
wther propertieis of hir Schir Androw Wode is my author,
quho was quarter maister of hir, and Robene of Bartane⁴
quho was Maister skiper of hir.

This scheip lay still in the raid as forsaide and the¹⁵
king everie day taking plesour to pase to hir and dyne
and supe in hir witht his lordis lattand thame sie the
order of his schipe; quhill at the last the king of Scott-
land was suirleie adwertist that the king of Ingland was
makand redy witht all the haist he could witht ane greit²⁰
airme and navie of scheipis to pase to France to seik his
pensieoun. Quhairof the king of Scotland was not con-
tent, trusting suirleie gif the king of Ingland landit in
France to gett⁵ battell that he wald be chargit for

¹ "By" = besides.² "Dirrit" = shook. See Glossary.⁴ *I.e.*, Robert Barton. See Notes.³ Tullibardine.⁵ I has "gif."

- support conforme to his auld band quhilk he was laith
to breik ; and on the wther syde he was far lather to
breik his new allyance maid betuix him and the king
of Ingland his goode brother. Zeit notwithstanding
5 be the craftie of the bischopis quhilk never desyrit
peace nor rest of Ingland bot favourit France sa that
they counsellit the king to pick ane quarrell at the king
of Ingland quhilk they beleiffing sould cause him to
start at the king of Scotland, quhairby the king of
10 Scotland might haue occatioun to support France at
his plesour. And in this maner they wrocht and caussit
the king to send bischope Androw Forman to the king
of Ingland in ambassadrie desyrand of him certane
silluer wark and goldin wark witth ringis cheinzeis and
15 pretious stouns and wther bullzeament of gould per-
tening to the prince his eldest brother, quhilk was left
to his wyfe Margarit quen of Scotland be legacie of hir
eldest brother. To thir desyris and petitiouns of his
ambassadour forsaid, the king of Ingland ansuerit in
20 this maner as efter followis :—‘ My lord ambassadour
‘ desyris my brother the king of Scotland to haue of me
‘ silluer wark and goldin wark, ringis and cheinzeis or
‘ pretious stouns or ony wther abullzeament pertening to
‘ ane prince, quhilk was left in legacie be my eldest
25 ‘ brother to my eldest sister Margarit, quene of Scotland.
‘ I grant thairto scho salbe weill ansuerit thairof, nocht
‘ allanerlie the samin bot the dubill thairof of all thingis.
‘ Thairfor mak zour memorieall of all zour desyris, num-
‘ ber and valour thairof and ze sall not haue allone the
30 ‘ singill bot the doubill thairof. As I ame ane trew prince
‘ ze salbe ansuerit in all thingis quhatsumewer ze will giue
‘ in writt, on this conditioun that my brother the king of
‘ Scotland will keip his oth and band witth me that he
‘ hes maid laittlie witth consent of his parlieament and
35 ‘ lordis thairof ; and I in lykewyse with consent of my
‘ lordis hes maid the othe of fiedilietie into him as he hes

How bischop
Androw For-
man consallit
the king of
Scotland to
pike ane
quarall at
the king of
Ingland.
Fol. 84 a.

The king of
Scotlandis
desyre frome
the king of
Ingland.

The king of
Inglandis
desyre and
ansuer.

Fol. 24 B.

' done wnto me be hallie vangell tuichit and our great
 ' seallis and hand writ interchangit thair wpon that never
 ' ane of ws sould inuaid ane wther ffor na wther mans
 ' plesour, bot sall leif in peace and rest with cheratie and
 ' concord as christiane men and goode nichtbouris aught 5
 ' to do. Thairfoir I desyre my brother the king of Scott-
 ' land ffor the lufe of allmighte god quhilk is the authour
 ' and ground of all peace and rest that he wald sit in his
 ' awin schyre¹ and lat me and the Frinchemen pairt
 ' amang ws, that I may seik my awin iust richt of my 10
 ' pensieoun quhilk is haldin frome me wrangouslie be the
 ' pryde and awarice of France; thairfoir I desyre him to
 ' sitt still and be iudge to ws baitht and gif he dois me
 ' no goode, do me no ewill. And also schew him that it
 ' sall nether be sillwer norgould, landrent nor richeis that 15
 ' sall stand betuix him and me in differance and that gif
 ' he beleuis nocht this, send ane ansuer haistalie againe
 ' or I depairt out of Ingland to France and I sall deliuer
 ' his desyris wnto them togither witht ony wther landis or
 ' rentis that he desyris. And gif he will promise faitht- 20
 ' fullie to keip his band forsaid to me I sall incontient
 ' witht all the consent of my nobillis mak him Duike of
 ' York and governour of Ingland to my hame coming.
 ' ffor the airis of Ingland man ether come of me or him
 ' and I haue nane as zeit that is lauchfull of my body, 25
 ' bot I heir say Margarit my eldest sister hes ane prettie
 ' boy, appeirandlie to be ane man of estimatioun. I pray
 ' god to blise him and keip him from his enemeis and gif
 ' me grace that I may sie him in honour and estimatioun
 ' quhene he comes to aige, that I may intertein him 30
 ' according to my honour and dewtie.'

¹ I has "chyr"—i.e., chair. See Glossary.

THE XV CHAPTER.

Bischoep Androw formans revard frome the king of ingland. The king of Scotland's consall to him selff. Quhat the king of Scotland send to france. Hou the king of Scotlandis captanis of weir breik his command. Hou bischoep forman send ane bill to the king of Scotland. Hou the queine of france send ane luv letter to the king of Scotland and also ane taikin.

- This ansuer endit be the king of Ingland deliuerit to the ambassadour the bischope forsaide quho quhene he was depairting away gat his revaird werrie greatlie of gold and silluer and fair haiknays to ryde wpoun; and also
- 5 he gat the priorie of Cowdibett¹ quhilk was in rent be zeir iiij^m angell nobillis be the convent thairrof. This bischope tuik his leif and passit in Scotland haistallie and schew the king of Inglandis ansuer to the king of Scotland in maner foresaid as we haue rehearssit. Of
- 10 this ansuer the king was weill contentit and satisfieit thinkand on nawayis he could refuse sa fair offeris as his brother the king of Ingland had promissed to him and consultit witht himself and his consall that he wald in na vays invaide Ingland at that tyme for no favour that
- 15 he had to France, and to that effect send away this bischope into France promissand to them ony support or help quhilk he could mak them suire,² saife onlie he wald nocht pas in Ingland at that tyme to invaide his brother because he was suorne thairto in the contrair.
- 20 Bot he promissit that he sould send them ane airmie be sie to support them as they pleissit; and incontenent the king gart wictuall and furnischt his great scheip witht all kynd of ordoure, and cheissit four hardie men to be quarter maisteris in hir, and maid the lorde Hammilltoun
- 25 earle of Arran captane and great admerall and maid the lorde Flemeing wice admerall to sail in the Margarit

Bischoep
Androw For-
mans revaird
from the
king of
Ingland.

The kingis
consall to
himself.

Fol. 85 a.

¹ I has "Codibek." The true name of Forman's English benefice was "Cottingham." See Notes.

² I has "saiff."

and the lorde Rose hakit¹ in the James quhilk was the kingis great scheipis quho war weill furnischit witht lor earleis and barrouns at that tyme to the number of thousand men quho was weill arrayit for battell, and the earle of Arrane haucand charge to pase witht the quhairewer he pleissit and in spetiall to France, quh the arme was lyand for the tyme in France debaitt against the Inglische men thinkand that thair suppould cause the king of England to returne. Bot all that was for nocht, ffor the earle of Arane lord Hammillt and admerall for the said navie of Scotland, keipit derectioun of the king his maister bott passit to the wiesie wpoun the cost of Ireland and thair landit and br Carag-forgus² witht wther willagis, and than confortanent the toune of Air and thair landit and repos and playit them the space of xl dayis. In this meantyme Bischope Forman baid in France witht the king and court³ thairof quho had promissit sic ane suppoun to the king of France be his maisteris derectioun and luikit daylie for the samin and because he could nothing to succed of his promise he wrait hame a schirpe bill to the king makand mentioun to him that his honour was tint for ewer, gif he send nocht haist support to the king of France conforme to his promi quhilk he had maid in his name. Also the quen France wrait ane lufe letter to the king of Scotland, call him hir lufe schawand him that sche had sufferit mek rebuik for his saik in France for the defending of his honour, scho beleiffit suirlye that he wald recompence her againe witht sum of his knyghtlie support in hir necessite that is to say that he wald raise hir airme and com three fute on inglis ground for hir sake; to that effect scho send him ane ringe of hir finger witht xiiij thowsan frinche crounes to mak his expensis.

How the king of Scotlandis captans brak his command.

Quhene bischop Forman send ane bill to the king of Scotland. Fol. 85 b.

How the quen send ane lufe letter to the king of Scotland.

¹ Ross of Hawkhead. See Notes.

² Carrickfergus.

³ I has "quene" and omits "thairof."

THE XVI CHAPTER.

Hou the king of Scotland gart wot of his men of weir dissobeyit the kingis herauldis. Hou the king maid proclammatiounis. Ane meraikill seine in the kirk of linlythgow quhan the king was settand at devotioun.

Be thir lettaris to the kingis maiestie¹ he knew weill that [the] navie had not passit the right way, and schortlie heirefter he gat wit thai war landit at the toune of Air quhilk displeissit the king werie greatlie ffor he beleiffit
 5 suirle that they had ben in France at the farthest tryst. Bot because they had nocht keipit his derection he send² Schir Androw Wode witht wther gentill men witht harrottis of airmes and dischargit the Earle of Arrane of his admerall and wowit to god that he sould
 10 neuer bruik herietage in Scotland efter that day. Bot this lord beand solempne³ and zoung heirand the terrabill message of the king thocht he wald nocht obey and gif ower the admerallschipe as the king had commandit bot passit it to the sie and pullit wpe saillis and passit
 15 quhair hie pleissit and thinkand that he wald come to France in dew tyme. Bot the storme of windis and raige of sieis batterit the schippis in sic maner that hie could nocht come to his purpois in dew tyme. The king heirand of his wnprosperous iournay, seand that
 20 France wald get no support of him for the tyme, maid ane procliamatioun haistalie throw all the realme of Scotland batht eist, wast, south, north, allis weill in his illis as in the ferme land that all maner of men betuix sextie and sextene zeiris, that they sould be redy within
 25 xx dayis to pase witht him witht xl dayis wictuall and so

How the king gat witt of his navieis fallsit.

How the captanis of weir dissobeyit the king.

The king maid procliamatiounis.

¹ I has "be thir letteris foresaid come"=by the time the foresaid letters had come.

² I inserts "Archbauldye Erle of Angus, and," &c.

³ I has "insolent."

Fol. 86 a.

Ane mirakill
sen.

meit at the borrow mure of Edinburgh and thair to p
fordwart quhair hie pleissit. His procliamatiounis
haistalie obeyit contrair the counsall of Scottlandis
bot everie man luffit his prince so weill that they w
on nowayis dissobey him bot everie man gart mak
proviitioun haistallie conforme to the charge of the
cliamatioun. At this tyme the king come to Lythg
quhair he hapnit for the tyme to be at consall, werie
and dollarous, makand his divotioun to god to send
good chance and fortoun in his woage. In this me
tyme thair come ane man clade in ane blew goun¹
at the kirk doore witht ane roll of lynning claith a
pair of bottouns² on his feit to the great of his k
witht all wther hose and claithis conforme thair to, l
he had nothing on his heid bot syde reid zallow h
behind and on his halffitis quhilk wan doune to l
schoulderis bot his forheid was beld³ and bair. I
semmit ane man of lij zeiris witht ane great pyk staff
his hand and come fast fordward amang the lordis c
and and speirand for the king, sayand he desyrit
speik witht him; quhill at the last he come quhair t
king was sittand in the dask at his prayeris. Bot quhe
he saw the king he maid him lyttill reverence or sall
tatioun bot leinitt doune groufflingis on the dask bef
him and said to him in this maner as eftir followis,
' Schir king, my mother hes send me to the desiring t
' nocht to pase at this tyme quhair thow art purposs
' ffor gif thow dois thow wilt nocht fair weill in t
' journey nor nane that passis witht the; forther sch
' bad the nocht mell witht no wemen nor wse wit
' thair counsall, nor lat them nocht tutch thy body ne
' thow thairs, for and thow do it thow wilbe confound
' and brocht to schame.' Be this man had spokin th
wordis in to the kingis grace, the ewin song was nei

¹ I has "beltit about him with ane row of lynning," &c.² I has "bottikins."³ "Beld"—i.e., bald.

done, and the king panssit on thir wordis studeing to
 gif him ane ansuer bot in the meane tyme befor the
 kingis face, and in presentis of all his lordis that was
 about him for the tyme this man wanischit away and
 5 could in no wayis be sen nor comprehendit, bot wan-
 ischit away as he had bene ane blink of the sone or ane
 quhipe of the whirle wind and could no more be seine.
 I hard say Schir Dawid Lyndsay Lyoun harrott¹ and Fol. 86 A.
 Johnne Inglische the mairchall quho war at that
 10 tyme zoung men and spetiall serwandis to the kingis
 grace war standand presentlie besyde the king quho
 thocht to have layit handis on this man that they might
 haue speirit forder tydingis at him bot all for nocht;
 they could not tueiche him ffor he wanischit away betuix
 15 them and was no more sen.

THE XVII CHAPTER.

Hou the king tuk arteilzerie out of Edinburgh. Ane proclamatioune
 hird: hou the king wald nocht wse the counsall of his wyfe.
 The nomer of the kingis men.

All thir wairningis and wncouth merwellis² nor no
 goode consall might stope the king at this present ffrome
 his waine purpois and wickit interpryse bot [he] haistit
 him fast to Edinburgh and thair to mak his provisioun
 20 and furnisching in haveing fourtht of his airme aganis
 the day appoyntit that they sould meit on the borrow
 mure of Edinburgh; that is to say sewin cannonis that
 he tuik fourtht of the castell of Edinburgh, quhilk was
 callit the sewin sisteris, cassin be Robert Borthik the

How the
 king tuik
 out artillize
 out of the
 castell of
 Edinburgh.

¹ Buchanan tells the story in almost the same terms, and says Sir David Lyndsay, who was present, was his informant.—Hist., xiii. 31. See Notes.

² Dalzell has "novellis" and "counsall."

maister gounar witht wther small artaillze, bullat, powd and all maner of order as the maister gounar cou devyse.¹

Ane pro-
clamatioun
hard in
Edinburgh
on the night.

Fol. 87 a.

In this meane tyme they war takin² fourtht thair artaillze, and the king being in the Abbay for thir tyme, thair was a cry hard at the marcat crose in Edinburgh at the houre of midnight proclamand : it had bene ane sowmondis, quhilk was nameit ane callit be the proclamer thair of the sowmondis of Ploucok,³ quhilk desyrit all men to compeir baitht earl lord, barone and gentillmen and all honest burgess withtin the toun, ewerie man specificit be his awin name to compeir withtin the space of xl dayis befor his maister quhair it sall happin him to apoynt ane be for the tyme wnder the paine of dissobedience. Be quhither thir sowmondis war proclameit be waine persons night walkeris or dronkin men for thair pastyme or gif it was bot ane spreit as I haue schawin to you befor, I cane not tell trewlie : Bot it was schawin to me that ane nobill man of the toun callit Maister Richard Lawsons⁴ beand ewill dispossit gangand in his gallerie stair forment the corse, heirand this woce proclaman this sowmondis thocht marwell quhat it sould be, cryd on his serwant to bring him his purse, and quhene he had brocht him it he tuik out ane croune and cast it ower the stair sayand thir wordis as efter followis :—
' I appeill fre that sowmondis iudgement and sentance thair of and takis me all haill in the marcie of god and Christ Jesus his sone.' Werelie the author of this thair caussit me to wryte the maner of the sowmondis was ane gentillmane landit, quho was at the tyme o

¹ See Notes.

² I has "reiking."

³ I has "Potcock," Dalzell has "Platcock," — Pluto or the Devil.

⁴ This was Richard Lawson, Provost of Edinburgh, and Justice-Clerk. See Notes.

twenty zeiris of aige¹ and was in the toune the tyme
 of the sowmondis, and thairefter quhene the feild
 was strikin he swore to me thair was no maner of
 man that eskaipit that was callit in that sowmondis
 5 bot that on man allone quhilk maid his protestatioun
 and appeillit fre the saidis sowmondis bot all the laif
 war perischit in the feild witht the kingis grace.² Thir
 nowellis passit through the toune on the morne to³
 everie man as effeirit and spetiallie they come to the
 10 kingis eairis quho gaif them bott lytill credence nor
 wald gif to no man nor signe nor taikin quhilk was
 contrair to his porpois, but reffussit allwayis godlie
 consall quhilk was to his honour and commone weill
 of the contrie and wald nocht wse no consall of his
 15 prudent wyfe Margarit quene of Scotland for no
 prayeris nor supplicatioun scho could mak, schawand
 [him] that scho had bot ane sone in to⁴ him quhilk was
 ane waik warand to the realme of Scotland and ower
 sounne to him to pase to battell levand so small suc-
 20 cessioun behind him; thairfor scho thocht it best that
 he sould tarie quhill god send thame more fruit of his
 body ffor assuirand him gif he passit to Ingland at that
 tyme he wald gett battell. Zeit this wyse consall and
 admonitioun [was] of no wyse acceptit nor takin in goode
 25 pairt be him [and] because scho was the king of Inglandis
 sister was the less regairdit; zeit this nobill woman did
 hir dewtie and labouris sa far as scho might for the weill
 of hir husband and the commone weill of the contrie
 and also for the lufe that scho buire to her brother the
 30 king of Ingland desyrand no discord to be betuix the
 tuo realmes in hir tyme. Bot nevertheles nothing wald

How the
king wold
use na con-
sall of his
wyffe.

Fol. 87 A.

¹ This appears to show that Pitscottie had conversed with a man who had been in Edinburgh in the year 1513 and was born in 1493; but see Notes.

² See Notes.

³ I has "to," A has "that," but the reading of I is preferable.

⁴ "In to," we now say "to."

The number
of the kingis
men.

be hard bot 'fordwart.'¹ The king went in to the pl
quhair the mustaris war resawit, that is to say, in
borrow mure besyde Edinburgh, quhair they essembe
the king and all his lordis barrouns and burgessis
frie halderis and fenceabill men, and all maner of n
betuix sextie and sextene alswell spretuall² as tempo
batht brugh and land allis weill the out yillis as fer
land quhilk haistalie come, the number of I^c M fight
men together witht the carage men and arteillzerie qu
was to the number of xxx schott of greit artaillze :
xxx feild peaceis witht all thair ordinaris of poull
and bullat ; and passit syne fordwart to the Ersk to
and campit thair.

THE XVIII CHAPTER.

Hou the king passit to the feild of floudane. Hou the king c
doun werk and norem³ and fuird⁴ and atill.⁵ Hou the k
mellit with the lady furd. Hou the men of weiris wictus
wer spendit. Hou the lady of fuird askit licence at the k
to wisie hir freindis. Hou the lady fuird schowit the Erle
Surrie all the king of Scotlandis secreittis.

How the
king cast
doun Wark
and Nor-
hame.

Quhen the king campit on nicht in Ersilton⁶ and
the morne went to Wark and Norhame and cast th
doun and thairefter past to Furde and cast th
doun and greit slaughter maid of the kingis men⁷ t
stude about the house in the fallingis of the tymb
Sum sayis the lady of Furde⁸ was ane bewtiefull wom
and that the king mellit witht hir and allso his sone t

¹ Dalzell has a different reading, but A seems preferable a
agrees with I. See Notes.

² *I.e.*, spiritual. This is curious, for the clergy, except bishc
and abbots who were feudal lords, seem by this time to ha
ceased to fight. See Notes.

³ Wark and Norham.

⁴ Ford Castle.

⁵ Etal Cast

⁶ I has "Ersiltoun."

⁷ I adds "pioneris and vther."

⁸ "Lady of Furde." This was Lady Heron. See Notes.

bischope of Sanct androis witht hir douchter, quhilk was
 against godis commandementis and against the order of
 all goode captanis of weir to begin at huredome and
 harlotrie befor ony goode succes of battell or wictorie
 5 fallin into them. I beleif the stinkand adullterie and
 fornicatioun had ane greit pairt of¹ thair ewill succes.²

How the
king mellit
witht the
lady of
Furde.

Nocht witht standing the king conteinued still thair
 the space of xx dayis but battell and no pretinnis³ of the
 sam, quhilk⁴ at last all the wictuallis and wiuerse of the

Fol. 88 a.

10 commons was waistit away and money of the fer norland
 men and Illis men was waistit in the samin maner that
 it was forcest⁵ to thame to pase hame and everie lord
 and gentillman send ane or tua hame of thair spetiall
 servantis to bring them wictuallis. In this wyse thair

How the
men of weiris
wictuall was
spendit.

15 baid nocht witht the king abone ten thowsand men by⁶
 borderaris and countrie men zeit the kingis grace suspect
 nor tuik no feir because he beleiffit no battell of the
 Inglischemen at that tyme. Bot this wickit lady of
 Furde sieand the king so oft dispairit for lak of wictu-
 20 allis and knawand all the secreittis that was amangis the
 kingis men and airme batht of the king him self and his
 secret consall, and this experience scho had be hir
 frequent hurdome witht the king and also hir douchter
 witht his sone, quhilk movet hir to ask lecence at the

How the
lady Furde
askit leif at
the king to
wessie hir
friendis.

25 king to pase invart in the contrie to speik witht certane
 of hir freindis, declairand that scho sould bring him all
 nowellis out of the south contrie quhat they war doand
 or quhat was their porpois or to do, desyring his grace
 to remaine all till hir cuming. And hie againe as ane
 30 feminnat⁷ prince subdewit and intyssit be the allurment
 and fallis desait of this wickit woman gaif hir ower
 hastielie credence in this behalf and beleiffit trewlie all

¹ I inserts "the wytt of"—*i.e.*, blame of.

² See Notes.

³ "Pretinnis"—*i.e.*, pretences.

⁴ I has "quhill"—*i.e.*, until.

⁵ I has "force"—*i.e.*, necessity.

⁶ *I.e.*, besides.

⁷ Effeminate.

Fol. 88 A.

How the
lady Furde
schew the
earle of
Surray the
king of
Scottlandis
secreit.

had bene trew that scho had promissit to that effe
gart conwoy hir ane certane way frome the oist as sch
desyrit. Bot this lady thinkand nothing that scho h
promist to the king that on nowayis scho wald keip
for lufe scho buire to hir natiue contrie, bot haista
passit witht ane dessaitfull mynd to the Earle of Sur
quhair he was lyand at Zork at that tyme and schew
him the haill secreittis of the king of Scotland and
airme and quhat poynt he was at and how his men w
depairtit frome him for lak of wictuallis and thair w
nocht bidin witht him bot ten thowsand men of all
airme. Thairfo scho thocht it expedient to the s
Earle of Surray to come fordwart witht them that
might be at that tyme, scho promissand to him that
sould haue wictorie; be hir craft and ingyne scho sou
disdaine that king sa far as scho could to put him in t
Inglishemenis handis. Thir nowellis being shawin
the Earle of Surray be this wickit woman [he] was we
reioyssit thairfo and thankit hir greatlie of hir labour
and trawellis that scho tuike for hir natiue contrie, p
missand to hir withtin thrie dayis he sould meit t
king of Scotland and gif him battell.

THE XIX CHAPTER.

Hou the erle of Surries sone cume with support to his fater fro
the king of ingland. Hou the king of ingland wreitt ane co
missioun to the erle of Surrie. Hou the erle of Surrie marc
fordward toward the Scottis men. Of the king of Scottlan
insolencie. Hou the king raid to wissie the inglis men.

In this meane tyme quhene they¹ war commonan
letteris come to the Earle of Surray that his sone the lor
Halbert² was landit at Dower sex thowsand men of we

¹ I has "the Erle of Surreye and the lady Fuirde."

² I has "howert"—i.e., Howard.

- witht him of the best of all king Hairieis airme send to
 him be the said Harie quho was lyand in France at this
 tyme seiking his pensieoun, and gat word the king of
 Scottis was command in Ingland invaidand his realme
 5 for lufe of France, quhilk was contrar to the lufe of god
 and weill fair to baitht the said realmes of Ingland and
 Scotland considderand the promise, bandis, allyancis
 maid batht betuix the saidis realmes as we haue schawin
 befor to zow. Nocht witht standing the king of Ing-
 10 landis¹ [was] brother to the king of Scottis and thairfoir
 he wrait him commissiouns in to the Earle of Surray
 that he suld be lutennant for the tyme and raise the
 haill body of the realme of Ingland baitht gentillmen
 and commons and cause thame pase fordwart aganis
 15 the king of Scotland for to defend thair realme gifand
 him ane exprese command that he sould nocht invaid
 the king of Scotland be no maner of way bot in his
 awin defence nor sould not persew the king of Scotland
 nor nane of his in Scottis ground bot [defend]² them
 20 selffis withtin the realme of Ingland. The Earle of
 Surray heirand the lettaris of commissioun presentit be
 his sone was werie reioyssit and also of the hame
 comming of his sone Lord Halbert and tuike sic
 curage that he assemblit all his airme of Ingland and
 25 maid thair mustaris incontenent, quhilk come to the
 number of fyftie thowsand men, gentillmen and com-
 mons. The captans heiroyf was the Earle of Surrayis,
 principall lwtennant to the kingis maiestie and wnder
 him his sone lord Halbert principall governour of the
 30 rest³ and the⁴ Dacaris marschell, the lord of Wast
 mureland and the Percieis of Northt thumberland was

How the
 earle of Sur-
 rays sounne
 come witht
 suport to his
 father.

Fol. 89 a.

How the
 king of Ing-
 land wrait
 ane commis-
 sioun to the
 earle of
 Surray.

¹ I has "Ingland lamentit hevelie the vnkyndnes of his guid
 brother the king of," &c.

² I inserts "defend."

³ I has "oist."

⁴ I inserts "lord." "Dacre" is the English spelling of the name.
 He was called Lord Dacre of the North. See Notes.

How the
earle of Sur-
ray marchit
fordwart
towardis the
Scottis men.

scheiftaine of the waingaird. And this¹ in all pos-
haist they marchit fordwart toward the Scottis q-
they lay for the tyme to wit at Flowdun hills ta-
no cure of no enemeis to invaid thame at that
and spetiall of the Inglischemen at that tyme;
the king nor nane of his consall knew of the
of Surrayis comming nor zeit beleiffit to haue b-
of him nor nane wther of Ingland at that tyme,
siddiring the king was nocht present in the realm

Fol. 89 A.
The king of
Scotlandis
insolence.

This¹ the king of Scotland beand so insolent, ha-
no foresight nor myans in the contrie lay still, takan
thocht as ane man wnconsable quhill wald do no
for his lordis and captains for saifgaird of his ost
commonweill of his nobillis nor zeit for obteneing of
torie and defending of his awin honour bot lyand
bydand the ladie of Furdys coming; bot all for
scho did nothing, but deceiued him and come
agane quhill the Inglische airme com witht hir, s-
king of Scotland knew never the coming of the
of Ingland quhill they war within the space of
mylis arrayit in sevin great battellis. Quhene
nowellis war schawin to the king of Scotland he
skantlie credit thame bot lape on horse and raid to
hillis to wessie thame. Bot quhene he saw thame
mand so fast fordwart he caussit to sound his trum
and put his men in array and ordanit to charge
artaillze and mak all redy.

Then the
king raid t-
wessie the
Inglische-
men.

¹ "This" is for "thus" here and in many other places.
Glossary.

THE XX CHAPTER.

Hou the lordis pasit to the Counsall. Hou the king come disagyssit
and hard the Counsall. The lord lindsayis Counsall. Quha
were nominat to tak the battel on hand.

In this mean tyme the lordis passit to the counsall, thinkand they wald nocht suffer the king to gif battell
at that tyme to ane mane of law degre.

How the
lordis passit
to the
counsall.

Bot quhene the lordis past to the consall as said is the
5 king dissagyssed him self and come prevelie and hard
everie lordis wott and quhat was thair conclusioun
towartis his proceidingis, to wit, the lordis devyssid and
chargit Lord Patrick Lyndsay of the Byris to be chance-
lar and first wottar in the consall because he was best
10 leirnit and of greatest aige and had greatest experience
amangis thame all at that tyme. They requyrit of him
gif he thocht it good that the king sould gif battell to
England at that tyme or nocht. The lord Lyndsay being
ryplie advyssid in this matter, seing the proceidingis and
15 conversatioun and behavieour of the king, ansuerit to
the lordis in this maner as efter followis, sayand; ' My
' lordis ze desyre my oppinioun and iugment gif the
' king sould gif battell to England at this tyme or nocht.
' My lordis I will gif zow fourtht ane similetude, desyrand
20 ' zow to knaw my mynd be the samin heirefter. I com-
' pair zour lordschips to ane honest mearchand quho
' wald in his woage go to the dyce witth ane commune
' haschatur¹ and thair to ieopardie in the play on ane
' cast² aganis a glied³ half penney quhilk gif this march-
25 ' and winnis it it wilbe comptit lyttill or nocht, bot gif

How the
king com
dissagyssit
and hard the
counsall.

The lord
Lindsayis
counsall.
Fol. 90 a.

Ane werie
good
exampill.

¹ I has "hasator"—*i.e.*, hazarder or gambler.

² I has "ane roisnobill."

³ "Glied" or "gleid." The original meaning is "squinting,"
but here used in the sense of "a bad halfpenny." See Glossary.

' he tynes he tynes his honour witht that nobill peace
 ' gould quhilk is of mair wallour. Sa my lordis, ze
 ' wnder stand be this ze salbe callit the marchandis
 ' zour king ane rose nobill and Ingland a common
 ' chatour that hes nothing to ieopard bot ane g
 ' halfpenney in compariesone of our nobill king
 ' ane auld cruikit cairll liand in ane charieot,¹ and the
 ' they tyne him they tint bot lytill. Bot gif we ieop
 ' our nobill king at this tyme witht ane² sempill w
 ' and happin to tyne him we wilbe haldin ewill ma
 ' andis and far war consallouris to his maiestie.
 ' giue we tyne him we tyne the haill realme of Scottl
 ' and the haill nobilietie thair of, ffor nane of my lord
 ' biddin at this tyme bot gentill men; the commor
 ' all depairtit frome ws for lak of wictuallis, sua it is
 ' decent nor semlie to that we sould ieopard our ne
 ' king and his nobilietie witht ane auld cruikit c
 ' and ane certane sowtaris and taillzouris witht hin
 ' companie. Bot better it war to cause the king
 ' remove, and certane of the lordis witht him, qu
 ' he thinkis maist expedient, to tak the matter in h
 ' and ieopard thame selfis for the kingis plesour
 ' thair awin honour and the commone weill of
 ' contrie at this tyme, and gif zour lordschipsis will
 ' clude in this maner, I think it best for my awin pai

Qho was
 nameit to
 tak the
 battell in
 hand.

Fol. 90 b.

Be this the lord Lyndsay had wottit in this maner
 haill lordis was contentit of this conclusioun and the
 nominat certane lordis to tak the battell in hand,
 is to say, the earle of Huntlie in the northt, the earl
 Argyle, the earle of Craford, the earle Marchall, an
 the wast pairt of Scotland, the earle of Glencairne,
 lord Ghrame the lord Maxwell, and in the southt
 earle off Angus, the earle Bothwell, the lord Ho

¹ I has "quhairfoir my lordis gif Ingland jeopardis ane cru
 carll in ane chariott and," &c.

² I has "so sempill ane match."

thir to be rewlaris of the kingis ost, and to fight in
 battell against Ingland; and the king to pase witht ane
 certane of his nobilietie a lyttill frome the airme quhair
 he might sie the wallieant actis of baitht the sydis and
 5 being in saif-gaird him self.

THE XXI CHAPTER.

The kingis ansuer to the lordis. The ordour of the kingis armye.
 The desyre of the maister gunner. The kingis answer to the
 gunner. The feild of flowdoun. The first battell of ingland
 defeat. Secund defeat. Hou the erle of huntlie desyrit the
 lord home to reskew the king. Hou the king was leid out of
 the feild.

This being devyssit and spokin and finallie concludit
 witht all the haill lordis, the king being neir hand by,
 dissagyssit as I schew zow befoir, desyrand to heir thair
 consall and conclusioun and to be wknawin of them,
 10 burst fourtht and ansuerit wnhappellie in this maner, as
 efter followis, sayand to tham in ane furieous rage,—
 ‘ My lordis, I sall fight this day witht Ingland and ze
 ‘ had all suorne the contrair; thocht ze wald all flie
 ‘ frome me and schame your selffis, ze sall nocht schame
 15 ‘ me as ze devyse, and ¹ to lord Patrick Lyndsay that hes
 ‘ gevin the first wott, I wow to god, I sall never sie
 ‘ Scotland souner nor I sall hang him on his awin
 ‘ zett.’ This the lordis war astonischit at the kingis
 ansuer, [and] seand him in ane furie, was faine to
 20 satisfie his plesour and serue his appietyte in all thingis
 as he commandit.

The kingis
 ansuer to the
 lordis.

Be this the watchis come and schew the king that the
 Inglisch airme was in sight marchand fast fordwart
 withtin the space of ane Scottis myle. Then the king

¹ I inserts “as.”

The ordour
of the kingis
airme.

The desyre
of the maister
gounar.

Fol. 91 a.

The feild of
Flowdoun.
The first
battell of
Ingland
defaitt.

gart blaw the trumpitis and sett his men in orde battell, to wit, he gaif the wangaird to the Earl Huntlie and to the lord Home quho was in nur ten thowsand men and tuik the great battell in to self witht all the nobilietie of Scottland, quhilk p nocht abone xx thowsand men, and marchit fordw lytill in the syght of the Inglischemen quhilk was passand ower the brig of Till. Then the maister go come in presentis of the king and fell on his knei syrand at the king that he might schott his artaill the Inglische ost, quhair they war command ower brige of Till; ffor he promissit and tuik in hand he sould cut the brig at thair owercomming, thal king sould haue no displesour at the on half quhil other sould be devourit ffor he staillit his artaillz the brige and thai come thairon. The king ansuer Robert Borthuik¹ his gounar lyk ane man that w refit of his wit sayand to him 'I sall hang the, quarter ' and draw the gif thow schott ane schot this day, ' ame determinat I will haue them all befoir me on ' plaine ffeild and say² thame quhat they can do all l ' me.' The Inglische men war all come ower the l and the wandgaird was neir mearchant togither. 7 the trumpitis blew on everie syde and the wanga ioynitt togither, to wit, the Scottis wangaird, the E of Huntlie [and] the lord Home, witht the borde and contriemen to the number of ten thowsand, and the wther syde, of Ingland the lord Percie and the Wastmureland witht the haill bordararis and contrie: tharof in lyk maner, quho junitt cruellie on everie s and faught crwellie witht wncertaine victorie. Bo last the Earle of Hunttieis hieland men witht t bowis and tua handit suordis wrocht sa manfullie t they defait the Inglischemen bot ony slaughter on t

¹ I has "robin a borthik."

² "Say"—i.e., essay or try. See Glossary.

syde; then the Earle of Huntlie and lord Home blew
 thair trumpattis and convenitt thair men agane to thair
 standartis. Be this the tua great battellis of Ingland
 come fordward wpoun the kingis battell and ioinitt
 5 awfullie at the sownd of the trumpit and faught furie-
 ouslie and lang quhill. Bot at last the king of Scotland
 defaitt them both.

The second
 battell
 defaitt.

THE XXII CHAPTER.

Hou the erle of huntlie desyrit the lord home to reskew the king.
 Hou the king was led out of the field. Hou the lord home
 left the kingis arteilzerie in the field. Hou the inglis tareit
 away. Hou the Inglismen zeid throw the field seikand the
 king.

Then¹ the great battell of Ingland led be the lord
 Halbert quho was wnder his father the Earle of Surray
 10 governour in that battell quho come furieouslie wpoun
 the king to the number of tuentie thowsand men; bot
 the kingis battell inconterid him crwellie and faught
 manfullie on both the saydis witht wncertane wictorie,
 quhill that the stremeis of blude ran on ather syde so
 15 aboundantlie that all the feildis and wateris was maid
 reid witht the conflewence thair of. The Earle of Huntlie
 then and the lord of Home standand in ane rayit battell
 quho had win the wangaird affoir and few of thair men
 ether hurt or slaine, the Earle of Huntlie desyrit at the
 20 lord Home that he wald help the king and reskew him
 in his extremmetie, ffor he said he was ower sett witht
 multitud of men. Nochtwithtstanding, the lord Home
 ansuerit the Earle of Huntlie in this maner, sayand, 'He
 ' dois weill that dois for him self; we haue faught our
 25 ' wangaird ellis² and win the samin thairfoir lat the laif

How the
 earle of
 Huntlie de-
 syrit me lord
 Home to
 reskew the
 king.
 Fol. 91 b.

¹ I has "Than sa schone as."

² I has "alreddie."

'do thair pairt as we.' The Earle of Huntlie an
 againe and said he could nocht suffer his native p
 to be owercome witht his enemeis beffoir his ene,
 for callit his men togither be sloghorne and soun
 trumpit to haue passit to the king bot, or he c
 all was defeat on ether syde that few or nane
 lewand nother on the kingis pairt nor on the v
 Swme sayis thair come foure men wpoun foure¹
 rydand to the feild witht foure speiris and ane v
 wpoun ewerie speir heid to be ane signe and witht
 thame that ewerie ane of them sould knawe ane v
 They raide in the feild and horssed the king and b
 him fourt of the feild on ane dune haiknay.
 soume sayis they had him in the Merse betuix I
 and Kelso. Quhat they did witht him thair I ca
 tell bot ane man ten zeir efter conwickit of slau
 offeirit to the Duik of Albanie, for his lyfe, to lat hi
 the place quhair the prince was endit,² to the tail
 sould lat him sie his belt of irone lyand besyde
 in the graue; bot nochtwithtstanding this man g
 awdience be thame that was about them the Du
 Albanie quho desyrit not at that tyme that sic t
 sould be knawin.

How the
 king was
 lead out of
 the feild.

Bot we will leif this and we will return to our po
 to the feild as disconfeit on this maner on baith
 sydis ffor nether Inglannd nor Scotland knew who
 the better in that battell bot that the Scottismen
 thair king ffor thair wer tua Inglischmen for ane S
 man slaine; and sa money of the Inglischmen tha
 on lyue reteirit to the Earle of Surray and lord Ha
 his sone and reteirit ane lyttill frome the feild
 stude on thair feit that night, quhill on the morn
 nyne houris nocht knawand quho had win or tint
 feild. And in lyke wyse the lord Home stude all
 night on his futte witht the number of ten M men q

Fol. 92 a.

¹ I has "fair."

² I has "cirdit."

- on the morne that the sone raise, he, seand of novyse
 nether of Inglischemen nor Scottis, depairtit his way and
 left the kingis artaillze behind him quhilk he might haue
 reskewit and brocht witht him gif hie had pleissit; ffor I
 5 hard say, wpoun the morne at ten houris, that I^c Scottis-
 men might haue broght away the kingis artaillze saiflie
 withtout ony stope of Inglischemen. Bot the Inglische-
 men suine efter, heirand the lord Home was reteirand
 frome the feild come soun together witht the number
 10 they¹ be and cairtit the artaillze and had it away to
 Bervick, quhair mikill of it remanis to this day; syne
 went throw the feild seikand the nobill men quho was
 slaine and in spetiall the kingis grace, quhome² they fand
 money lyke him clade in his cott armor. Bot no man
 15 could say suirle that it was hie because the same day of
 the feild he caussit ten to be clad in his leifray, clad
 witht his cott airmour. Amang the rest thair was tuo of
 his gaird the ane callit Alexander Makcullouck and the
 wther the Squyer of Clesche,³ quhilk was men of mak-
 20 dome baitht allyke to the king. Thairfoir quhene they
 war deid gottin in the feild and the kingis cott airmour
 wpoun them the Inglischemen beleiffit that ane of thame
 was the king; thairfoir they tuik ane of thame quhome
 they thocht maist peirandlie to haue bene the king and
 25 caist him in ane cairt and had him away to Ingland.
 Bot zeit we knaw suirle they gat not the king because
 they had nocht the taikin of his irone belt to schaw to
 no Scottisman. This sorrowfull battell strikin and endit
 on this maner at Flowdoun hillis in the moneth of Sep-
 30 tember the nynt day, the zeir of god fre our redemptioun
 I^m v^c and xiiij zeiris and of his rigne the xxv zeir.

How my
lord Home
left the
kingis
artaillze
behind him.

How the
Inglische-
men had
away the
kingis
artaillze.

How the
Inglische-
men zeid
throw the
feild seikand
the king.

The zeir of
this battell.

¹ I has "mycht be and," &c.

² Apparently a mistake for "quhene."

³ Laing, Notes to Lyndsay's Works, i. p. 309, shows this was no relation to the hero of Lyndsay's poem, but probably a Colville. See Notes.

THE XXIII CHAPTER.

Hou makcleine a man of the hiland¹ was cummand with ane armie to the king. And hou he gat but the battell was fochin and the king defeit and than the said makcleine pasit to ane strenth and hou he and the inglismen struck ane gret battell. The orisoun to the Reader.

I, fol. 57 a.

² [Bot on the morrow Mackleine ane gret man of the Yleis of Scotland was cummand to the king with ane companie of schoisin men to the nommer of sex hundreith bowis and halfen³ and haberschownis⁴ of mailzie bot quhan he hard tell that the battell was struckin and the king and his vincusit as I haue schawin to zow befor he drew himselff to ane strenth quhill he had taine adwysment quhat was best to be done think and that he was intill ane strang cuntrie and among his enimyes handis and was nocht weill [be] kend in the cuntrie nor wist nocht quha was his freind nor his foe for he dred Scoittsman als mekill as Inglismen becaus he vndirstwd nocht thair leid nor thay his. Thairfore he tuik purpois incontinent and passit to ane strenth to saiff him selff quhill he was reposit of his travell for thay war vondrous tyrd and foirgeine and trachled gretlie in travell. Quhairfor he wald faine haue restit him and haistelie pasit to ane strenth callit barbarwood⁵ and thair remanit meikill of the day and all that nycht quhill one the morrow in the breking of the day and than purpoisit to haue cum his way in Scotland againe bot in

¹ Highlands.

² This chapter, with the exception of a few lines at the close, is from I, and is not in the other MSS. The censure on James IV. in A has also been much enlarged in I.

³ "Halfin," "halfen" (half-length) bows. Cf. p. 205, l. 12, "half-lang suordis."

⁴ Habergeons, or coats of mail. See Glossary.

⁵ Not identified.

this mean tyme thair come ane gret blak mist vpone the
 feildis that na man mycht sie the way befor him nor
 quhat gait to pas and he had na experience nor nane of
 his men of the way nor had na gyddis to gyd him. Thair-
 5 foir quhan he trowit to haue cum hame in Scotland he
 passit southward to the ingland and beleiwit suirle that
 he had beine within Scoittis ground ane gret way quhan
 he was nocht half ane myll awestill¹ Berwik and or he
 was war of him sellff the lord howert come on him with
 10 thrie thowsand men ane thowsand horsemen and twa
 thowsand fute men and thair merchit fordward and zokkit
 baith the armyes togidder and faucht verie crwellie. Bot
 mackcleine siand no remeid bot as ane dispairit man
 faucht so crwellie with the inglismen that he defeit and
 15 slew mony of thair futemen and syne for saiftie of his
 lyff lap to ane moss that was neir hand by to defend
 him sellff frome the horsmen bot nocht the les becaus
 he knew nocht the cuntrie nor wist nocht quhat way
 best for to win away he held him sellff and his men
 20 round togidder in ane knot and come vpone the horse-
 men of ingland and schot thame sa with arrowis and
 dairtis that he slew and defeit mony of the said hors
 vnder thair maisteris and than the inglismen war forcit
 to licht on fute quhan thair horsis nicht nocht serue.
 25 Than becaus thay war sa [schot]² with arrowis be mack-
 cleine and his men quhilk come so fast vpone the inglis-
 men and faucht so crwellie bot thay causit the inglismen
 to sattill frome thame and eftirward thay gave backis
 and fled to berwick sa money as war left on lyff bot the
 30 toune of bervick seand this vschit furth to reskew thair
 men bot the nicht come downe so fast it sinderit thame
 and mackcleine. I hard say thair var slaine of inglis-
 men at that carmish³ twa thowsand men on hors and fut
 and M^ccleine him self eschapit and thriesum with him

Ane battell
 betuix Mak-
 clein and the
 Inglisemen.

¹ "Awestill"—i.e., west of.

² "Schot" omitted.

³ Skirmish.

Fol. 92 A.

and wane away with his lyff throw mirkness of the nicht
 bot of all his men thair was nane left onslaine bot him-
 sellff his brother and twasum with thame. This was fochin
 the xj day of September in the zeir of god foirsaid. Thir
 vnhappie battallis fochin in this [manner] as I haue 5
 schawin to zow and king James the feird slaine than¹
 with money of his nobillis nocht be the manheid nor wis-
 dome of Inglischemen bot be the kingis awin willfull mis-
 governance that wald wse no consall of his wyse nobillis
 and ageit lordis and speciallie of my lord of angus quha 10
 gave him ane vyse cunsall. Becaus he refusit the samyn
 he depairtit out of the feild and left with him his eldest
 sone the maister quha was slaine thair immediatlie amang
 the rest of the nobillis. This foirsaid wald vse no coun-
 sall for defence of his honour and preserving of his airme 15
 bot wssit himself to his awin sensuall plesouris quhilk
 was the cause of his rwen. Thairfor all wther princes
 may tak exampill be him quhilk reffussit honest and
 godlie consall and spetiall of them quho was the prin-
 cipall defendaris of the realme. Thocht he was the heid 20
 they war the airmes and the spetiall defence of the haill
 body, ffor oftymes it is hard and sene that the airmes
 defendis the heid quhene it is persewit be weolence, and
 is the bucklar that man dois present for saifgaird of the
 heid, thocht the heid sumtyme makis lyttill defence to 25
 the airmes as so is sene of this wnfortunat king [quho]
 then brocht his barrouns to sic ane poynt throw his
 willfull misgovernance that they war all crwillie mur-
 dreist and slaine, in his default and nocht in thairis.
 Bot we will lat him rest witth god and speik of his 30
 sone James the Fyft and how the realme was gydit in
 his minoritie.]

¹ "Than" = then.

ANE EXCLAMATIOUN OF JAMES THE FORT
AND QUHAT HE WAS IN HIS LYF
TYME, HOW HE WAS
EXTEIMIT.¹

I, fol. 57 b.

² Alalice that ³ thow art gone Richt Redowtit roy
Thow ⁴ potent prince gentill king James the feird
I traist ⁵ to chryst thy ⁶ saull restis in ioy
Ane gretter nobill rang nevir vpon the eird
5 O Atropus ⁷ varie we may thy weird
ffor thow was mirrou of humilitie
leidstarn ⁸ and lamp of liberallite

For during thy tyme ⁹ so iustice did prevail
That ¹⁰ the sawwage Iles trimbled for terrour
10 Isdeill Eiseidill ¹¹ liddisdail and annerdeill
durst nocht rebell doutin thy ¹² dintis dour
And of thy ¹² lordis thow ¹³ had sic perfyte favour
So for to schaw that thow affeird ¹⁴ none
Out throw thy ¹² realme thow ¹⁵ wald ryd thine alone

15 And of thy ¹² court throuch Europe sprang thy fame
Of luistie lordis and lowesum ladyis scheine ¹⁶
Triumpheand turnamentis ¹⁷ Iustin and knichtlie game
With all pastyme according for ane king

¹ *I.e.*, "esteemit."² These lines are taken, with slight variations marked in the Notes, from Sir David Lyndsay, 'The Testament and Complaynt of the Papingo.' Cf. Laing's edition, i. p. 79, l. 486 *et seq.*³ "Quhare bene that."⁴ "That."⁵ "Pray."⁶ "His saull for the convoie."⁷ "O Atrapus."⁸ "Lode sterne."⁹ "Durying his tyme."¹⁰ "That" omitted.¹¹ "Eskdale Euisdale."¹² "His."¹³ "Thou" omitted.¹⁴ "Affeirt."¹⁵ "He."¹⁶ "Zing"—*i.e.*, young.¹⁷ "Tournayis."

Thow¹ was² the gloir of princleie gowerning
 Bot throw the ardent lowe thow had to france
 Aganis Ingland did mowe thy³ ordinance

O floudoun feild the ruwyne to revolwe
 Or that most dolent day for to deploir 5
 I nill for dreid that dolour to⁴ desolve
 Or schaw how that prince in his triumpheand gloire
 Destroyit was quhat neidit⁵ proces moir
 Nocht be the vertew of inglis ordinance
 Bot be his awin wilfull misgownance 10

Alaice that day had he beine counsalabill
 he had obtenit laud gloir and victorie
 quhois piteous proces beine so lamentabill
 I nill at lenth to put in memorie
 I nevir read in trageddie nor storie 15
 At on journey so money nobillis slaine
 for the defence and luife of thair souerane

Thairfoir kingis⁶ mark in zour remembrance
 Ane mirrour of thois mutabiliteis
 Consider weill quhan fortoun givis the chance⁷ 20
 In princes willis standis na victories⁸
 Refusand of counsal come gret aduersiteis⁹
 Sa mycht thay say that quhome he left behind him
 War nocht the god with graice he did defend thame¹⁰

¹ "He."² "Wis."³ "His."⁴ "Zow."⁵ "Neideth."⁶ "Now brether."⁷ "So may ye knaw the courtes inconstance."⁸ "Quhen prences bene thus pullit frome thair seis."⁹ "Efter quhois death quhat strange aduersiteis."¹⁰ "Quhat gret mysruele into this regioun rang

Quhen ane zoung prince could noder speke nor zang."

The two verses of Lyndsay are clear; those substituted by Pittscottie seem to mean that persons who lived after James IV. might also say that adversity comes of refusing counsel, were it not they were defended by the grace of God.

HEIR BEGINNIS THE XXI BUIK OF
 THE CRONICKILIS OF KING
 JAMES THE FYFT AND QUHAT
 ACTIS WAS DONE IN HIS
 DAVIS AND QUHAT
 TRUBILLIS IN-
 CURRIT IN
 THE CUN-
 TRIE.

I, fol. 58 a.

THE I CHAPTER.

The cumming of king harie out of france to Ingland. Hou James erle of Arane and lord hamiltoune pretendit hiest in the Court. Hou the Quene tuik my lord Angus to hir husband. Hou the erle of Arrane desyred the lordis in ane conventioun. Hou maister gavin douglas zeid to treat peace betuix the erle of Angus and the erle of Arrane.

James the fyft beand in the aige of tua zeiris and fyue moneth quha¹ then be advyse of the lordis was crownit at Stirling the xx day [of March]²; thairefter was in government and keiping of his mother Margarit quene
 5 of Scotland, quho gart cheis ane gaird to be about the king hir sone ffor saif gaird of his body, to wit, the lord Ewindail and his bretherin. In this mean tyme king Hairrie of Ingland the aught came out of France quhene he had obtainnit his pensioun, and
 10 heirand of the king of Scotlandis deid was hevelie displeissit thairwit and gaif command to his nobillis and borderaris of Ingland wnder the paine of tressone that ony of thame sould [not] pase in Scotland to

Fol. 93 a.

The coming of King Harie out of France.

¹ I. A has "quhene."

² I inserts.

invaid the samin induring the kingis minoritie. And this he commandit straitlie and sett out lettres thair wpoun ffor lufe of his sister and his sister sone think and that nathing sould fail on his syde in observing of the band maid betuix the king of Scotland and him, 5 nochtwithstanding the borderis of Scotland was ewer doand that they might to breik the samin.

Zeit sune efter hend thair come great troubill in Scotland amang ourselfis pairtlie for the autorietie, quho sould be highest and have the realme in to gov- 10 ernance and pairtlie thair was for auld feid and slaughter that had bene befor in King James the fourtis tyme, thinkand that it was tyme to quitt commoneis quhene the prince was zoung and no autorietie to rigne abone them at that tyme. Ffor James Earle of Arrane and 15 lord Hammiltoun pretendit hiegheist in this realme to haue the goverment thinkand that he was neirest of blude in to the kingis grace in the realme of Scotland at that tyme; bot zeit the lordis of Scotland wald no ways be contentit that he had ony preheminance or 20 autorietie sa lang as the quene keipit hir wedowheid and hir body cleine ffrome leichorie. Bot schort tyme efter this the Earle of Angus hanted the court and was werrie lustie in the quens sight quhom scho luffit and thocht maist abill and so scho tuik him to hir 25 husband by¹ the advyse and consall of the lordis ffor they knew nathing thairof ane lang tyme efter. Then the Earle of Arrane beand advertissed of the quenis behaveour and proceidingis, assembellit all his freindis and kinsmen together and thair past to Edinburgh 30 and desyrit the lordis to ane conventioun schawand to thame that the quene had tint her goverment of the prince and the autorietie of the contrie, because scho had taine ane husband by¹ the lordis consent thairof desyrand thame that he might haue the autorietie 35

How James earle of Arran and lord Hammiltoun pretendit hiest in the court.

Fol. 93 b.
How the quene tuik the earle of Angus to hir husband.

How the earle of [Arrane] desyrit the lordis to ane conventioun.

¹ "By" is here used in a sense contrary to its modern meaning, and means "without."

pertenant to him neirest of blude. The lordis heir-
 and this wald conclude nothing at that tyme quhill
 they war farther adwyssit. In the meane tyme the
 earle of Angus gettand wit of this conventioun and
 5 the effect of that purposse come pairtlie¹ to the toune
 of Edinburgh together with his kin and freindis in com-
 panie quhilk was the number of iiij^o speiris weill arrayit
 in jake and splent and wther airmor according to thair
 estait, syne tuik his ludgeing for that night. Bot allis
 10 sune as the earle of Arrane and bischope James Bettoun
 witht the laif of thair compleces gat witt that the earle
 of Angus was come to the toune and bot ane few number
 witht him to² the respect of thair multitude, gart incon-
 tinent steik the porttis of the toune and thocht to haue
 15 taine this zoung lord and put him in pressone. Bot his
 freindis advertissit thairof watchit starklie that night,
 quhill on the morne they come and schew the earle
 of Angus of the provitioun that was makand for him
 schawand him that gif he passit not haistelie to the gait
 20 and defend him self manfullie he wald be taine out of
 his ludgeing witht his enemeis and led captiue at their
 plesour. Of this the zoung lord was nawayis contentit
 bot haistit him to his airmor and caussit his freindis
 and servandis to do the samin, and passit to the gait
 25 manfullie and stude wpoun the Nether bow in arayit
 battell. Bot Mr Gawin Douglas passit betuix to sie
 gif he could finde goode wayis betuix the tuo pairties,
 and in spetiall he passit to bischope James Bettone
 quhair he was in the Blak freiris kirk for the tyme.
 30 The said Mr Gawin desyrit the said bischope James Fol. 94 a.
 Bettone to tak sum panis to labor betuix thir tuo
 pairties quhilk was at ane scherp poynt and sum sayis,
 'me lord, ze haue the wit.' Bot bischope James Bettone
 ansuerit him againe witht ane aith, schapin³ on his breist,
 35 sayand, 'me lord, be my conscience I knaw not the

How Mr
 Gawin
 Douglas
 promist
 peace be the
 earle of
 Angus.

¹ "Pairtlie" = pertly—i.e., suddenly.

² We now say "in respect of."

³ I has "choppin."

'matter' bot quhen Mr Gawin had hard the bischopis purgatioun and how he chappit on his breist and persaiffit the plaittis of his jake clattering, thocht all was bot vaine that he had spoken and ansuerit and said into him 'I persaeue, me lord, zour conscience be not ; 'goode for I heir thame clatter.' Of this the bischope was eschameit and excussit the matter sa far as he could saiffie with his honestie, bot Mr Gawin sieand him stand and in this estait passit frome him to Schir Patrick Hammilltoun desyrand him in lyke maner to speik ¹³ witht his brother my lord of Arrane that he wald be contentit that my lord of Angus might pase to the castell and speik witht the quens grace and thairefter to depairt out of the toune but molestatioun or trubill of ony man. At the quhilk requist Schir Patrick Ham- ¹⁵ milltoun passit witht all deliegence wnto his brother my lord of Arrane and schew him my lord of Angus desyre be his brother¹ Mr Gawin Douglas, of the quhilk desyre the Erle of Arrane was weill contentit that my lord of Angus sould haue passit his bussienes in the toune at his ²⁰ plesour and to depairt quhene he list but molestatioun or trubill and this be the solistatioun of Schir Patrick Hammilltoun his brother.

THE II CHAPTER.

Hou Schir James Hamiltoun ragit² schir patrik for his laubouring of pace. Ane battel in edinburgh callit 'Cleinze Calsay.' Gret heirship be the erle of Angus. Hou the lord home gatherit ane counsall at edinburghe.

How Schir James Hammilltoun reprovit Schir Patrick Hammilltoun for his labouris.

Bot Schir James Hammilltoun his sone, that bluddie bouchour ewer thristand for blude was nowayis content ²⁵ of this appoyntment bot ragit at the said Mr Patrick for his labouris, sayand to him he had no will to fight in his freindis actioun nor quarrell thocht it war

¹ I has "freind."

² The MS. reads "reiggit."

- never so iust. At thir wordis the said Schir Patrick was so grewit and brunt in anger as the fyre and ansuerit the said Schir James in this maner, sayand Fol. 94 A to him, 'Bastard smaikie thou lies fallslie, I sall fight
- 5 'this day quhair thow dar nocht be sene,' and witht this ruschit out rudlie of thair ludgeingis and passit into the hie gait¹ in ane furious rage. Bot quhene the Earle of Angus saw them command and persaiffit Schir Patrick Hammilltoun formest [and] witht him
- 10 the Maister of Montgomrie and saw thame in sic ane furie, he knew weill thair was nothing bot fighting and cryit on his men to saif Schir Patrick Hammilltoun gif they might. Bot he come so far befor the laif that he was slaine haistelie and witht him the Maister of
- 15 Montgomrie witht money wther gentillmen and zemenis to the number of iij^{xx} and tuelf persouns. The earle² and all his companie zeid bak and was schassit and wan away out throw the Norlouche, and Schir James his sone chassit in the samin maner; and Bischope
- 20 James Bettone fiede to the Freiris and thair was taine out behind the hie allter and his rokit revin off him and [he] had bene slaine had [it] nocht bene [that] Mr Gawin Douglas requistit effectuslie ffor him saying it was sin to put hand in ane consecrat bischope quhair
- 25 for they saiffit him at that tyme. Bot the Earle of Angus passit to the castell and spak witht the quen at his plesour and so the Douglassis keipit the gait and thair honour at this tyme, quhilk lang tyme efterwart this skirmische was callit be the commons of the
- 30 cuntrie and toune of Edinburgh 'clenze calsay' quhilk was strikin in the zeir of god I^m v^e and fyften zeiris in the moneth of May.³

Ane battell
in Edin-
burgh callit
Clenze
Calsay.

The daitt of
the same
battell.

¹ *I.e.*, High Street, as *Cowgate* is still the name of the lower parallel street.

² I inserts "of arane."

³ I has "June." The true date appears to have been 30th April 1520. See Notes.

Fol. 95 a.

Great heir-
schipe be the
earle of
Angus.How my
lord Home
gadderit ane
consall at
Edinburgh.

Quhilk schortlie ane quhill efter this, the Earle of
 Angus become werie prude and insolent in all his
 doingis, thinkand quho ewer had right to the autor-
 ietie he sould be vmest.¹ To that effect he searchit²
 all cheif men and maist pairt theif and tratour batht 5
 of Annerdaill and Clidisdaill and Tivedaill, that his
 companie quhair ever they past maid great heirschip
 thift and slaughter and spetiall sum tymes in the Merse
 and Lowthieane quhair the lord Home and his freindis
 had dominioun. The lord Home beand ane wyse and 10
 naturall man and considerit³ the Earle of Angus his
 proceedingis and the great favour and loue that he
 had of the quene, and the wictorie he had wone of
 my lord of Arrane, thinkand gif he had raxit ony
 langer but correctioun or ane fall, that he wald ower- 15
 come the haill contrie and that be zoung consall that
 he had obtenitt him. The lord Home seand this sett
 his intent to put remeid heirinto and convenit ane
 consall be his moyance of the maist pairt of the nobil-
 itie at Edinburgh schawand into them that the realme 20
 was ewill gydit and ower haillit⁴ be my lord of Angus
 and his men on that ane pairt and my lord of Arrane
 on that wther pairt, strywand daylie for the autorietie
 howbeit nether of thame had right thairto. Thairfoir
 desyrit thair wosdomeis that they wald send to France 25
 to the Duik of Albanie quho was the righteous gover-
 nour of this realme and desyrit him for to come
 to resauie the autorietie and gydeschip of the contrie
 to put order thairinto induring the kingis minoritie.
 The lordis heirand of this caussit the chancelar to 30
 ansuer the lord Home, quho said to him in this maner,

¹ Uppermost. See Glossary.

² I. A has "cherist," perhaps a contraction for "cherished," which Dalzell reads.

³ Both A and I so read. The meaning seems to be, "when he considerit the Earl of Angus proceedingis."

⁴ I has "ovirharllit."

' my lord the Duike of Albanie is ane Frinche man
 ' borne, thocht he be neirest of bloode to haue the
 ' gowernment of this realme zeit he hes not our leid¹
 ' nor knawis not the nature of our contrie nor our lawis
 5 ' nor executioun sa weill as our awin lordis that is
 ' borne and gottin in Scotland and hes our langage;
 ' thairffoir my lordis, I think it best for me to cheise
 ' ane of our awin lordis quho wnderstandis ws and we
 ' him and kens the quallietieis of Scotland.' Ffarther,
 10 the chancelar nominat tuo to wit the earle of Arrane
 and the earle of Lennox thinkand that thay wald cheise Fol. 95 b.
 ane of thir tua. Bot the lord Home ansuerit the chan-
 celar werie scharplie againe and said in this maner,
 ' my lord, trow ze or ony lordis that is heir present
 15 ' at this tyme to defraud the Duike of Albanie of his
 ' iust tyttill and right of the gowernment of Scotland
 ' be zour allegiance or ony cause or motiues that ze
 ' can propone at this tyme, ffor I assure zow he sall
 ' and will come in Scotland contrair all them that
 20 ' wald nocht and gif no man will consent thairto I
 ' will consent, and failleing his hamecomming I sall
 ' rather pase for him my self.'

THE III CHAPTER.

Hou the lordis send for the duik of albanie. Hou bischope Andro
 forman complenit to the lord home of the hepburnis. Hou the
 duik of albanie come out of france to Scotland. Ane Parlia-
 ment set.

The chancelar and the lordis heirand that the lord
 Home was so fervent in the Duike of Albanieis cause
 25 speirit at the lord Home gif he wald subscriue² and
 they wald follow syne and subscriue witht him quho
 ansuerit and said he wald witht goode will and inne-

How the
 lordis counsel-
 lit to send
 for the Duik
 of Albanie.

¹ Language. See Glossary.

² I inserts "first the electioun of the duik of albanie."

diatlíe tuíke the pen in his hand and subscriwit the electioun. Then all the laife of the lordis and barrouns subscriwit the samin and drectit thair commissioun thairwpoun to ane ambassadour to wit Schir Androw Wode of Largo, drectit him to France to ; the Duíke of Albanie requeisting him to come in Scotland to resauē the government thair of be his awin iust tyttill and thair electioun and quhair thair hand writtis gevin thairwpoun. This Schir Androw Wode maid him redy and dressit his schipis to pase fordwart 12 this message as forsaíd.

Bot in this meane tyme Bischope Androw Forman bischope of Murray for the tyme, and Legat of Scotland, had money of the benefices in his handis be ressonē that he was legat, and principall of the Bisch- 15 operick of Sanctt Androis, quho had provydit the bullis thair of to him self. Bot hie on novayis could gett them proclamett nor durst nocht intend the same ffor feir of the Hepburnes because Pryor Johnne Hepburne was at that time wicar generall of the 20 bischoperick of Sanctandrois and wpe tuik the profeit thair of, thairfor he nor his freindis had no will that bischope Androw Formans bullis sould be proclamett bot stopit thame witht all thair powar, that nether into St androis nor Edinburgh, na man durst intimat 25 nor proclame thame for feir of the said pryor Johnne Hepburne and his freindis. This bischope Androw Forman seand this maid his meane and complent to the lord Home schawand to him that he was ane Merse mane borne and all his kin and freindis ser- 30 vandis to him and his house ; quhair foir he desyrit him effectouslie to cause his bullis to be proclameitt and to fortiefie him aganis the Hepburnes. To that effect he gaue him the pryorie of Coldinghame to gif to his brother quhilk was wacand in his handis at that 35 tyme be ressonē that he was Legat. The lord Home sieand Bischope Androw Formans liberalietie to him

Fol. 96 a.

How bischop
Forman
complenitt
to me lord
Home of the
Hepburnis.

caussit his brother Mr Williame Home to pase to
 Edinburgh witht the number of ten thowsand men
 and thair proclamett the saidis bischopis bullis con-
 trair all the Hepburneis willis and might at that
 5 tyme; and allso past to St androis and intimat the
 samin and to gif the Bischope institutioun and pos-
 sessioun of the said bischoperick. Bot pryour Johnne
 Hepburne heirand of this conwenit his freindis and
 serwandis and tennentis, and freindis quhome he had
 10 of the gentill men of Fyfe and keipit the kirk of
 St androis witht men wapouns and artaillzerie that on
 nowayis he would lat the said bischope enter thairin
 bot at his plesour; and in lykewyse keipit the castell
 straitlie aganis him that he wald gett no entreis nether
 15 in kirk nor castell. The bischope sieand this and
 thocht weill it was bot geir that wald make the
 matter ewin betuix them caussit his freindis to labour
 to that effect to satisfie pryour Johnne Hepburneis
 mynd and gredy appetyte; then be the consall of
 20 wyse men gaif to this pryour the wickar generallschip
 together witht thre thowsand pund of benifice to gif
 amangis his freindis and satisfieit him on this maner.
 Bot pryour Johnne consaueit sic haitrent at the Homes
 ffor the taking pairt aganis him witht this bischope
 25 that his mallice nor invy was never quenched sa lang
 as the lord Home or his brother was on lyue as ze
 sall efterwart heir.

Fol. 96 A.

In this meane tyme Schir Androw Wode past to
 France and schew the Duike of Albanie his commis-
 30 sioun that he had frome the lordis of Scotland and
 in spetiall frome the lord Home, desyrand him effec-
 touslie to come in Scotland as I haue schawin befor
 and thair to ressaue the goverment thair of that iustice
 may be ministrat according to the lawis of the realme.
 35 Of this message and commissioun the Duik of Albanie
 was werie weill content and thankit Schir Androw
 Wode greatlie and revairdit him for his labouris and

Fol. 97 a.

How the
Duike of
Albanie
come in
Scotland.

syne passit to the king of France and desyrit his
 licence thairinto, schawand the commissioun was brocht
 to him out of Scotland desyrand him to come to
 Scotland to be gowernour as we haue schawin to zow
 befoir, desyrand the king of France for support of men 5
 and money to pas witht him in Scotland quha grantit
 to him werie gentlie all that he wald desyre and was
 werie sorowfull at his depairting out of France because
 he was sic ane man of weir that he left not his maikie
 behind him in the realme of France. Nochtwithtstand- 10
 ing, this Duike passit to the sie witht men and artaillze
 sic as he could provyde, that is to say v^o men of weir,
 xxiiij gentillmen in his gaird together witht monitioun,
 pulder and bullat sic as he might perfurneis at that
 tyme, that is to say sex cannons and sex great feild 15
 peaceis witht wther small artaillze collvering and hag-
 but and corse bowis and than passit haistalie to schip-
 burde and pullit wpe sailis to pase to Scotland. Bot
 the Inglischemen knawing of his coming maid foir
 him¹ to haue fauchin witht him bot he was so weill 20
 artaillzeit and manitt, that they durst nocht mell witht
 him; because they knew he was ane nobill man of
 weir they lute him pase by but ony impediement, sa
 he come haistielie in Scotland and landit the tent
 day of ² in the zeir of god I^m v^o and xvi 25

¹ I has "maid for him and faucht [and] carmischt him be the geit
 bot he was so weill arteilerit and mansteid that they wan litill at his
 hand and at last they considderit him to be ane guid man of weir
 and weill practissed bayth be sie and land and knawin him to haue
 sic arteilerie and men that thay thocht thay cuild nocht be the
 better of him and thay war faine to lat him alaine at that tyme for
 thay saw na avantage to win at his hand. Thairfoir they depairtit
 and he come in Scotland saiflie."

² A has a blank. Dalzell reads, "at Leith in the month of May
 anno aforesaid." But I, whose text here somewhat varies from A,
 reads, "and landit at the west sie the zeir of God 1516." Albany
 landed at Ayr, 16th May 1515.—Exchequer Rolls, vol. xiv., Pref.,
 p. lxvii. See Notes.

zeiris quho was weill resawit in Scotland witht all the nobilitie and commons thairof, thankand god that they had gottin ane of the bloode royall of Scotland to rigne ower them and defend thame be iustice in
 5 the kingis minorietie. To that effect incontinent the lordis conwenit at Edinburgh and sett ane parlieament that the Duike of Albanie might be resawit as thair protectour and governour. This parlieament was sett in the moneth of [Juli]¹ in the zeir of god
 o abone writtin; quhilk was haldin at Edinburgh be consent of the quene and all the haill nobelietie batht sperituall and temporall witht commissionaris of borrowis, and thair ryallie and witht effect resawit and admittit the Duike of Albanie protectour and gover-
 5 nour of Scotland and thair to maid the oth of fedilietie to him to be leill and trew and obedient into the kingis maiestie and in his defence of the commune weill and ministratioun of iustice induring the kingis menoretie.

Ane parlieament sett.

Fol. 97 b.

THE IIII CHAPTER.

Hou the duik of Albanie maid his aith to be trew to the nobilitie of Scotland and the commonweill thairof. Hou pryour Johne hepburne clam nixt the governour. Hou pryour John Hepburne schew the governour of Bischope Andrew formanis substance. And hou the governour passit throw the contrie to wissie faultis. Hou the governour send to the king of france for support.

o And in lykewyse the Duike of Albanie maid his oth in to thame in the presentis of the haill parlieament that he sould be trew to God and to thair king and to thame to minister iustice equallie baitht to great and small withoutt exceptioun of persouns and to defend thair
 5 common weill and libertie sa far as lay in his powar

How the Duike of Albanie maid ane aith to be trew to the comon weill.

¹ I inserts.

or possibilitie. This beand done the haill lordis and commons was reioyssit at the Duike of Albanie presentis because they had so long wantit ane heid to governe thame so lang thinkand that thair wald be no more stryf nor debait in the contrie wnpunisst, bot thai 5 wald knaw quhom to compleine quhene reif thift or slaughter was committit in the countrie.

How pryour
Johnne
Hepburne
clame neirest
the gowernour.

Then pryour Johnne Hepburne of Sanctandrois clame nixt the gowernour and grew greit in the court and rememberit of auld malice and invye betuix him and 10 the Homes and also of the bischope Androw Forman and schew the Duike, quho was then gowernour, of all the secreittis and demireittis of the lorde Home and his father and brother fre the feild of Bannaburne¹ into the feild of Flowdoun and spetiallie how the lord Home 15 and his father had wssit thame selffis towartis the Duikis father and his brother in thair banischment, witht all wther secreittis and inventiouns that he could inwent contrair lord Home and his brother to cause the Duike of Albanie looke doune on them. Also schawand how 20 Bischope Androw Forman had gatherit all the substance of Scotland into his handis be his legatis-schip and caussit the Duike to sture at him quhill² he gaif ower certane benefices wnto the Duike to gif into his freindis; and in spetiall the bischoperick of Murray and abbot- 25 schip of Skwne he gaif to his brother bischope Alexander quho inioyssit the same lang tyme heirefter and the abbacie of Millrose to bischope James Bettone witht money wther benefices he gaif wnto the Duike to win his ffavour.

How pryour
Johnne
Hepburne
schew the
gowernour of
Bischope
Forman and
his substance.

Fol. 98 a

How the
gowernour
passit throw
the contrie
to wessie
faultis.

In this meane tyme the gowernour past throw the contrie to snibe and dantoun all thift and reif and slaughter committit befor in the kingis les age bot quhene he come to Jedburgh and Kelso and Melrose

30

¹ I.e., Sauchie, where James III. was killed.

² A has "quhilk" wrongly.

1 and thair hard the complentis of the pepill and the
 inhabitaris thair of and that maid wpoun the earle of
 Angus and the lord Home and wther great men quho
 had oppressit the contrie in the tyme quhene thair was
 5 no iustice ministrat ffor inlaike of ane heid to pleinzie
 to, the governour heirand thir great complentis was
 werie sorrowfull in his heart settand his haill intent to
 remeid the samin. Howbeit the great lordis could
 nocht be content thairwitth zeit he passit fordwart to
 o Dumfries¹ and to the toune of Air and to the pairtis
 of the wastland and thair he hard the crewell slaughter
 betuix the lord of Montgomrie and the lord Killmauris
 and also betuix the lord of Killmauris and the lord
 Simpill. And finallie passit to the northt of Scotland
 5 and hard the compleintis thair in lyke maner, and syne
 come again to Edinburgh and thair advyssit with his
 consall quhat was best to be done in this matter and
 how he most punische maist quyitlie their iniuries done
 be the lordis quhilk he thocht was ower mekill to tak
 o in hand to punische thame oppinlie bot gif he had
 more power nor he was, considderand himself to be
 ane stranger and not knowand the naturis and qualieties
 of thame and how that Scottis men can not [byde ex-
 treme iustice]² nor punischement nor zeit can suffer
 5 thair nichtbouris to leif in peace and rest besyde thame.
 Thairfoir he concludit witth himself that he wald con-
 tenew the persecutioun and persute of iustice on theme
 quhill he thocht better tyme, and incontenent send to
 the king of France schawand to him the matter how
 o Scottis men war all allayit witth wther and thair bloode
 mixit so that ewerie ane tuik pairt witth wther sa against
 him that they thocht him bot ane stranger and wald not
 be contentit that he wssit iustice wpoun them, nor he
 wald not attempt the samin withtout that he had mair

How the
 governour
 send to the
 king of
 France ffor
 support.
 Fol. 98 b.

¹ I has "Drumfries."

² I. The reading of A, "be extremlye to byde justice," is corrupt.

power: Thairfor beseikand his grace to support witht men and money [and] munitioun according graceis honour and the wellfair of Scotland; quill contentit heirof and supportit it¹ according desyre baitht witht men munitioun and money and him thrie schipis thairwitht quhilk landit at the wa

THE V CHAPTER.

Hou the lordis conwenit thair consall. Hou the lordis stop the gowemouris schippis. Hou Bischop andro resonit the lordis. The lordis ansuer. Hou the lordis the toune of glasgow unto the gowemour wpoun certaitiounis. The conditionis grantit.

How the
lordis con-
wenit ane
consall.

The lordis heirand worde that the governour w terminat to punische thair oppressioun and wickit sune as he sawe tyme convenient, they knawand he had support command out of France, to that they laid thair heidis togither and conwenitt ane co at Glasgow quhair [thair] money of the lordis assen to the number of xij thowsand men, to wit, the e Angus, the lord Home, the earle of Arran witht haill lordis of the wastland and sum of the no Thair was na wastland men away except the ea Lennox and the lord Erskine quho remanit thene the king in Stirling. The lordis beand conwennit in Glasgow, as we haue schawin befor, hard tel thair was thrie Frinche schipis landit at the wa witht men money and artaillzie that come to the of Albanie; thairfor they send incontenent ane M to the said schipis ffor to stope thair landing, bot war landit and away or they come. Bot zeit the sum of thair cairttis witht pullder and bullattis and b them to Glasgow, and ffor dispyte cast thame ir

¹ I has "him."

great draw wall at Glasgow. Thir tydingis come to the
 governour that the lordis had rissin so aganis him and
 had distroyit his pulder and bullattis, was hevelie
 commovet at the samin and wouit singularlie to god
 5 he sould be revengit on thair contemptioun done wnto
 him or at the leist thame that was the occatioun of the Fol. 99 a.
 samin and past haistalie fordwart to Glasgow intending
 to gar them leif the toune or ellis to fight witht them
 [and put them out of Glasgow or then to die in that
 10 quarrell spuritt haistalie to Glasgow].¹ Bot bischope
 Androw Forman seand the prince myndit in this maner
 ether to fight witht thame and put them out of Glasgow
 or ellis to die in that quarell, spuritt haistalie to Glasgow
 to sie gif he might dresse the lordis to obey² thair
 15 maiestrat as they aught, and begane to ressonne then in
 this maner as efter followis, sayand, 'my lordis, I marwell
 'mekill of zour wnconstancie towartis zour prince and
 'governour; quhy haue ze rissin so against him and hes
 'destroyit his pulder and bullettis in plaine contemp-
 20 'tioun, schawand zour selffis so rebellieous aganis him
 'that he on nowayis can be content witht out obedience
 'and amendement of zour proceidingis in tyme coming.'
 To this the lordis ansuerit, saying, 'he is not our gover-
 'nour nor we knaw not quhair of he is committ, quhether How bisch-
ope Andro
Forman
ressonit the
lordis.
 25 'he be ane Frinchemanis sone or ane Scottismanis sone,
 'or gif he hes right to our autorietie or nocht.' To this
 ansuerit bischope Androw Forman sayand, 'my lordis I
 'marvell of zour wisdomes that wald not consider that
 'cause at the first tyme quhene ze send for him into
 30 'France be zour hand writtis and commissioun and syne
 'thairefter ressawit him in Scotland and in plaine par-
 'lieament cheissit and admittit him to be zour governour
 'and gaif zour othis of fidilietie to him to mantein him
 'to execute iustice according to the haill law of zour
 35 'realme, and now ze haue rissin contrair him without

The lordis
ansuer.

¹ I omits passage in brackets.

² I has "the prince and."

Fol. 99 b.

How the
lordis ran-
derit the
toun of
Glasgow to
the gover-
nour wpoun
certane
conditiouns.

The con-
ditiouns
grantit.

How the
earle of
Angus was
stowin out
and had
quytlie to
France.

'ony cause or motioun maid in this pairt to zow.
'Thairfor I consall zow to leif sic thingis in tymes
'coming, and obey zour prince as ze aught to do in all
'effairis neidfull and honest and according to ressonne
'and iustice and for the weillfair of the commone weill 5
'and of the contrie, and to leif the toun at this tyme
'and gif your prince that obedience that he may repois
'him a lyttill heir as ze haue done; and gif ze wald be
'willfull and not consent to the samin he will ether haue
'it or ellis fight witht zow thocht ze war ten tymes mair 10
'nor hie ffor he cairis¹ zow nocht in his iust quarrel.'
The lordis heirand thir wordis of the bischope Androw
Forman consulltit together and promissit to leif the toun
at the governouris coming wpoun thir conditiouns fol-
lowand, that is to say, That the governouris grace sall 15
remitt all thingis bygainne and ressaue thame in tyme
coming as good subiectis into the kingis grace and him
and never to call them for nothing bypast; the quhilk
the bischope promissit in the governouris name that it
sould be keipit wnto thame. Then they left the toun 20
and passit thairfre, that the governour might haue frie
entres thairwnto quho ludgit thair that night and on
the morne passit to Stirling and wisitit the kingis grace;
syne went to Edinburgh and thair remanitt quhill all
the lordis com and maid thair obedience and gat ane 25
remissioun of all thingis bygainne but zeit the governour
rememberit of thame that was the occatioun of this
rebellieoun to be satisfieit of thame quhene he saw his
tyme. In this meane tyme the Earle of Angus was
stowin quytlie out of his ludging and had to the schipis 30
and convoyit quytlie to France and remanit ane sessone
but companie of aney Scottismen skantlie knawand in
quhat pairt of the world he was in.²

¹ I has "cuiris."

² Angus went to France in March 1522, and not, as the position of this passage would imply, about the year 1515. See Notes.

THE VI CHAPTER.

Ane conventioun set at Edinburgh. Ambassadouris send in ingland.
 Hou the quein was found with bairne to the erle of angus.¹ Hou
 the lord home was send for and his broder to the Counsall
 and hou thay enterit in and war taine and justifiet be the duik
 of Albanie.

In this meane tyme the governour callit ane conven-
 tioun at Edinburgh to compeir for the effairis of Ingland
 and spetiallie he wraitt ffor the lord Home and Mr
 Williame his brother because they knew the effairis of
 5 Ingland best and sic matteris as was to do at that tyme.
 The haill ² lordis compeirit at the day appoyntit,³ amangst
 the rest the lord Home come to Edinburgh and his
 brother quho wald nocht enter in the abbay witht the
 10 rest, quhill on the morne that his brother was caussit
 than be the Duik of Albanie to send ane taikin for him
 to come to the consall. Because he knew the proceed-
 ingis of Ingland and thair effairis best of ony man thair-
 for the Duik of Albanie alledgit that he wald send him
 as ambassadour to Ingland at that tyme quhilk movit
 15 the Lord Home to send ane taikin to his brother ane
 ringe of his finger quhilk was ane signe betuix thame
 and caussit the said Mr Williame to come incontenent
 to the abbay to the counsall quhair the governour and
 the lordis war for the tyme. Allis sune as the said Mr
 20 Williame was enterit into the abbay zettis, the saidis
 zeittis was closed and the frinchemen past to thair
 harneis and layit handis on the lord Home and his
 brother and pat them in pressone, to wit, they had
 the said Mr Williame to the schipis and pat him in

How the
 lordis
 Homeis
 brother wald
 nocht entre.
 Fol. 100 a.

How the
 lord Home
 and his
 brother was
 put in
 pressone.

¹ The contents of chapters are from MS. I, so the birth of Lady Margaret Douglas, which I inserts in chapter vi., is given here. See the passage from I, p. 296, note 2.

² I has "counsall."

³ I has "in the abay of halyrudes quhair it was hauldin for the tyme and in speciall came the lord," &c.

How the
lord Home
and his
brother was
heidit.
I, fol. 61 a.

the castell of Inschegarvie, and keipit the lord still in the abbay quhill that thay sowmond ane syse and convict thame of tressone and thairefter straik the heidis from thame [¹at Edinburgh the zeir of god I^m v^c xvij zeiris].

5

THE VII CHAPTER.

Hou the erle of angus gat word of the lord home and his brothir slauchter. Hou he returned out of france to ingland ; hou he was weill enterenit thair and hou the quen is grace and he returned hame to Scotland with guid pace in Scotland for fyve zeiris. Hou the duik of Albanie was send for to france and hou he pasit to france. Hou monseur tilebatie was left regent to the gouvernouris hameriding.

How thair
seid word to
the earle of
Angus to
France of
the samin.

The erle of angus heirin that the duik of albanie had put hand in the lord home and his broder was nocht contenttit thinkand himself in no les danger nor the lord Home and his brother, considderand that he was participant in sic lyke crymes of leismaiestie as thai 10 war. Thairfoir he conwoytit himself quyitlie out of France to Ingland quhair he was weill resawit and treitit ffor the quene of Scotlandis cause because he was hir husband. Schort quhill heirefter the quen of Scotland gat word that hir husband the Earle of Angus 15 was commit to Ingland and passit all danger of France scho was werie glad and reioyssit [²for scho was great

¹ I here has after "heidis from thame," the date in brackets. The true date is 1516.

² I omits all in brackets, but inserts at the close of chapter vi. as follows: "And in the moneth of September in this zeir Margret quein of Scotland feirit the governour and left hir zoung sone in the castell of Stiruiling in the keiping of four lordis To wit the lord askyne the lord evindeill the lord graham the lord levinstoun and syne the quein passit in ingland to hir brother to haue his counsall and support bot a littill eftir scho enterit in ingland scho beand so gret with chyld and constranit to remaine in ane toun of ingland callit hirrbuttill * quhair scho lay of hir chyld and was delyuerit of ane dochtar callit margret quha remanis vnto this day.† And in the nixt maij heireftir in the zeir of god I^m v^c xvij zeiris‡ scho went to

The quein
past to ing-
land being
with bairne
to the erle
of Angus.

* Harbottle.

† See note 1, p. 297.

‡ The true date is April 1516.

- witht chyld to him allmaist at hir deliuerance. Zeit
 nochtwitstanding ffor luffe scho bure to hir husband
 and right desyris to speik witht the king of Ingland hir
 brother, scho setting all danger and perall assyde left
 5 hir zoung sone the kingis grace of Scotland in the
 castell of Stirling in keiping witht the captane and his
 gaird about him and tuik hir wewage and passit to
 Ingland and to Londone to King Harie hir brother
 quhair scho was honourabillie resawit and tenderlie
 10 treitit and remanitt thair at hir plesour and gat all
 thingis at hir brother king Harie that scho wald ask or
 desyre. Bot schort tyme efter that scho come thair, scho
 was deliuerit of ane dochter callit and nameit lady Mar-
 garit quho remainit still thair to this ¹ day weill intertenit
 15 intending tytill to the croune be hir or hir successioun.
 This done, quen Margarit turnit to Scotland witht hir
 husband the Earle of Angus witht great supplicatioun
 fre king Harie into the Duik of Albanie to ressaue hir
 husband the Earle of Angus in goode thankis and all
 20 faultis bygaine to be remittit. Of the quhilk, the Duike
 of Albanie heirand the requist of king harie was werie
 glad and accepit and grantit all thingis that the quen
 wald desyre in king Harieis name and in spetiall ffor
 ressait and intertinement of hir husband, ffor the quhilk
 25 the governour was hartlie weill contentit and] rejoyced
 thairof and procurit at hir broderis hand suplicatioun to
 the governour of scotland to resawe hir husband the erle
 of angus and intertenit him as affired for his saik quhilk

Fol. 100 b.

How the
quen of
Scotland
left hir sone
and zaid to
Ingland.The quene
deliuerit
of ane
dochter.The quen
and hir hus-
band returnit
to Scotland
again.

1, fol. 61 b.

londoun to hir brother quhair scho was weill resawit and intertenit
 with her brother the king of ingland and obtenit all thingis that
 scho desyreit at his hand and in speciall pace and rest in Scotland
 for fyve zeiris with money vther giftis of gold and siluir this nobill
 queine obtenit at hir brotheris hand."

¹ Margaret Douglas, afterwards Countess of Lennox, born at
 Harbottle, 4th October 1515, died 9th March 1577, so this part
 and probably the whole of Pitscottie's History must have been
 written before that date, which confirms the conjecture made on
 independent grounds in the Introduction. See Notes.

Queen and
the erle of
angus re-
turnit out of
ingland to
scotland.

How the
governour
tuik the
earle of
angus aith
of fedilietie.
Peace in
Scotland.

How the
king of
France send
for the
governour.

Tillabatie
Regent till
the govern-
ouris hame
comming.
Fol. 102 a.

was grantit heireftir as ze sall heir. Bot in the ma
heireftir in the zeir of god I^m v^e and xvijj zeiris¹ the que
and hir husband returned out of ingland and come
scotland quhair scho was weill resaut be the duik
albanie and intertenit and hir husband becaus sc
brocht pace with hir. So thair continewit pace a
rest in scotland the space of thrie zeiris and inmeidia
he tuik the erle of angus aith of fedilietie that he so
be iust and trew wnto the kingis maiestie and gov
nouris grace induring the kingis minorietie. This be
done the realme stude in great tranquillietie and pe
and the nobillis obeyit thair prince as they aught to
in all civill matteris godlie and honest, quhair th
the common weill flurischit ane lang quhill; quhill
last the king of France send lettres in Scotland desyr
the Duike of Albanie to come and speik witht him in
goodlie haist ffor sic effairis as he had ado at that ty
The Duike of Albanie obedient to the king of Fra
desyr, pat the realme in order and left Monser Dilaba
Regent in his place to his returning out of France :
gaif him command to use all men equallie, and in
meane tyme passit to his schipis and went to France.

THE VIII CHAPTER.

Hou luk Stirling invyit ane gentillman callet wiliam meldi
laird of binnis. The battell betuix the laird of binnis and
laird of keir. Hou monser telebatie zeid to rewenge tha
quha hurt the laird of binnis. The seage of the peill of
lythgow. Hou monsieur telebatie zeid to the merse to ha
ane Court. Hou Monseur telebatie was slaine.

In this meane tyme Dilabatie beand left regent
we haue schawin remanit in the abbay of Hallierudho

¹ The true date is June 1517. See Notes.

² *I.e.*, De la Bastie. See Notes.

- and ane gaird of frinchemen about him to the number
of iiij^{xx} of hagbuttaris to be redy at his command
quhene he chargit and so it hapnit at this tyme the
moneth of [November]¹ and in the zeir of God I^m v^c
5 and [xviii]² zeiris. At this tyme thair was ane gentill-
man in Edinburgh nameit Williame Meldrum laird of
Binnis³ quho had in companie witht him ane fair
lady callit the Lady Glennagieis⁴ quho was dochter to
Mr Richart Lawsons provest of Edinburgh, the quhilk
10 lady had borne to this laird tua bairnes and intendit
to marie hir gif he might haue had the popis lecence
because hir husband befor and hie was sibe. Zeit
nocht withstanding ane gentillman callit Luke Stirling
inwyit this lufe and marieage betuix thir tuo persouns,
15 thinkand to haue the gentill woman to himself in marie-
age, because he knew the laird might nocht haue⁵ the
popis licence be the lawis. Thairfor he solistit his
brotheris sone the laird of Keir witht ane certane of
airmitt men to sett wpoun the laird of Binnis to tak this
20 lady frome him be way of deid, and to that effect fol-
lowit him betuix Leytht and Edinburgh and sett on
him beneth the Rude chapell witht fyftie airmett men
and he againe defendit him witht fyue in number and
faught cruellie witht thame and slew the laird of Keiris
25 principall servandis befor his face defendand himself,
and hurt the laird of Keir that he was in perrell of his
lyfe, and xxvj of his men; zeit throw multiplecacioun of
his enemeis was oversett and drawin to the earth and left
lyand for deid, hocht of his legis, strikin throw the body,
30 the knappis of his elbokkis strikin fre him and also the
liddis of his kneis⁶ nathing of lyfe left in him zeit be the
mightie powar of God he eskaipit the deid and all his

Williame
Meldrum
Laird of
Binnis.

How Luke
Stirling in-
wyit the said
Williame
Meldrum.

The battell
betuix the
Laird of
Binns and
the Laird of
Keir.

Fol. 101 b.

¹ I inserts.

² I inserts "xviii." The true date is 1517.

³ See Notes.

⁴ Gleneagles.

⁵ I inserts "have hir lesomlie be the pappis lawis."

⁶ I has "liddis of his kneis." A has "knoppis," wrongly.

The seir of
William
Meldrum.

How Monser
Tillabattie
said to re-
venge him
quho hurt
William
Meldrum.

The seige of
the peill of
Lythgow.

How the
regent past
to the Merse
to hald ane
court.

men that was with him and leiffit fyftie zeir thaireft
In the meane tyme come word to Monser Tillab
quhair he was at that tyme in the Abbay of Hallie
hous schawand to him that sic ane nobill man
slaine and murdreist at his hand and he incounter
gart strike ane lairum and blaw his trumpatis and
the common bell commanding all men to follow
baitht on fute or horse that he might revenge the
slaughter, and ruschit fercelie fordwart to the pl
quhair the battell was strikin and saw this nobill
lyand deidlie wondit and his men about him in
samin maner and passit fercelie efter the enemeis
committaris of the said cryme and ower hyit tham
Lythgow quhair thay tuik the peill of Lythgow w
thair heidis to be thair saifgaird and warand, think
to defend thame selffis thairin. Nochtwithtstanding
nobill regent lape manfullie about the house and se
it continuallie quhill thay randerit the samin and tha
that was halderis thairof come into his will quho tu
thame and brocht thame to Edinburgh and gaif tha
ane fair syse quho was all convict and condemnitt
the said cryme, and thairefter was put in the cas
of Edinburgh in suire keiping induring the Rege
will.

Syne ane lyttill thairefter the Regent past to
Merse to the toune of Dunc and thair to hald
court of iustice quho was conwoyed be the laird
Cesfurde and Fairniehirst, geweand thame to wnd
stand that thay sould bring him saiffie throw the cont
into Edinburgh againe. Nevertheles the Laird of W
derburne and his compleces invyit this said Tillabat
for the Duik of Albanieis cause and thocht he w
left in his place they wald be revengit on him [thocl

¹ *I.e.*, to 1568, if Pitcottie was right in his dates. But Mr Dalrymple thought that Squire Meldrum died before 1532. See Lyrsay's Works, i. p. 313. Perhaps "fyftie" should be "fifteen zeir.

he was bot ane stranger, and chapit¹ him be the ost
 ane lytill, and at ane outsyde watchit him, so that he
 tuik ane feir that he spurit his horse and tuik the flight
 and fled towards the castell of Dunbar² thinkand to Fol. 102 a.
 5 win the samin because his horse was goode. Nocht-
 withstanding all was for nocht he was bot ane stranger
 and knew nocht the gait and rane his horse in ane
 mose³ quhair he could nocht gett out quhill his enemeis
 come wpoun him and thair murdreist him, syne cuttit
 10 of his heid and tuik witth them for signe and taikin
 of that murther. It was said his hair was lang lyke
 wemens and plat in ane heid lace, the quhillk Dawid
 Home of Wadderburne knitt on his saidill bow.⁴

Quhene
 Monser Til-
 labattie was
 slaine.

THE IX CHAPTER.

Hou the duik of albanie gat word of the slauchter of monseur
 telebatie. The king of france ansuer to the duik of albanie.
 Hou the duik of albanie gat counsall to ask support at the
 king of france. Hou the duik of albanie cum in Scotland.
 Hou the duik of albanie raisit ane arniye and past the wast-
 land to Sillway⁵ sandis. Hou the bordouraris deceavit him.
 Hou the gowernour gart bild the castell of dumbar. The
 slauchter of the pryour of Codinghame.

Syne, eftir nowellis come to France to the Duike
 15 of Albanie quho was not content witth the samin bot
 passit to the king of France incontenent schawand him
 quhat estaitt the realme of Scotland stude in that tyme
 and how they could not be contentit witth no ciwell
 man to be thair gowernour nor heid nor no man that
 20 ministrat iustice unto thame. Farther he schew him

How the
 Duike of
 Albanie gat
 wit of the
 same.

¹ I inserts "choppit" in the sense of "followed."

² I. A has "Edinburgh" by mistake.

³ I has "ane flot moss"—i.e., floating bog. See Notes.

⁴ I adds, "This was done in the moneth of November in the zeir
 of God I^m v^c xviii zeiris."

⁵ Solway.

The king of
France an-
swer to the
Duik of
Albanie.

How the
Duik gatt
counsall to
seik support
of the king
of France

Fol. 102 b.

How the
Duik come
in Scotland.

the slaughter of Tillabattie and how he was so
pleissit thairat, bot the king of France ansuerit
' my lord ze did ewill that wald not mak ane Sc
' man governour in zour absence ffor I wist weill
' wald invy ane Frincheman for zour saik; zeit n
' withstanding, tak goode heart, I sall support
' manteine zow to revenge that matter as ze will d
' at my hand.' Thir goode wordis and confort o
king of France metigat and assuadgit the Duik
Albanieis anger at that tyme and [he] tuike consall
freindis and wyse captaneis quhat was best to be
in revenging of the cause forsaid, quho gaif him co
to seik support of the king of France and to
haistallie in Scotland ffor revenging of the said slau
dreadand gif he tairreit that he sould haue more
and ma enemeis start wpe aganis him in the re
of Scotland. To this consall the Duik of All
consentit and passit to the king of France and
supplie at him to pase in Scotland ffor sic causs
he had schawin his graice befoir. The king of Fr
was weill content of his charge [and] gart furnisch
him for zeir and day iij M men of weir togither v
munitioun pulder and bullatis as the Duik off Alb
wald devyse and gart furnische sex schipis of the
he had to bring him throw the sie saiffie to Scottl
Quhene this was done the Duik of Albanie tuike
leif at the king of France and passit to the sie
come to Scotland and landit the sext day in
moneth of¹ in the zeir of God Im v^c [xix²] ze
and efter he landit in Scotland maid great and ha
persecutioun wpoun the Homes and spetiall wpoun
Laird of Wadderburne quho was principall slayan
Tillabattie. Bot zeit on nowayis he could compreh
him to his iustice ffor he fled in England and rema

¹ I has blank also.

² I has "xix," but the true date was November 1521. See Ne

- thair sa lang as the Duike of Albanie baid in Scotland.
 Zeit the Duik of Albanie passit throw Scotland and
 ministrat iustice according to his dewtie. And in spetiall
 he raissit ane great airme in the tyme of wintar and
 5 passit to the wast border callit Sullvay sandis, and thair
 was advyssit to haue seigit Cairllill; bot the lord Daik-
 aris and he appoyntit on all debaitis and redres on the
 border that he so contenuit the seigis and passit hame,
 and heirefter the nixt zeir passit to Wark and seigit
 10 it. Bot the borderaris dessaiffit him and caussit his
 captans of weir to be hangit ower the wallis quhene
 they had braschit¹ and win the house. The Inglishe-
 men seand no Scottismen bakand thame, incontent
 they cruellie dang thame fourth of the castell and
 15 hangit thair captanis as I haue schawin befor. The
 Duik of Albanie sieand this that he was dessawit be
 the borderaris and thame that he gaif credit to ffor
 to haue reskewit his men and bakit thame, that thai
 did nothing to him that was gude, he tuik ane anger
 20 and tuike wpe his campe and came invart into his awin
 castell of Dumbar, and thair remanit ane quhill; and
 gart craftsmen and maissouns fall to wark and build
 in the samin ane great staine house and insche callit
 the wttwart blokehouse and garnist it witht artaillze
 25 pulder and bullattis. In this meane tyme the Maister
 of Haillis and the laird of Neisbett callit Chirnesyde
 and ane Haittlie throw consall of the Hepburnes cruellie
 betraissit and murderst ane zoung innocent man pryour
 of Coldinghame, thinkand to do the Duike of Albanie
 30 ane plesour to be ane revenge and satisfacioun of the
 slaughter of Tillabattie.

How the
 Duike of
 Albanie
 raisit ane
 airme and
 past to the
 wast bor-
 douris.

How the
 borderaris
 dessaiffit
 him.

How he
 gart beild
 the castell of
 Dumbar.

Fol. 103 a.

¹ I has "brusched."

THE X CHAPTER.

Hou Bischop Andro forman depairtit. Hou bishop James betoun
 obtenit the wickar-generallship. Hou the gowernour tuk
 purpois to leive Scotland. Hou the gowernour furnessit
 dumbar. Quhat thre lordis was maid regent in the gow-
 nouris absence. Hou lang the duik of albanie was in Scot-
 land. Grett slauchter betuix the lord of kilmaurs and the
 maister of Sempill. Hou the king was brocht to the feildis.
 Hou the auld officaris war cheingit.

In this zeir depairtit bischope Androw Forman¹ Bis-
 chope of Sanctandrois and Legat of Scotland. Bot
 pryour Johnne Hepburne and his freindis caussit to
 tak the castell of Sanctandrois and keip it because he
 was wicar generall for the tyme. Bot bischope James
 Bettone haistlie obtenit the samin be way of court and
 autorietie, and aggreit witht pryour Johnne Hepburne
 ffor his² wicarage and generallship and satisfieit him
 of all wther thingis pertening to his office.

How bishop
 Betoun ob-
 tenit the
 generall-
 scheipe.

In this meane tyme the kingis grace came to the
 aige of ellevin zeiris and the Duike of Albanie seand
 the realme of Scotland and the nobillis thair of sic
 quallietieis and conditiouns that few or nane of thame
 might gif credit to wther, thairfor he was steidfastlie
 avyssit and utterlie determinat to leif Scotland and
 pase in France againe to his awin leving and thairfor
 he furnist Dumbar witht men and wictuallis and maid
 ane Frinchemen captane of it nameit Captane Morise³
 and thairefter stablischt the realme in maner as efter
 followis: That is to say, he maid the Earle of Lennox
 and bischope James Bettone and ane Frincheman callit
 Lusence,⁴ thir thrie, regentis quhill the king was xij

How the
 Duike tuk
 porpois to
 gang of
 Scotland.

The fur-
 nishing of
 Dumbar.

How thrie
 lordis was
 maid re-
 gentis in the
 Duikis
 absence.

¹ I has on margin, "Bischope andrew formann depairtit this lyfe
 1521." See Notes.

² I has "wickar gennerrallship."

³ This was Morice de Nogent. See Notes.

⁴ I has "monseur lufevic." See Notes.

zeiris of aige, ffor than he knew the lordis wald chuse
 new governouris amang them selffis, and sa the Duike
 of Albanie tuike his leif at king and consall and passit
 in France. Sa all the tyme that the Duik of Albanie was
 5 in Scotland first and last was fyue zeiris¹ and ane half.

How lang
 the Duike of
 Albanie was
 in Scotland.

This quhene the Duike of Albanie was depairtit, thair
 raise great trubill and deidlie feidis in money pairtis of
 Scotland baitht in the northt and in the wast pairtis.
 The Maister of Forbes in the northt slew the laird of
 10 Meldrum wnder traist. Lykewayse the Laird of Drum-
 mellzeid² slew the lord Fleming at the halking and lyk-
 wyse money great lordis thair was great slaughter betuix,
 that is to say, betuix the Lord of Killmairis and the
 Maister of Simpill. This cummer draiff ower quhill
 15 the king was xij zeiris of aige and then the haill lordis
 of Scotland laid thair heidis together and thocht that
 they wald bring the king to the feildis and put the
 governall all haill in his awin hand. Nochtwithstanding
 the king heirand word of this preheminance was gladlie
 20 contentit to leif correctioun at the scollis and pas witht
 his lordis at libertie quhair he pleissit.

Fol. 103 b.

Great
 slaughter
 betuix the
 lord of Kill-
 maris and
 the Maister
 of Simpill.

How the
 lordis of
 Scotland
 brocht the
 king to the
 feildis.

Thus the lordis horssit the king and gart prepar for
 him all maner of ryding geir pertening to ane prince
 and syne tuik him fourtht of the castell of Stirling and
 25 brocht him to Edinburgh to the Abbay Hallierudhouse
 and thair tuike wpe house with all maner of office men
 that was necessar to be had ffor him and chaingit all his
 auld offiecearis and pat new in thair steid, that is to
 say, Thesawrar, comptrollar, secretar, Mr Messer,³ Mr
 30 Houshald, copper, carver, Mr Stablar, Mr Hunter, Mr
 Fallcunar and Mr Portar and a fooll callit Johnne
 Makcrerie.⁴

¹ I has "with sum oddis."

² I has "Drummalzard."

³ "Messer"—i. e., macer, which is the reading of former Editors ;
 but MS. I has "Amiser," which may be equal to "Almouser" or
 "Almoner," and if so is a preferable reading. See Glossary.

⁴ I adds, "This was done in the zeir of god I^m 5^e xxi zeiris."

THE XI CHAPTER.

Hou thair war four lordis chosin to be tutoris to the king
 erle of Angus gridiness. Hou the erle of angus pat
 the kingis service. Hou the erle of Angus gyddit the
 Hou the quein left the erle of Angus and mareit harie
 Hou the erle of angus causit to straik cunzie.

How thair
 was four
 lordis chos-
 nit tutoris
 to the king.

The earle of
 Angus
 gridienes.
 Fol. 104 a.

Fforther thair was four lordis chossin to be t
 and governouris to the king, that all cassualliet
 benefieces sould be disponsit bot be thame, an
 thai sould remaine still witht the king and gi
 consall in all thingis pertening to his honour an
 commone weill of his contrie. The king an
 lordis remanit in Edinburgh and Hallierudhou
 space of ane zeir witht great cheir, treumph and
 nes, quhill at last thair waikit sum benefice quhi
 thame all at discord for dispositioun of the sami
 everie lord thocht he wald be servit according
 rowme and estait. Bot the Earle of Angus war
 wther thrie, ffor quene he had gottin Dunkell he
 haue had Coldinghame, and could not be staiki
 bot quene Hallierudhou waikit he wald hau
 and schew to the lordis that he was skant o
 and horse corne quene he come in the toun,
 for he behuffeit to haue that benefice witht the
 find his horse meit. And the laif of the lordis cor
 ing the Earle of Angus that he wald not be co
 without he had all at his dispositioun and cons
 nathing of thair expenssis in the kingis grace service
 they had maid alsweill as he, nor wald not know
 they war behind the hand in spending of thair l
 witht the king in his service; bot the lord Hammil
 gat Paislay to his [sone].² Bot the Earle of Lenno

¹ "Staikit"—i.e., satisfied. See Glossary.

² B and

- nathing, quhairof he tyirit of the court and passit hame
to his awin contrie and so did the Earle of Arran withtin
ane lyttill quhill and past to Hammilltoun to his awin
place and remanitt thair. Bot bischope James Bettoun
5 remanitt still in his awin ludgeing in Edinburgh that he
bigit in the Freir wynd,—for he was chancelar for the
tyme and satt on the saitt to wse iustice,—and come no
more toward the court and the king bot as he was send
for and requyrit. This the Earle of Angus gydit all haill
10 king and court as he pleissit and maid his eame Arche-
bald Douglas thesawrar of Scotland, and George his
brother maister houshald to the king, and him self
lwtennent to the king throw all Scotland. Bot the
quenis grace tyrit of him and pairtit witht him, and
15 ane lyttill efter mariet Harie Stewart brother to my
lord of Annerdaill¹ and thairefter scho maid the said
Harie lord of Methven. Nochtwithtstanding my lord
of Angus tuik lyttill sussie² of the samin bot gyditt
and rullit the king as he pleissit and caussit him to
20 ryde throw all the pairtis of Scotland wnder the pre-
tence and collour of iustice to punisch theif and tratour;
bot nane was greattar nor was in thair awin companie.
Fforther he caussit to strike counze ane grot of xvijj
quhilk efterwart was callit the Douglas grott. And
25 nane at that tyme durst stryue witht ane Douglas nor
zeit ane Douglas man [³ffor gif they wald they gat the
war. Thairfoir nane durst pleinze of no extortioun,
thift, reif nor slaughter done in them be the Douglas
or thair men, ffor in that cace thay war not hard so
30 lang as the Douglassis had the court in gyding. This
they continued still ane quhill sa lang as fortune bure
thame favour].

How the
earleis past
hame from
the kingis
service.

How the
earle of An-
gus gydit the
court at his
plesour.

How the
quen tirit the
earle of An-
gus and ma-
riet Harie
Stewart.

Fol. 104 b.

How the
earle of An-
gus consallit
to strike
counzie.

¹ I has "Evindeill."

² "Souci"=care, from the French. See Glossary.

³ Dalzell omits the passage in brackets.

THE XII CHAPTER.

Hou maister patrik hamiltoun was accusit. Hou maister patrik hamiltoun was condampnit : hou maister patrik appealed f the said sentence : hou maister patrik summoned his accus Maister patrik's oratioun. Hou maister patrik was brunt.

How Mr
Patrick
Hamill-
toun was
accusit.

In this meane tyme ane cuning clark was callit Patrick Hammilltoun¹ Abbot of Ferne and brot germane to the Shereff of Lythgow quho was sowme and callit befor the principall consall haldin at Edinburgh and Santandrois ffor the tyme be bischope Jar Bettoun witht the rest of money of the clairge of Scotland and thair he was accusit for heriesie befor saidis bischope, abbottis pryouris and doctouris Theologie of the Grayfrieris and Blak. His accus was ane blak freir callit Campbell who red his arti and said to him,

The Accusar.

'Arratick, thow said it was lesum to reid the word
'god and in spetiall the new Testament.'

The Ansuer.

Mr Patrick ansuerit 'I wat nocht gif I said so
'I say it is ressone and lesum to all men that hes
'saul, to reid the word of god and that they may wne
'stand the samin and in spetiall the latter will
'Testament of Christ Jessus quhairbe thai may kn
'ledg thair awin sins and repent of the samin quhai
'they may amend thair lyffis be faitht and repentar
'and come to the mercie of god by Christ Jessus.

The Accusar.

'Now arratick I sie thow affirmes the wordis of
'accusatioun.'

¹ Patrick Hamilton. See Notes.

The Ansuer.

[Mr Patrick ansuerit 'I affirme nothing bot the wordis
' quhilk I haue spokin in presentis of this audetour.

The Accusar.

' Now ffordir, thow sayis that it was not lesum to wor-
' schip imagerie.']¹

The Ansuer.

5 Mr Patrick ansuerit 'I say nocht ffarther bot that god Fol. 105 a.
' speikis to Mosses in the xx chapter of Exodus in the
' secund commandement, Thow sall not mak to thaiself
' ony gravin image, Thow sall not bow doune to thame
' nor worschip thame; and also Dawid in his paslames²
10 ' cursses thame that is the maker of imagis and the out-
' settaris, manteinaris and worschipiris of the same.'

The Accusar.

Then ansuerit the accussar, 'Arratick, knawis thou
' not imagerie is the buikis and leid of commone
' pepill to put thame in remembrance of the haill sanctis
15 ' that wrait for thair saluatioun.'

The Ansuer.

Then ansuerit Mr Patrick, 'Brother it aught to be the
' priching of the trew word of god that sould put the
' pepill in remembrance of Christ and thair salluatioun.'

The Accusar.

Then sayis the accussar, 'Arratick thow sayis it is bot
20 ' lost labour to pray or to call wpoun sanctis³ that wrait
' for thair salluatioun and in spetiall to the blissid wirgine
' Marrie or Johnne, James, Petter or Paull to be medica-
' touaris to god for ws.'

The Ansuer.

Mr Patrick ansuerit, 'I say with Paull, thair is no
25 ' medicatour betuix god and man bot Christ Jessus his

¹ I omits words in brackets.

² "Psalmes." See Glossary.

³ I has "sanctis depairtit for help of our saluatioun."

How Mr
Patrick was
brunt.

in the promise of god and to ressaue his saull in his handis ffor Christ Jessus saik ; and in his name he maid this oblatioun and offring that is to say his body in the fyre and his saull in the handis of the allmightie god, and so maid ane end of his speiking. Then they 5 layd to the fyre to him bot it wald on nawayis burne nor kendill ane lang quhyll. Then ane baxter callit Myretoun¹ ran and brocht his armefull of stray and caist in to kindill the fyre ; ane blast of eistrene winde come ffourtht of the sie and raissit the flame of fyre sa 10 wehementlie that it blew wpoun the freir that accussit him that it dang him to the eard and brunt all the foir pairt of his coull and pat him in sic ane fray that he come never in his right spreit againe bot wanderit about the space of xl dayis and then depairtit. This cruell 15 act of persecutioun was wssit aganis this godlie man at Sanctandrois anno I^m v^c xxv zeiris in the moneth of September.²

THE XIII^s CHAPTER.

Hou the king went to Jedwart. Hou the king was displeisit at the erle of Angus and wald haue been out of his handis. Hou he send for support of the laird bucklewch. The feild of Melreis ; the laird of Sesfurd slaine. The erle of Angus victor.

How the
king went to
Jedburgh.

About this tyme the king went to the south land to the airis and held iustice in Jedburght quhair thair 20 money compleinttis came to the king of reif slaughter and oppressioun. Bot lytill iustice was wssit bot be the purs,⁴ ffor thair war mony of that contrie that was

¹ I has "Mortoun."

² I has "October I^m v^c xxvi." The true date was the last day of February 1527-28. See Fox's Martyrs, iv. p. 561.

³ The numbers of the chapters in MS. I, which are wrong from this XIIIth, called the XIIth chapter, have been put right.

⁴ *I.e.*, by fines or by bribes?

the Earle of Angus kin and freindis and serwandis
 that gat iustice be fawouris; of the quhilk the king
 was nothing contentit thairwitht nor nane of the laif
 of the lordis that was about him ffor thai wald haue
 5 had iustice equallie wssit to all men bot perticallietie¹
 or exceptioun of persouns. Bot notwithstanding the
 Earle of Angus and the rest of the Douglassis rullit
 all as they lykit and no man durst say the contraire
 quhair ffor the king was heavelie displeissit and wald
 10 faine haue bene out of thair handis gif he might be
 ony way. To that effect [he] wrait ane quyt and
 secreit wrytting witht his awin hand and send it to
 the Lard off Ballcleuch beseikand him right effectouslie
 that he wald come witht his kin and freindis and all the
 15 force he might and meitt him at Millrose at his hame
 passing and thair to tak him out of the Douglassis handis
 and to put him at libertie to use him self amang the laif
 of his lordis as he thinkis expedient. This wrytting
 quytillie send be ane of the kingis awin secreit ser-
 20 wandis quhilk was resawit werie thankfullie be the
 laird of Ballcluch and he was right reioyssit thairwitht
 to be put to sic chargis and familiear witht the prince,
 and did great deliegence to performe the kingis wrytting
 and to bring the matter to pas as the king desyrit. And
 25 to that effect convenitt all his kin and freindis and all
 that wald do for him and to ryde and come to Millrose
 quhene he knew the kingis hame coming and brocht
 ane companie witht him, the number of vj^o speiris of
 Lidisdaill and Annerdaill and contriemen and clannes²
 30 thairabout and held thairselfis quyt quhill that the king
 returnit out of Jedburgh and come to Millrose and to
 remane thair all night. Bot quhene the lorde Home,
 Cesfurde, [and] Fairnehirst tuik thair leif frome the king
 and returnit hame then appeirit the laird of Balcluch in
 35 sight and his companie witht him in arrayit battell in-

How the
king was dis-
pleissit at the
earle of
Angus.

How the
king send for
support to
the Laird of
Buccleuch.
Fol. 106 b.

¹ *I.e.*, without partiality.

² I has "commonis."

tending to haue fullfillit the kingis petitioun, and ~~the~~
foir come stoutlie fordwart in the baksyde of Halidoun
hill.¹ Be that the Earle of Angus and George Douglas
his brother witht sindrie wther of thair freindis saw
this airme command they merwellit quhat the man
menit quhill at last they knew the laird of Ballcleuch
witht ane certane of the theiffis of Annerdaill with
him they war the les effrayit and maid thame mar-
fullie to the feild contrair thame; and said into the
king on this maner 'schir, zone is Ballcleuch and
'theiffis of Annerdaill witht him wnesett zour grace
'frome the gait. Bot I wow to god, schir they sall
'ether fight or flie and ze sall tairrie heir on this
'know and my brother George witht zow, witht oyr
'wther companie zow pleis, and I sall pase and put
'zone theiffis of the ground, and red the gait into
'zour grace or ellis die for it.' The king tairieit still
as he devyssid and George Douglas witht him witht
sindrie wther lordis, sic as the Earle of Lennox and
the lord Erskine and sum of the kingis awin serwandis:
bot all the laif past witht the Earle of Angus to the
feild againe the laird of Ballcluche quho iunit and con-
terit cruellie baitht the saidis pairties ether aganis wthe
witht wncertane wictorie. Bot at last the lord Home
heirand thir wordis of that matter how it stude returni
againe to the king in possibill haist witht him the lair
of Cesfurd and Fairniehirst to the number of iiij¹
speiris and sett on fercelie wpoun the lape and wing
of the laird of Ballclucheis feild and schortlie buire hir
bakvart into the ground quhilk caussit the laird of Bal-
cleuche and the rest of his freindis to ga bake and flie
quhom on thay followit ane chase be the laird of Ces-
furd and Fairniehirst quho followit so furieouslie at th
fute of ane peath the laird of Cesfurd was slaine be th
schot of ane speir witht ane Ellvand² quho was ther

Fol. 107 a.

The feild of
Darnick
mure.The laird of
Cesfurd
slain.¹ I has "Halidoun hill."² I has "Ellatt," both = Elliot.

serwand to the laird of Ballcleuch bot quhene the laird
of Cesfurde was slaine the chase ceissit. Bot the Earle
of Angus returnit againe witht great merienes and wic-
torie and thankit god that he had saiffit frome that
5 chance, and passit witht the king to Millrose quhair
they remanitt all that night quhill at on the morne
they passit to Edinburgh witht the king who was werie
sade and dollarous of the slaughter of the laird of Cesfurde
and money wther gentillmen and zemenis slaine be the
o laird of Ballcleuch containd the number of iiij^{xx} and
fourten quhilk albeit in defence of the king and com-
mand of his wrytting howbeit it was not knawin for
ewerie man quhilk caussit the king to be so [werie
heavie sad and]¹ dolarous.²

The Earle
of Angus
wictour.

THE XIV CHAPTER.

Hou bischop James beatoun counsallit the king to send for support
of the erle of lennox. Hou the king send for the erle of
lennox. Hou the erle of Angus gadderit ane armie for support
of the king. Hou the erle of Angus gadderit ane armie aganis
the erle of lennox.

5 [The king beand werie sad and dolorous becaus he
cuild]³ on nawayse be quyt of the Earle of Angus and
his freindis and thairfoir he caist his ingyne to seik
remedy heirinto and send for bischope James Bettone
to haue his consall how he might best be quytt off
10 the Earle of Angus and the rest of his kin [and]⁴ freindis.
This bischope being ane wyse man gaif the king con-
sall to send for the Earle of Lennox to sie his mynd
thairwnto because he was neirest of kin to the king

Fol. 107 b.

¹ I inserts.

² I has "This battell was struckin in zeir of god I^m v^c xxiii years
and in the month of July." The true date was 1526. See Notes.

³ I. A is slightly different.

⁴ I inserts.

and of his surname he war meatest and ablist
ffor to deliuer the king to his libertie.

How the
king send for
the earle of
Lennox.

The king heirand thir wordis send for the Earle of Lennox and spak witht him and gaif him commi-
to raise his leigis as he pleissit to that effect th
sould com to Edinburgh witht all the powar th
might be, and tak the king out of the Douglassis
perforce. The Earle of Lennox heirand this
and commissioun of the king was weill conte

How the
earle of Len-
nox gadderit
ane airmie
ffor support
of the king.

obey the samin and to that effect gaderit all th
might in Fyfe Angus Streerne¹ Stirlingschyr
all the haill wastland, and come to Stirling wit
number of ten thowsand men quhair bischope
Bettone mett him witht all the gentillmen of Fy
thair accompaned witht him to the effect forsai
also the Maister of Killmaris come to him out
wast, Kyle, Carrick, Cuninghame, quhilk was in r
ij M men, and tuik his wangaird in hand to com
ward to the toun of Edinburgh. Bot the Earle of
knewand this nobill man the Earle of Lennox g
and aganis him witht bischope James Bettoun a
Maister of Killmaris, and hearand that they v
greit of number knew weill it was nocht done b
kingis adwyse quhairat he was greatlie astoneist.
nochtwithtstanding he tuik sic curage and hard

How the
earle of An-
gus gadderit
ane airmie
aganis the
earle of
Lennox.

that he knew weill thair was no remedie bot et
do or die, and send incontenent to all his kin
freindis, and in spetiall to the lorde of Home
Fairniehirst and the laird of Cesfurde, also he
to the lord Hammilltoun schawand him his en
the Earle of Lennox was to come witht ane airn
tak the king frome him beseikand him that he
concur witht him and support him in that cause
was ffor his awin weill; sayand, 'gif that the Ea
' Lennox owercome him that the nixt day he

Fol. 108 a.

¹ Strathearn.

² "By" = without.

'do siclyke witht him, thairfor best it war to debait
'witht baitht thair powaris and strengthis in tyme.' Of
this desyre lord Hammilltoun was werie weill contentit
and promist to meitt the Earle of Angus witht all his
5 kin and freindis at Lythgow. Bot on the morne efter-
hend the Earle of Lennox come out of Stirling witht
thre great ostis marchand fordwart to Edinburgh thair
to sett fordwart his porpois and intent quhilk he had
taine in hand at the kingis command.

THE XV CHAPTER.

Hou the erle of angus desyrit the king to mak ane proclamation.

Hou word come to edinburgh that the erle of lennox was
within ane myle. Hou George Douglas desyrit the king to
pas fordward to help his brother. Hou word cam to the king
that the armyes was in sicht of wther. Hou the king went
furth with the toune of edinburgh and leith. The erle of len-
nox slaine. The feild of linlythgou. Hou Andro Wood of
largo saivit the erle of glencairne.

- o [Sa schone as the Earle of Angus knew of thair com-
ing he went]¹ and schew the king the maner how it
stude, desyrand his grace gar mak procliamatioun baitht
in Leytht and Edinburgh that all maner of man betuix
sextie and sexten zeiris sould ryse incontient to follow
5 the king and debait his graice. They heirand thir
wordis of the earle of Angus and knew the matter how
it stude, gaif bot lyttill ansuer agane wnto the Earle
of Angus. The earle seand that the king was slaw
in the matter wist weill thair was nathing bot ether
o do or die and thairfor maid him manfullie to the feildis
and caussit his freind Archibald Douglas, provost of
Edinburgh to ring the common bell and put the toun
in order, and command thame to ryse and come witht
the king in all haist for to defend him aganis his

How the
earle of An-
gus desyrit
the king to
mak ane pro-
cliamatioun.

¹ The words in brackets are from I. A is slightly different.

enemeis; and left his brother George witht the to cause him ryse and come fordwart for to see him ffor he wald pase incontient fordwart to the lord Hammilltoun quho was abone Lythgow redynes witht ane great number of ij M men, an Earle of Angus past fordwart himself witht the H and Karis quhilk was in number ij M men. Be th word come to the toun of Edinburgh that the of Lennox was within ane myle to Lythgow thrie greit ostis to the number of xij^m men weilnist witht artaillze, and was porpossit to come to burgh gif he war not stopit. Than George Douglas heirand this desyrit the king right effectouslie to ryse and pase fordwart to help his brother and see him aganis his enemeis schawand how neirhand war bot the kingis grace tuik lytill thocht of the r and was werry slaw in his fourtth ryding. Bot a the post come frome the Earle of Angus schawand king that baitht the airmeis was in sight of wther was porpossit to fight, thairfor prayand the kingis to come fordwart witht the toun of Edinburgh to kewe the Earle of Angus or ellis he wald be loressone of the number of the wther pairtie. the king gart blaw his trumpitis and lap on horse gart ring the common bell of Edinburgh command all maner of man, so ischit fourtth of the wast and all the toun of Edinburgh and Leytth witht the number of iij^m men and raid fordwart to the c of Corstorphin. They hard the artaillze schot on t the sydis lykeas it had bene thundar. Then George Douglas cryit on the king beseikand his grace for to saik to ryde faster that he might reskew and help his brother. Be this the post come and schew the that baitht the feildis war iunitt and fightand furieo witht wther on the wast syde of Lythgow tua my be wast the toun and that the Earle of Angus and

Word come
to the toun
of Edin-
burgh that
the earle of
Lennox was
witht ane
myle.

How George
Douglas con-
sallit the
king to pas
fordwart to
help his
brother.

Fol. 108 A.

How worde
come to the
king of the
tua airmeis.

How the
king come
fourtth witht
the toun of
Edinburgh

Earle of Glencairneis was zokit together and the lord
 Hammilltounis force and the Earle of Lennox in lyke
 maner and baitht fightand furieouslie. Then the king
 raid fast to sie the maner bot incontinent thair mett
 5 him ane post schawand to him that the Earle of Lennox
 men war fled frome him and he beleifit that he had
 tint the feild. Bot then the king was werie sorrie and
 cryit on all his serwandis and all that wald do for him
 to ryde to the feild and stanche slaughter, and in
 10 spetiall to saif the Earle of Lennox gif he could be
 comprehendit allyue. Witht this the kingis serwandis
 and sindrie gentillmen passit at the kingis commande-
 ment, witht Androw Wood of Largo quhilk was the
 15 kingis [commandement and ane of his]¹ famellear ser-
 wandis and carwer to him, and at that tyme haistit
 thair horse allis fast as they might beir thame, to
 the feild to keip the kingis commandement to saif all
 frome slaughter and in spetiall the Earle of Lennox
 quhom he² fand lyand slaine in the deid thraw
 20 cruellie be Schir James Hammilltoun that tyrane efter
 that he was taine in the feild be the laird of Perdiffin³
 and his wappouns taine fre him. In this meane tyme
 Schir James Hammilltoun that cruell murtherar gart
 schut him fre his takoris and thair slew him without
 25 marcie and so did witht all that he might owertak that
 day in the feild. Thair war money markit that day
 witht his mark.⁴ Bot we will⁵ returne to Androw
 Wode and the kingis serwandis quho raid suoftlie
 throw the feild to saif all freindis that thay might
 30 comprehend on lyffe, [quhill]⁶ at last they fand the

The earle of
Lennox
slaine.

The feild of
Lythgow.
Fol. 109 a.

The tyrannie
of Schir
James Ham-
milltoun.

¹ I omits passage in brackets, which is probably a miscopy from two lines below.

² I has "thay."

³ The Laird of Pardovan was William Hamilton.

⁴ I adds "throche the chaftis with ane sword quhilk was callit efterhend the merciles mark of schir James Hammilltoun."

⁵ I adds "speik no moir of his tyrannie bot."

⁶ A has here as in other places "quhillk" for "quhill."

How Schir
Andrew
Wode saiffit
the earle of
Glencairne.

Earle of Glencairne still fightand witht xxx me of all his airmie on lyue wnsleine and fled from bot zeit was in sic ane strength that his enemeis on nawayis war him sa lang as he had ony m on lyue to defend him. Bot inmedeatlie Androw the kingis serwand tuik him and saiffit him and him away on lyue and conwoyit him to ane place quhair nether the Douglassis nor the Hounis might comprehend him to do him skaith. beand done the kingis serwandis come throw th and saw the lord Hammilltoun standand murna syde the Earle of Lennox, sayand, 'The wyssi: 'the stoutest man the hardiest man that ewer was 'in Scotland was slaine that day,' and tuik his skarlat and cust [it] wpoun him and gart watchmen about him quhill the kingis serwandis come and him. This matter beand finischit and money and taine on baitht the sydis and in spetiall the of Lennox witht money gentillmen of the was witht him and in lyke wyse the Earle of Glerewill wondit to the deid and money of his f and serwandis slaine and allso sum gentillmen o baitht taine and slaine to wit, the Laird of Le slaine witht money wther gentillmen taine. This and wnhappie feild was strikin in the zeir of g v^c xx² zeiris and in the moneth of September.

¹ I has "Lethame." Perhaps David Sibbald, Laird of I in Fife, is referred to.

² I has apparently "1522," but in both cases the date is b and it is not certain what date the scribe of MS. I, who used numerals, intended. The true date was 1526. See Notes.

THE XVI CHAPTER.

Hou the king went to linlythgow. Hou the king was effaird of the erle of Angus. Hou the king went to Edinburgh. Hou the Douglasis fleyit Bischop James heattoun and also the quein. Hou George douglas dressit the bischop and his brother the erle of angus. Hou the douglasis thocht to haue forfalt the lord lindesay.

Quhan this battell was finischit in maner foresaid the Earle of Angus returnit to the king witht gloir and wictorie weill commendit of all men ffor the chance and wictorie that fell into him. Then the kingis grace
 5 witht the Earle of Angus and Lord Hammilltoun witht Hums and Karis went all that night to Lythgow and thair remanit in great mirrienes; bot the kingis grace¹ so sorowfull and dollarous ffor the tinsall of his kinsman² the Earle of Lennox and money wther gentillmen
 10 witht him quha was perischit be the kingis occatioun ffor they interpryssit the matter at the kingis command. And ffarther, the king was werie effrayit and dispairit of his awin lyffe because he knew weill the Earle of Angus wnderstud that he had interpryssit sic actis aganis
 15 him and nothing prosperit weill witht the king aganis the said earle. Thairfor he was right effeirrit that they wald put handis in his awin body considdering all thingis succedit so weill witht thame; bot zeit I can not find that never the Erle of Angus nor nane of the Douglasses
 20 faillzeit to the king in ony pairt³ thocht they war cowetous and gredy, and oppressouris of thair nichtbouris zeit they war ever trew and kind and serueabill to the king in all his affairis, and oftymes offerit thair bodyis in ieoparde ffor his saik. This beand done the

Fol. 109 b.

The king
effrayit of
the earle of
Angus.¹ I has "was bayth sad and dolorous."² I has "came."³ See Notes.

The king
went to
Edinburgh.

How the
Douglassis
fleit Bisch-
ope Bettoun
and also the
quen.

How George
Douglas
greit the
bischope and
his brother.

Fol. 110 a.

How the
Douglasses
thocht to
haue forfaltit
the Lord
Lyndsay.

king returnit to Edinburgh werie sad and sorowfull
that he on nowayis could come to his porpose. Bot
zeit he remanit quyit withtin him self, and the Douglassis
tuik it ewer hie wpoun thame quhair throw thay begouth
to punische all thame that come against thame witht 5
the Earle of Lennox ; and spetiallie thay fleit bischope
James Bettoun sua that he staw away and durst not
ane lang tyme be sen and so did Margarit the quen
of Scotland, and zeid wagabund dissagyssit ane lang
quhill ffor feir of Douglassis. Then the Douglassis had 10
the king to Fyfe and thair passit thair tyme ane quhyll
in Sancttandrois ; bot they could not find the bischope
ffor he was keipand scheip in bogrimmow¹ witht ane
schiphirdis claithis wpoun him lyke as he had bene
ane scheiphird him self. Be this way he eskaipit thair 15
furie for ane quhill, bot George Douglas was werie wyse
and knew the bischope of Sanctandrois to be ane greit
man and had money cassualletieis, and had money and
teindis to be gottin at his hand. Thairfor withtin ane
lyttill quhyll he dressit the said bischope and his said 20
brother for certaine teindis and tax² that the bischope
gaif him witht wther commoditieis that he gat at the
said bischopis handis quhilk neidis nocht to be re-
hearssed at this tyme ; bot alwayis he was restoirit to
the court and thair faworaris againe and so was the 25
quenis grace ane lyttill thairefter that no man persewit
hir bot lat hir tak hir awin plesour because scho was
the kingis mother.

At this tyme the Douglassis pat sair at the Lord
Lyndsay and thocht to haue forfaltit him bot he gaif 30
largelie of his landis into the courteouris to eskaip
thair invy ffor the present tyme, thinkand that court
wald not lest lang.

¹ I has "balgrummow."

² I.e., tacks or leases.

THE XVII CHAPTER.

Hou bischop James beatoun callit the king and the douglasis to the pach. Hou the erle of Angus passt to lowthiane. Hou George douglas raid to dundie. Hou archbauldy douglas past to Sanctandrois. Hou the king fled from the douglasis out of falkland to Stiriling. Hou archbauld douglas cam heime. Hou petter Carmichal cam and schew Archbauld douglas zat the king was away be flicht to Stiriling and eschapit out of the douglasis handis.

- In the meane tyme bischope James Bettoun [callit]¹ the king and the Douglasses to the pasche to Sanctandrois and thair maid thame great cheir and blythtnes and gaif thame great giftis of gold and silluer witht
 5 fair haiknays and wther gifts of tax² and steidingis that they wald desyre of him that he might paciefie thair wraith thairwitht and obtain thair fawouris. So the king tairrieit thair for ane quhill quyt and wssit hunting and halking wpoun the watter of Eddin, quhill
 10 at last the Earle of Angus werieit³ in Fyfe and thairfor he askit leif at the king to pas ower to Louchlevin⁴ to sie his bussienes and left witht the king Archebald his father brother and George his awin brother and James Douglas of the Parkheid quho was captane to
 15 ane gaird of men that was about the king. Bot withtin tua dayis Archebald Douglas thesawrar askit leif at the king to pas to Dundie to his bussienes for ane day or tua,—sum sayis he had ane gentillwoman thair quhome he raid to wessie,—and in lyk maner George
 20 Douglas raid eist to Sanctandrois to the bischope to gett his tak performitt and endit at his handis lyke as he had promist him befor and left witht the kingis

How the
bischope
Bettoun
callit the
king and
Douglasses
to the
pasche.

How the
earle of An-
gus passit to
Louchlieven.

How Arch-
bald Doug-
las past to
Dundie.

How George
Douglas
raid to S.
tandrois.

¹ I has "callit," A "caussit."

² I has "tackis."

³ I has "vireit sair" = wearied sorely of life. See Glossary.

⁴ B has "Lauthiane, I "Lowthiane."

grace James Douglas of the Parkheid witht ane hunder
 gentlemen witht him to waitt wpon the king quhair
 ewer he passit. Bot quhene George Douglas come to
 Sanctandros and remanit thair mekill of ane day in
 dressing of his bussines, in the meane tyme the king 5
 passit to the park at Falkland thair to haue houndit
 ane deir and thocht in his awin mynd that the tyme
 was convenient for him to mak him self frie at libertie.
 The Earle and Archebald and George war all absent
 at that tyme out of his companie, thairfor he bethocht 10
 him of ane craftie meane to ieopardie him self in this
 maner as efter followis, that is to say, he callit wpon
 the laird of Ferne¹ quho was forester of the said Wode
 and Chalimerlane of Fyfe at that tyme and caussit him
 to gar wairne all the haill tennentis of the kingis landis 15
 and gentill men thair about that had spediest dogis
 that they wald come to Falkland wode to meit him
 on the morne at sewin houris ffor he was determinat
 that he wald slay ane fatt buke or tua ffor his plesour.
 And to that effect gart wairne the cuikis and stewarttis 20
 to mak his supper redy be foure houris² and commandit
 James Douglas of the Parkheid to pas the sunner to
 his bede that he micht waitt wpon him tymmos in the
 morning, and then the king quhene he had suppit
 lytill quhill past to his chamber and loussit his claithis 25
 and maid him to his bede, caussit to bring his col-
 latioun and drank to James Douglas, sayand to him
 that thai sould haue goode huntting on the morne and
 bad him be tymmos, and syne the king went to his
 bede. Then James Douglas of the Parkheid seand 30
 the king in his bede he wont³ all had ben sickar
 anewch and passit in lyke maner to his bede. Quhene

¹ I has "farnnie"—*i.e.*, Fernie.

² B has "disjoyn ready the morne"; I has "reddie that he micht gang to his bed the schowner and haue his disiune reddie be."

³ I has "wenit"—*i.e.*, weened.

the watche was sett and all thingis was at quyitnes
the king callit on ane zemen of the stabill and desyrit
ane of his abullzementis, hose, cloke, cott and bonnett
and put wpoun and slipit¹ out of the gouernouris of
5 the challmer and the zemens of the stabill lyke as he
had bene ane of thame, and was wnpersaiffit of the
watchis quhill he had past into the stabillis; and caussit
to sadill ane horse for him self and ane led, and tuik
tuo servantis witht him to wit Zacharie Harcar² ane
10 zounge man³ of the stabill with ane secreit challmer
boy and lap on horse and spurit haistalie his ioyrnay
to Stirling and wan thair be the briking of day, ower
the brige and syne gart steik it againe behind him
that no man sould win that passage withtout his licence:
15 Syne passit to the castell and was ressawit thair be the
captane thairof quho was reioyssit grittlie of his coming
and preparit the castell witht all neidfull thingis ffor
his coming, syne gart steik the zettis and drew downe
the portculeis and pat the king in his bed to sleip
20 because he had ridin all night.

How the
king fled out
of Falkland
ffrom the
Douglasses
to Stirling.

Fol. 111 a.

We will lat him sleip in his bed and returne to
George Douglas⁴ quho come hame to Falkland at
tuellf⁵ houris at ewin quho requyrit at the portaris
quhat the king was doand. Thai ansuerit and said
25 that he was sleipand in his bed in his secreit challmer
and so said the watchemen of the gaird that watchit
him; and George⁴ heirand this passit to his challmer
to his bed and tuike him rest, quhill on the morne that
the sone was wpe, syne come the baillze of Aber-
30 nethie, to witt, Petter Carmichall and knokit at George⁶
challmer doore and waknit him and speirit quhair the
king was. George⁴ ansuerit and said, 'he is in his

How George
Douglas com
hame againe.

How Petter
Carmichall
schew
George
Douglas that
the king was
away.

¹ I inserts "furth with the grumes."

² I has "Jockie Hairt and ane vther secret serwand."

³ I has "zeoman."

⁴ I has "Archbauldy Douglas thesaurer."

⁵ I has "alewin."

⁶ I has "the Thesauraris."

‘challmer sleipand.’ The baillie said, ‘nay, he is passit
 ‘the brige of Stirling.’ Then George [¹ gat wpe haistalie
 and pat on his claithis and went into the gaird and to
 the porteris and speirit for the king. They ansuerit
 and said he was in his challmer in his bedde; then 5
 George] wentt to the challmer and knokit, bot nane
 ansuerit him ffor the doore was lokit,² and dang it wpe
 and fand no man thairin. Then he cryit, ‘fy, Tressone,
 the king was gain, they knew nocht quhair.’ Sum said
 he was passit to Banbreich to ane gentill woman, and 10
 wther said he was ridin to Stirling. Then George ³ lape
 on horse to ryde to Banbreich bot withtin tua myle he
 mett the earle of Rothes and schew him that the king
 was nocht thair. Then they passit to Falkland againe
 and tuik consultatioun quhat was best to be done, and 15
 send ane haistie post to the Earle of Angus to Tam-
 tallan.⁴ Be that, Archebald Douglas came out of
 Dundie and then they forgaderit altogither [⁵ to wit the
 earle, George, and Archebald] and raid [alltogither] to
 Stirling to the king. 20

How the
 Douglasses
 was ryland
 to Stirling to
 the king.

THE XVIII CHAPTER.

Hou the king maid proclamatioun. The douglasis consultatioun.
 Hou the king send for his lordis. The kingis lamentatioun to
 the lordis. The erle of Angus and his kin summond. The
 erle of Angus bannisit and put to the horne. The oratioun
 anent the samyn.

Bot sa schone as the king gat word of the Douglassis
 coming [he] send ane harrott of armes to the mercatt

¹ I omits words in brackets.

² I has “and the key with the king. Than he perceauit the dor
 to be lokit and.”

³ I has no name here.

⁴ I has “to aduerteis and schaw the maner how it stud. Be this
 George Dowglas come out of lowthiane and than,” &c.

⁵ I omits words in brackets. The date of the king’s escape was
 1528.

- crose, and thair be sound of trumpit commandit the
 Earle of Angus, George Douglas, Archebald Douglas
 thesawrar witht all the rest of thair kin and freindis
 allayis, that nocht ane of thame sould come neir the
 5 kingis grace withtin the space of sex myleis wnder the
 paine of treassone. This proclamatioun being maid,
 the Earle of Angus and his freindis, adwertissit thairof,
 laid thair heidis togither and consultit quhat was best
 to be done tuiching that procleratioun. Sum said it
 10 was best to pase fordwart bot the earle and George
 concludit that they wald obey the king and his proclie-
 matioun, and returnitt againe and past bakwart to
 Lythgow and thair remanitt ane day or tua quhill they
 gat word from the king quho was at that tyme richt
 15 bussie sendand for his lordis to haue thair consall :—To
 witt, he send for the earle of Huntlie, the earle of
 Argyle, the earle of Atholl, the earle of Glencairne, the
 earle of Menteith, the lord Ghrame, the lord Living-
 stoun, the earle of Rothes in Fyfe, the lord Lyndsay,
 20 the lord Sincklar, the lord Ruthven, the lord Drowmond,
 the lord Annerdaill,¹ the lord Maxwell, the lord Simpill,
 the earle of Eglintoun, witht bischope James² and con-
 wenitt thir saidis lordis at Stirling to ane consall the
 secund day of Julij³ anno I^m v^o xxiiij zeiris. And thair
 25 the king schew to thame his mynd witht great lemen-
 tatioun, how he was haldin in subiection thir zeiris
 bygane be the Earle of Angus his kin and freindis
 quha oppressit the haille contrie and spullzett it wnder
 the pretence of iustice and his autorietie and had slaine
 30 money of his lieges kinsmen and freindis⁴ because they
 wald haue had him out of thair handis and put him to
 libertie as he aught to haue bene at the consall of his

How the
king gart
mak proclie-
matioun.

Fol. 111 b.

How the
Duglasses
consultit
togither.

How the
king send for
all the lordis
to ane
consall.

The king
lamentatioun
of the earle
of Angus to
his lordis.

¹ I has "Evindeill."

² I has "Beattoun."

³ I has "August 1525," Dalzell "June 1527." The true date is 1528. See Notes.

⁴ I adds, "for his saik speciallie the Erle of Lennox his tender cousing becaus," &c.

haill lordis and not to haue ben subiectit nor correctit
 witht no particular man by the rest of my nobillis. Thair-
 for [he] desyrit the lordis that he might be satisfieit of
 the said earle his kin and freindis, ffor he wowit singu-
 larchie that Scotland sould nocht hald thame baitht quhill 5
 he war revengit on him. And this¹ the lordis heirand
 the kingis complent and lementatioun and also the great
 rage and furrie and malice that he buire towartis the
 Earle of Angus and his kin and freindis, they concludit
 all and thocht it best that he sould be sowmond to 10
 wnderlay the law and gif he fand nocht cautioun to enter
 nor zeit compeir himself that he sould be put to the
 horne and banist during the kingis will. This was
 forder proceedit conforme to the lordis desyre and con-
 sall; the earle his kin and freindis war sowmond to find 15
 caution to wnderlay the law withtin ane certane day or
 ellis to be put to the horne. The day the earle com-
 peirit nocht nor nane² for him and so he was put to the
 horne witht all his kin and freindis so money as was
 continitt in the sowmondis that compeirit nocht was 20
 banist and haldin tratouris to the king. Now thairfoir
 we may sie that all new court³ is nocht constant in
 eard bot ay is changeabill except the court of hevin
 celestiall quhairin thair is no 'warience bot all constante
 luf in god into his glorie. Ffor this man the Earle of 25
 Angus having the court and king at his plesour and
 culd never be seperatit fre his grace nether be wisdom
 nor powar of mans ingyne bot quhene he was standand
 in his hieest degrie thinkand himself in peace and tran-
 quietie witht his prince, dreadand no trubill nor cummer 30
 to come heirefter because he had debaittit so money

Fol. 112 a

The earle of
 Angus
 sowmond to
 wnderlay
 the law.

The earle of
 Angus
 banist.

The wrie-
 soun.

¹ "This" = thus.

² John Ballentyne, his secretary, appeared and protested on 4th September, but his protest was overruled, and sentence pronounced on 5th September 1528.—A.P., ii. p. 322 *et seq.* See Notes.

³ I has "sie all that no court is constant, &c., bot all is varient and cheingabill," probably the right reading.

trubillis befor in his defence and had faughin so cruellie
 befor and maid sic slaughter to defend his awin right
 and autorietie witht the king in tyme bygane; thinkand
 than that thair was no man to persew him ffor he had
 5 evin the wpper hand wpoun all thame that intendit to
 put him ffrone the court or gyding of the kingis grace:
 [1 Bot quhene the mightie god quho hes powar abone
 all earthlie men seand the proppit tyme of this mans
 felieciety in court that it was neir spendit and caussit
 10 the court change by the expectatioun of man without
 ony cause movit the kingis hart to banische and forfalt
 this man as I haue schawin to zow. Thairfor lat everie
 man that desyris to be hie in court witht king or quen Fol. 112 b.
 or to ring in autorietie abone his nichtbouris, lat ws²
 15 tak exampill of this forsaid buke that we haue writtin
 befor, and in spetiall of this man,³ the haistie change
 and depregation that came sudenlie on him by the con-
 sideratioun of man. Thairfor lat all courteouris I say
 serue first god and syne thair prince and do to thair
 20 nichtbouris and brether as they wald be done witht all
 and then they sall obtaine the fawour and mercie of
 god and come to his court that ringis in glorie and
 felicitie,⁴ world without end. Amen.]

¹ Dalzell omits the passage in brackets, which is both in A and I. He also abbreviates the earlier part of the chapter.

² I has "him."

³ I inserts "the erle of angus."

⁴ I. A has "fidilietie."

THE XIX CHAPTER.

Ane proclamatioun made. The seige of tantalloun. Hou the king tuk artelzerie out of the castell of dunbar. The slauchter david falconer. Hou the king maid moyanis with the captane of the Castell of Tantalloun. Hou the captane desyred the earle of angus to furneiss him victuallis. The castell rander at the kingis comand wpon certane conditionis. The conditiounis grantit.

Now we will returne to our historie. The Earle Angus his kin and freindis beand at the horne in the same maner as we haue schawin of befor, the king maid procliamatioun and procliamatiouns throw all his realme to and sindrie his lieges with certeficatioun quho ressa this earle or his freindis quhatsumewer they war that sould be haldin tratouris to the croun and participis of that factioun and cryme that the said earle and freindis war conwickit. Ffarder the king made procliamatioun into Fyfe, Angus, Stretherne, Stirlingschyre and Lowtheane, Merse and Tiwedail to compeir at Edinburgh the 10 day of December anno I^m v^e and xx zeiris,¹ that they may compeir the said day at Edinbur with xl dayis wictuall to pase with him to Tamtalla to seige the samin; and to that effect gart send to the castell of Dunbar to Captane Morise² and thair borrow sum artaillze and layit great pledgis for the samin because the castell was then in the Duik of Albanie handis and the artaillze thair of his awin, bot it was ewer at the kingis plesour quene he had ought to command and be the command of the said Duik of Albani. Bot zeit for restoiring and deliuering of the samin and obserwing of ane goode order caussit the lordis to pay in pledge for the said artaillze quhill it war deliuer

Ane procliamatioun maid.

Ane wther procliamatioun maid.

The seige of Tamtallan.

¹ I has "October 1525." The true date is October 1528.

² Maurice de Nogent.

againe; and resawit the samin [in] maner as efter
 followis, [that is to say, tuo gret cannonis, that is to
 say,¹ thrawinmouth and hir marrow, witht tua greit
 battartis² and tua myans³ and tuo doubill fallcons and
 5 foure quarter fallcons⁴ witht thair powder and bullatis
 and gouneris for to wse them conforme to the kingis
 plesour]. Syne passit fordwart to Tamtallan and seigit
 the samin the space of xx dayis bot they come no speid;
 quhither the castell was so strong or the gouneris cor-
 10 rupt be the Earle of Angus moyans, I can nocht tell.
 Bot the king left it and was constranit to depairt hame
 to Edinburgh againe without ony succes of wictorie or
 ony hope of the winning of the said castell bot had
 baitht mony men and horse slaine at the persuite of the
 15 said castell; and at his returning had ane nobill captane
 of weir slaine callit Dawid Falcunar quho was slaine and
 murdreist cruellie be the handis of Archebald Douglas
 wmquhill thesawrar and father brother to the said earle.
 At quhose slaughter the king was hevelie displeissit and
 20 lamented the same greatlie, casting all the ingyne that
 he might be his consall to obtain the castell of Tam-
 tallan, knawand weill gif he had the castell thair wald
 be no ressorting to the earle nor to his freindis into that
 contrie. Thairfor he caussit sindrie lordis and gentill-
 25 men to mak moyans witht the said captane callit Simon
 Penango,⁵ promissand to him great giftis and rewairdis
 batht of land, [and] geir, witht the kingis spetiall favouris
 and remeit of all thingis bypast to the said captane and his
 brother and his freindis or serwandis quhome he desyrit
 30 expeand the Douglassis. In all thingis off thir offeris

How the
 king tuike
 the artaillz
 out of
 Dumbar.
 Fol. 113 a.

The slaugh-
 ter of Dawid
 Falcunar.

How the
 king maid
 moyan witht
 the captan of
 Tamtallan.

¹ I has "thrawin mouthed and hir marrow," &c. Dalzell in a note, p. 337, calls this passage in brackets from "a recent manuscript." He may have seen a recent copy, but the passage is plainly from an old text.

² "Battardis." See Glossary.

³ "Myans"—*i.e.*, half-sized cannons.

⁴ See Notes as to these kinds of artillery. ⁵ I has "Pannago."

Fol. 113 b.

How the
captan de-
syrit the
earle of An-
gus to fur-
nische him
wictuallis.

The castell
randerit
wpon thir
conditiounis.

the captane tuik to be advyssit be ane certane day
syne promissit to gif the king ane ansuer conforme
desyre; and in the meane tyme the said captane
the earle, Archebald and George, to wit quhat was
myndis, schawand to thame that he was ewill wi
and wantit artaillze pulder and bullattis, thairfo
syrand the said earle and his freindis to furnische
thairwith withtin ane certane day or then wtherwa
war force to him to rander the forsaid castell t
kingis grace or wtheris in his name that persee
The earle heirand this message of his captan
nowayse contentit heirof because he knew weill he
on no wyse support him of his desyre nether
artaillze pulder nor bullattis because he had na
that tyme nor could provyde nane haistallie, ne
could he furnische thame witht wictuallis nether
or land because the king had watchis on thame,
to say, schipis on the sie and gentillmen on the
ewer watchand that no furnishing sould come
said castell. The captan luikand for ane¹ ans
his maister the earle and of his freindis in this b
appoyntit witht the king and randerit the said cas
him on thir conditiounis as efter followis, that is
that the kingis grace sall remitt to the said Ca
Simon all offences done be the said Symon to the
maiestie or wther wayse contrair the commone wei
gif him ane frie remissioun thairof to him and t
serwandis and sall grant to him all [bygane] b
saifand² the said castell, of all maner of thingis sa
artaillze and wappouns wssit in defence of the p
thir salbe deliuerit to the king bot all wther furnis
gold and silluer clething or abullzementis or wict

¹ I has "getting this."

² I has "of angus knawand no support to cum to him be th
erle nor his freindis."

³ I omits "bygane," and reads "all bag saiff in the," &c. I
reads "bag and baggage."

salbe the said captans to dispone at his plesour. Of
 this appoyntment the king and his counsall was werrie
 weill content and ressaiffit the said castell of Tamtallane
 fre Symon the captane and revairdit him according to
 5 the kingis promise.

The con-
 ditionis
 grantit.

THE XX CHAPTER.

Hou the king garnesit tamtalloun. Ane proclamatioun maid. Hou
 the douglasis past in Ingland. Ane parliament set. The
 douglasis foirfaltit. The cheinging of the kingis officaris.
 Ane Convention set at edinburgh. Ane proclamatioun maid.
 Hou the king passit to Meggitland. John Armstrong
 hangit.

Schortlie heirefter the king gart garnische the Castell
 of Tantalloun witht men of weir and artaillze and pat
 in ane new captane, to wit Oliepheir Sincklar and caussit
 maissouns come and rainforce the samin wallis quhilk
 10 was left waist of befoir, as transses and throw passagis
 and maid all massie wark to that effect that it sould be
 wnwinabill in tymeis comming to ony enemeis that wald
 come to persew it. Syne gart mak procliematiounis
 throw all the realme that no man sould foster, succour
 15 or sustene no Douglasses withtin thair boundis, and
 thairefter gart bring in thair rentis, maillis and dewtieis
 to the kingis awin profite, to that effect that they sould
 be poore and haue no strength in tymes coming.

How the
 king gar-
 nischit the
 castell.
 Fol. 114 a.

Procliema-
 tioun maid.

The Douglasses seand this that they could on nawayse
 20 obtene the kingis fawour that they might remaine in
 Scotland, thai consultit amang them selffis and past to
 Ingland, quhair they war ressawit thankfullie and inter-
 teined tenderlie witht king Harrie the aught quho sus-
 tenit thame werie honourable ane lang quhyll. This
 25 beand down the king heirand tell of thair absence gart
 sett ane parlieament at Edinburgh the 25 day of Marche

How the
 Douglasses
 past in
 Ingland.

Ane parlie-
 ment sett.

abill ludgit as they had ben in Ingland France, and Spaine ffor thair huntting and pastyme quhill buildit in the midis of ane fair medow ane faire of greine tymmer wond witht birkis¹ that war grein wnder and abone, quhilk was fesnitt in foure qu and everie quarter and nuike thairof ane greit as it had bene ane blokhouse quhilk was loftit and the space of thrie house hight; the fluir² laid witht cherittis⁴ witht sprattis⁵ medwartis⁶ and flouris. no man knew quhairon he zeid bot as he had bene gardin. Farder thair was tua great roundis in ilk s the zeit and ane greit portculis of trie falland dou maner of ane barrace witht ane greit draw bregge, an great fowsie⁷ and strak⁸ of watter of sextene foot and xxx futte braid of watter and also this palice v was weill syllit and hung witht fyne tapistrie and an of silk, and sett and lightit witht fyne glassin wondo all airttis [so] that this palice was allis pleisantlie d witht all necessaris pertenant to ane prince as i bene his awin palice royall at hame. Farder this gart mak sic provitioun ffor the king and his n and that stranger the ambassadour that thai h maner of meittis, drinkis, deliecattis that was gottin at that tyme in all Scotland either in burg in land that might be gottin for money; that is t all¹⁰ kynd of drink, as aill, beir, wyne, batht quhyte

Fol. 115 a.

The earle of Atholl maid ane bankit to the king.

¹ "Birkis" = birches.

² "Iestit" = joisted. See Glossary.

³ I has "fluir layd with greine scheirrittis with sprattis me and flouris that na," &c.

⁴ "Cherittis" = "scharits," sods of turf. See Glossary.

⁵ "Sprattis"—*i.e.*, rushes. See Glossary.

⁶ "Medwartis"—*i.e.*, meadow-sweets.

⁷ "Fowsie" = fosse. See Glossary.

⁸ I has "stank" = pool; "straik" = tract or stretch. ?

⁹ I has "arasis," a kind of tapestry from Arras; A has "an wrongly.

¹⁰ Dalzell omits these details in the text, but puts them in : as from a later MS.

and clairit, mallvesie musticat¹ and allacant, inchethrist
 and accqquitie. Ffarder thair was of meittis, of breid
 quhyte breid maine breid² and gingebreid,³ witht flesches,
 beif, muttun, lambes,⁴ cuning,⁵ cran,⁶ suan, wile guse,
 5 pertrick⁷ and plever,⁸ duke,⁹ Brissill cok¹⁰ and powins¹¹
 together witht blak cok and murefoull and cappercallzes ;
 and also the stankis that was round about the palice was
 sowmond full of all deliecat fisches, as sallmond, troutis
 and perches, pykis and eilis and all wther kynd of
 10 deliecat fisches that could be gottin in fresche watteris
 was all redy to be prepairit for the bancat. Syne was
 thair proper stewartis and cuning baxteris and also ex-
 cellent cuikis and potiseris¹² witht confectiounis and
 drogis ffor thair desairtis. All thir thingis beand in
 15 order and prepairit as I haue schawin, hallis, chameris
 and witht costlie beding, weschell and naiperie accord-
 ing for ane king, nathing deminischit of his ordour more
 nor he had bene at hame in his awin palice. The king
 remanit in this present wildernes at the huntting the
 20 space of thrie dayis and thrie nightis, and his companie
 as I haue schawin to zow affoir. I hard men say that
 ewerie day was the Earle of Atholl in expenssis ane
 thowsand pound. This ambassadour of the paipis seand
 this great bancat and treumph being maid in ane wilder-
 25 nes, quhair thair was not tounne neir be xx myle, thocht
 it ane great merwell that sic ane thing sould be in Scott-

The earle of
 Athollis
 expenssis

¹ I has " muscatie and allagant, inpechryst and attaquytie"—*i.e.*, Muscatel and Alicante, Hippocras and Aqua Vitæ. See Glossary.

² " Maine breid " = almond bread, or a light fine kind of bread.

³ " Gingebreid " = probably gingerbread, but I has " gaige."

⁴ I adds, " veall and venisoun, guse, gryce and capoun and," &c.

⁵ " Cuning " = conies, or rabbits.

⁶ " Cran " = cranes or herons.

⁷ " Pertrick " = partridges.

⁸ " Plever " = plovers.

⁹ I has " duik, draik, mortoun and murfowll with goudneis brissell cok pownis blakcok and caperkeillzie." See Glossary.

¹⁰ " Brissill cok " = turkeys?

¹¹ " Powins " = peacocks.

¹² I has " potingareis."

land considerand that it was bot the erse of the world
 be wther contries, thair sould be sic honestie and
 pollicie in it and spetiall in the hieland, quhair thair
 is bot wode and wildernes. Bot maist of all this am-
 bassadour merwellit quhene the king depairtit and all 5
 his men tuike thair leif, the hieland men sett all this
 fair palice in ane fyre that the king and his ambas-
 sadouris might sie thame. Then the ambassadour said
 to the king, 'I merwell that ze sould tholl zone fair
 'palice to be brunt that zour grace hes ben so weill 10
 'ludgit into.' Than the king ansuerit the ambassadour
 and said, 'it is the wse of our hielandmen thocht thay
 'be newer so weill ludgit, to burne thair ludging quhene
 'they depairt.' This being done, the king turnit to
 Dunkell that night and on the morne to S. Johnstoun. 15
 I hard say the king at that tyme in the boundis of
 Atholl and Stretherne, that is to say Benglow, Benewrne
 and Bencrwine,¹ betuix the hillis and in the boundis
 forsaidis slew xxx scoir of heartis and hyndis witht
 wther small beistis as re and rebuke,² wolf and fox, 20
 and wyldcattis.³

Fol. 115 b.

How money
 wyld beistis
 the king
 slew in the
 hieland.

¹ I has "begining at beneurie and benecrumie betuix thir hillis," &c. The text is a better reading. The hills meant are probably Ben à Glo and Ben Iutharn, in Blair Atholl, but the third has not been identified. See Notes.

² Roe and roebuck, female and male roe-deer.

³ I adds, "This was in the zeir of god I^m v^c xxviiij zeiris." The true date is 1531.

THE XXII CHAPTER.

Hou the king passit to Sanct Johnstoun dundie and Sanctandros.
 Hou the king biggit ane fair pallice in the abay of halyrudcs.
 Hou ane ambassadour come out of ingland. Hou the quene
 tuik ane enterprys. Hou the king promisit to gang to ingland
 to the king thairof. And hou the bischopis wald nocht suffer
 him. And hou thay buddit him nocht to gang. Hou the king
 of scotland met lord Williame.

Heireftir the king past to Sanct Johnstoun and re-
 manit thair at his plesour, and syne ane day or tua
 to Dindie quhair he was honourable resawit and weill
 intertenit be the constabill thairof and the honest bur-
 5 gessis thair and remanit thair thrie dayis, and syne
 passit to Sanctandros and his mother witht him and
 the ambassadour and thair remanit quhill the Michall-
 mas perdoun¹ and was weill intertenit be bischope James
 Bettoun and pryour Patrick Hepburne. Syne passit to
 10 Stirling and remanitt thair the maist pairt of the winter;
 syne the nixt spring of the zeir come to Edinburgh and
 foundit ane fair pallice in the Abbay of Hallierudhous and
 ane greit towre to him self to rest into quhene he pleissit
 to come to the toun. Ffarder he send to Flanderis and
 15 brocht hame artaillzie and harneis witht powder and
 bullat and pickis witht all kynde of wther² munitioun
 pertenand to ane prince and garnischit his castellis
 thairwitht, to wit, the castell of Edinburgh, the castell
 of Stirling, Dumbartane and the Blaknes; and ffarder he
 20 translaitit the palice of Lythtgow and bigit ane prettie
 palice in the castell of Stirling.³ In this zeir thair came

How the
king past
to Sanct
Johnstoun.

How the
king begit
ane fair
pallice in the
Abbay Hal-
lierudhous.

¹ "Perdoun"—*i.e.*, the Sunday before Michaelmas day. See Glossary.

² I has "ordour of."

³ This differs from the table of contents, which says James built the palace at Holyrood, but he also built the palace at Stirling. See Notes.

How ane
ambassadour
come out of
Ingland.

Fol. 116 a.

How the
quene tuk
ane inter-
pryse.

ane ambassadour out of Ingland nameit Lord W
witht ane bischope witht him in companie with
wther gentillmen to the number of iij^{xx} of horse ir
quhilk was all abill men and waillit ¹ men ffor all l
games and pastymes as schotting, lepping rydir
warbling.² Bot they war weill sayit ³ or they past
Scotland [and] that be thair awin provocationun be
they tint, quhill at last the quen of Scotland the
mother fawored the Inglischemen so because scl
the king of Inglandis sister; and thairfor scho tu
interpryse of aircharie wpoun the Inglischemenis
contrair the kingis grace hir sone and ony sex in
land that he wald waill ether gentillmen or zeme
the said Inglischemen sould schute aganis thame
at prickis,⁴ reveris⁵ or at buttis as the Scottis y
The king heirand this of his mother was contentit
bonspell⁶ and gart her pand⁷ ane hunder crouns a
tune of wyne wpoun the Inglischemenis handis a
incontient laid done sa mekill ffor the Scott
The feild and the ground was in Sanctandrois a
men chossin, thre landit gentillmen and thrie z
to schut aganis the Inglischemen to wit, Dawid v
of that Ilk, Daid Arnet of that Ilk, Mr Johnne v
burne wickar of Dundie; the zemen Johnne Tho
of Leytht, Stewin Taburner witht ane⁹ Baillzie
pyper, that schot felloun neir and warrit the Ing
men of tymes be neir schutting, bot the rest of airc

¹ "Waillit"—*i.e.*, "waled" or chosen men. See Glossar.

² "Warsling" = wrestling.

³ "Sayit" = assayit—*i.e.*, tried.

⁴ "Prickis" or "prickes," and "prickewandes," were used in archery. See Glossary.

⁵ "Reveris" = rovers—*i.e.*, arrows shot at an elevation, con- with "butes," when the bow is held level. See Glossary.

⁶ "Bonspeil" = game. See Glossary.

⁷ "Pand"—*i.e.*, pledge. See Glossary.

⁸ "Zemen" = yeomen.

⁹ I has "callit."

schott far and wight,¹ and warit the Inglischemen of the
interpryse and wan the hunder crouns and the toune of
wyne ffrome the quens grace and so maid the king werie
mirrie that his men had win the game.

- 5 Ffarder this ambassadour was ressawit and gat pre-
sentis in Sanctandrois quhair he presentit his commis-
sioun fre the king of Ingland into the king of Scotland
promissand him gif he wald come to Ingland to speik
with him he sould mak him Duke of Zork and gover-
10 nour and protectour of Ingland and put his zoung sone
in his handis in keiping induring his minorietie. The
king was werie weill contentit witht his desyre and
promissit to Lord Williame that he sould come quhene
he saw tyme conwenent and his realme stablischit and
15 put to order, he sould nocht faill to come to his onkill
the king of Ingland to him in quhat place he pleissit.
This being done the ambassadour passit hame into
Ingland witht the kingis grace ansuer to thair maister
the king of Ingland quho was werie hartlie weill content
20 and werie glad, beleifand the king of Scottlandis promise.
Never-the-less the wickit bischopis of Scotland wald
nocht tholl the king to pas thair, bot caussit him to
send ane ambassadour to excuse him that he might
nocht come at that tyme because in the northt pairtis
25 of his realme thair was great slaughter and he might
nocht come till he punischit thame. Ffor the bischopis
coniectit in thair myndis that gif king Harrie mett witht
our king of Scotland that he wald cause him to cast
doun the abbayis of Scotland lykeas he had done in
30 Ingland; thairfor they budit the king to byde at hame
and gif him iij M pund be zeir of thair benefices for to
sustain his house and expenssis thairon. Bot in this
mean tyme thair raise great trubill and heirscheipis in
the borderis, that the king of force behuffit to send his
35 brother the Earle of Murray to the borderis and maid

How the
king pro-
missit to
pase to Ing-
land to the
king thairof.
Fol. 116 b.

How the
bischop wald
not suffer the
king to pas
in Ingland.

How they
budit him
nocht to
gang.

¹ "Wight"—i.e., strong.

How the
realme of
Scotland
was devydit
in foure
pairtis.

I, fol. 79 b.

him lutennent generall and devydit the haill realme of Scotland in foure pairtis and caussit ewerie a thame to keip thair quarteris quhilk contenitt the of ane zeir quhilk was callit efterwart be the con pepill the quarter-raid. Zeit the king was constrain send ane ambassadour to Ingland nameit the bish of Aberdene,¹ with him thrie ancient knyght wit [Schir William Scott of Balwirie] Schir I Barklay of Collernie, Schir Alexander Steward Gartlies.² [³Thir ambassadouris passit with kingis commissioun and promeisit that he meit the king of ingland in zork the day and was set that is to say within zeir and day the sould come and meit lord William⁴ the ambassa of the king of inglandis at ane pairt callit⁵ vpoune the bordouris betuix bayth the realmes thair lord William the ambassadour was reddie a day appointit to haue had resaut the king of sco conforme to his promeis and thaireftir to haue con him to Zork with mony of the nobillitie of ingland f haue met with king harie his vnckill quha than w Zork remaineing vpone the king of scotlandis cumm him as his promeis was. Ffor the quhilk caus king of ingland had maid gret preparatioun of all th necessar for thair royall estait of the king of scotl: cuming and for his awin honour and magnificence o realme and nobillitie thair of for I hard say thair nevir sic provisioun nor preparatioun maid for

¹ "Mr William Stewart," according to I. He was bish 1532. See Notes.

² B puts Stewart first and adds "Schir David Weymes of Ilk"; I adds, "with Androw Fernie of that Ilk and Michael zoung laird of balwirie with vtheris dyuerss gentilmen." Sir Wi Scot and Andrew Fernie were two of Pitscottie's authors. Introduction.

³ The passage within brackets is from I. Bishop Stewart was ambassadour to England in 1533 (Keith's Scotch Bishops). See N

⁴ Lord William Howard. ⁵ The place of meeting is blan

tryumphe nor meiting that evir was nather within
 the realme of Scotland nor in ingland seine thay war
 first inhabitite as was than prepairit be the king of
 ingland for meitting of the king of scotland quhilk
 5 sould haue beine at Zork gif all promeisis had stand
 quhilk was maid be the king of scotland bot in the
 meintyme the king of scotland wald fayne haue keipit
 his promeis becaus his awin ambassadouris had promeisit
 the samyn in his name ze¹ and had conclwdit pace thair-
 10 vpoun and intercheingit the gret seallis of bayth the said
 realmes for securetie of the samyn. Thairfoir the king
 was laith to haue brokin the samyn bot euill and per-
 wersit cunsall gave him sic terrouris and feir of
 the king of Ingland Sayand to him that he wald do
 15 nothing bot desawe him. Bot zit the king of scotland
 dewysed ane craftie meane in his awin conseit how he
 nicht meit lord William and be vnknawin and keip his
 promeis to him and to that effectt he passit to the bor-
 dour syd disagyssit with four and twenty hors to the
 20 plaice appoincted quhair he sould meit lord William
 to wit at the kirk of² Bot quhen he come
 thair he was areyit and prepairet in ane serwandis
 claithe that they sould nocht knaw him bot that he
 sould keip the promeis of meitting and be thair in
 25 proper persoun and be vnknawin bot quhen the king
 of scotland lichtit at the ludging and place quhair lord
 William remanit for that tyme it happnit lord Wil-
 liam for to be at the kirk heirand mes nocht knawand
 the suddane cuming of the king of scotland nor had
 30 set na waches thairvpone. The king of Scotland
 seand all quyett and lord William absent and seand the
 disihone³ prepairit heistellie he and his cumpanie eittit
 the samyn and payit the oistler of the lwdging thairfoir.
 And syne he lap on hors and quhen he was on horsback

¹ "Ze" = yea.² Blank in text, and also in I.³ "Disihone"—Fr. *djeune*, or breakfast. See Glossary.

tuk instrumentis that he had keipit his promeis to lord William and fand him absent and na man thair for him. Thairfoir the king left the effectt of the instrumentis¹ hind him to lat lord William sie that he had beine thair. Syne spurred his hors and red hameward againe to Scotland so be this meane he ansuerit lord William bot quhen lord William returned frome the kirk and knew that the king of Scotland had beine and had mockit him in that maner he become as ane man bereft of his wit or madman seand that he had frustrat him sellff of besienes quhill he was directit be his maister king harie. Bot zit quhan he had ressounit with him and saw thair was na remeid he returned heimward to Zork to his maister king harie and schew him the manner how the king of Scotland had mockit him and schewed that he was nocht myndfull to cum to him at that tyme. Of thir nowellis the king of Ingland was verie heavie displeissit and promeisit that he sould nevir cum so north againe in the realme of Ingland for nothing that sould happin.]

Thir ambassadouris² ffor said passit with the king's commissioun³ and ane secret writting writtin with the kingis awin hand seillit on the bak thairon that no man sould oppin the said writting quhill it was presented to the king of Inglandis grace, giffand the bischope strait command that no man sould sie the samin nether withtin nor withtout and that he wuld keip the samin secret nor schew it nor rewell it nor to nane wther bot to him self allone, and send him an answer thairwpon writtin with his awin hand that he no scribe nor consall nor nane wtheris sould know the secrettis betuix thame tua bot them selfis allan.

Fol. 117 a.

¹ That is, a copy of the purport of the instruments or documents of protest.

² The Scotch ambassadors. This passage to the end of the chapter is omitted here, but inserted later in MS. I.

³ I places what follows in 1542.

lie. The ambassadouris past to Ingland at the kingis
 commandement and thair was weill ressawit be King
 Harrie at Loundoun quhair they presentit thair com-
 missioun to king Hairrie in the king of Scotlandis
 5 name witht the secreit writting, in the kingis¹ awin
 hand, desyrand him to keip the same quyit and
 secreit that no man sould sie it bot him self allaner-
 lie, and to send the king of Scotland his ansuer
 againe thairwpoun writtin witht his awin hand lyke
 10 as he had done to him. Of the quhilk the king of
 Ingland was werie glade and promist the samin, that
 no man sould sie the said wryttin bot his awin body.
 This being done, the ambassadouris passit to thair
 ludging and maid mirrie till on the morne they war
 15 send ffor to the castell lyke wther ambassadouris as
 was thair. The bischope being sett in the consall
 conforme to his estaitt seand the bourde all full of
 wryttingis and lettres of sindrie ambassadouris of wther
 contrieis ewerie ane for thair awin effairis as they had
 20 ado, bot in spetiall² he saw the kingis secreit [wrytting]
 lyand oppin and patent to all the haill consall to reid
 quha plessit. At this the bischope was werie angrie
 and thocht the king had nocht done his dewtie to his
 maister the king of Scotland in the putting of the
 25 writting befor all the haill consall, considerand the
 kingis promise. Ffor this cause³ the bischope start
 frome the burde and tuik the king of Ingland be the
 hand and lede him to the wondow and said to him
 thir wordis as efter followis, that is to say: 'Schir
 30 'and it pleis zour Maiestie and I durst say it witht
 'zour licence, ze haue sellit⁴ our maister the king of

¹ A has "Hairrieis" wrongly.

² I here places "Schir James Leirmonth of Darsay knight."

³ I has "Sir James passed to the king and fell upon his knees."

⁴ I has "faillit." "Sellit" in the text is perhaps what has now
 become schoolboys' slang, or it may be the *f* in "faillit" miscopied
 as long *s*. See Glossary.

'Scotland.' The king ansuerit the bischope sayand
 'god forbid Schir bischope that I do so, to sell my
 'sister sone; be the mese or I sell him I had rather
 'put the croun of Ingland in ieopardie aganis ony
 'man that wald preif the samin bot gif ze can gar 5
 'me not wnderstand quhairin I haue sellit him ze
 Fol. 117 b. 'salbe the authour of the samin ze sell zour self.'
 The bischope ansuerit, 'Schir witht zour pardone, ze
 'promist that the secreit writting that I presentit to
 'zow from his grace, that no man sould sie it bot 10
 'zour awin body, and now Schir it is heir present
 'and patent befor the consall oppin that all men
 'may reid it that pleissis.' The king ansuerit, 'Be
 'the mese,' sayis he, 'lord bischope ze ar all dessawit
 'ffor no man is zonder bot my awin body in thame 15
 'and thame in me, ffor thair is nan zonder dar tuiche¹
 'it wnder the paine of hanging quartering and drawing,
 'forfaling of thair landis; and gif zour king wse ony
 'wther privie means bot be his honest and wyse con-
 'sall in the goverment of his realme and his awin 20
 'body, he will not rax lang nor zeit haue his realme
 'in peace and rest. Thairfor schaw him, I nor hie
 'nor nane wther king may be raknitt be² our consall
 'to do ony gode act or to govern our realme in
 'peace and rest for manteining of our common weil 25
 'and preservatioun of our awin bodyis.' Be this the
 king had endit his speiche³ he sat down and the
 bischope to the consall quhair⁴ all matteris war drest
 and ane goode ansuer gevin to the bischope concern-
 ing his commissieoun. Bot he was not haistalie de- 30
 liuerit at that tyme bot remanit in Ingland the space
 of ane quarter of ane zeir, and efter this the bischope

¹ B has "reweill."² *I.e.*, without.³ I differs here, placing the incident at a later date under different circumstances. Dalzell gives the same version as A.⁴ Dalzell. A reads "how."

com hame and schew the king the maner and how
 he had spede in this commissioun tuching my lord of
 Angus and the Douglassis and saw the king of Ingland
 sa gine to intertein thame that the king tuik ane greit
 5 suspitioun of thame and of thair faworaris that was in
 Scotland for the tyme. And spetiall for Drumlainrick
 witht wther of the surname of the Douglassis.

THE XXIII CHAPTER.

Hou the lady glames was brunt. The maister of forbes iustifeit.
 Ane combat betuixe the laird of drumlenrieg and the laird of
 hempfeild. The burning of the wickar of dolor.

The lady Glames¹ quho was accussit at that tyme
 for crymes of leismaiestie, was convic thairof and
 10 brunt wpoun the castell hill of Edinburgh. And in
 that meane tyme the maister of Forbes was convict
 for the same treassoun and iustiefieit, quho confessit
 quhene he dieit he was innocent off the cryme quhill
 they layit to his charge and accussit of, bot he knew
 15 weill it was the innocent slaughter of the laird of
 Meldrum that caussit him to die that deid and nocht
 for treassone committit aganis the kingis grace. Sone
 efter this thair was ane combatt of singular battell betuix
 the laird of Drumlanrick² and the laird of Hemsfeild³
 20 quho provockit wther in barras⁴ to fight to deid ffor
 certane poyntis of treassone was rehearssit betuix thame
 tua. Bot quhene the day was sett and they compeirit
 at Edinburgh in the barras baith inairmeit at all pairtis,⁵
 Drumlanrick being sum thing sand blind and saw nocht
 25 weill and straik so furieouslie and so heat at his
 marrow, quhill he knew⁶ quhither he hat him or

How the
 lady Glames
 was brunt.

How the
 maister of
 Forbes was
 iustiefieit.
 Fol. 118 a.

Ane singular
 combatt be-
 tuix the
 laird of
 Drumlanrick
 and the laird
 of Hems-
 feild.

¹ See Notes as to Lady Glamis and the Master of Forbes.

² Sir James Douglas.

³ Sir Robert Charteris of Amisfeild.

⁴ *I.e.*, in the lists.

⁵ I has "peicis."

⁶ I has "nocht."

nocht; bot in the meane tyme the laird of Hemsfeild suord brak betuix his handis and then the king¹ gart cray to the heraldis and men of armes to red them and so they war stanchit and faught no more. And in lykwyse thair was money southland men that appeillit wther 5 in barras² to fight in singular battell³ to the deid for certane crymes of leishmaiestie.

The burning
of the wicar
of Dollour.

Ffarder, in this zeir thair was certane godlie men quho professit the evangell of Christ was callit and accussit befor the bischopes and kirkmen and was con- 10 demtt and brunt be the kingis commissioun at Edinburgh the zeir of god I^m v^e and xx⁴ zeiris, the names of thame to wit, the wickar of Dollour Mr Normand Gowrlay, Dawid Strattoun ane brother of the laird of Lowrinstoun. The accusatioun of the wicar of Dollour and the artickellis 15 thair of containd these heides as efter followis, that is to say, Mr Johnne Lauder rede the artickillis, sayand in this maner, 'Fallis arratick, thow sayis it is nocht 'lesum to kirkmen to tak their teindis offringis and 'croce presentis, thocht we haue bene in wse of the 20 'samin constitut and [ordanit be]⁵ the kirk, our kingis 'and our hollie father the pope hes confirmed the 'samin.' The wicar of Dollour ansuerit sayand, 'Brother 'I said nocht so bot I say it is not lesum to kirkmen to 'spend the teindis and the patromeney of the kirk as 25 'they do on harlattis and houris and deliecat clething, 'ryottous bancating and wantoun playing at cairttis and 'dice, and the kirk rewin and the pullpit down and the

Fol. 118 b.

¹ Dalzell inserts "on the castle wall," a mistake. See Notes.

² I inserts "befoir the kingis grace." "Barras" = lists.

³ Freebairn reads "for ane singular combat."

⁴ I has "xxix." The true dates are February 1539, when Thomas Forret, Vicar of Dollar, was burnt, and August 1534 when Galloway and Strattoun were burnt. Galloway is called Gowrlay by Knox (Hist. of Reform., i. 58), but Dalzell in his edition has by mistake Galloway, and so also has Freebairn. See Notes.

⁵ I. A has "order of."

'pepill nocht instructit in godis word, nor the sacra-
 'mentis trewlie ministrat to thame as the scriptour of
 'Christ commandis.' The accusser ansuerit, 'Denyis
 'thow that thing that is oppinlie knawin in the contrie
 5 'that thow gaif againe to the parochinaris the kow and
 'the wmost cloth, sayand, thow had no ressonne into
 'thame.' The wicar ansuerit and said, 'I gaif thame
 'againne to them that had mair mister¹ of thame nor
 'I had.' The accusar says, 'Arratick, thow teichit
 10 'and leirnit all thai parochinnaris to pray into god
 'the primer in Inglische,² and the ten commandis,
 'quhilk is contrair to our actis; sall the common pepill
 'knew ony pairt or poynt of the scriptour of god in
 'Inglische nor ony pairt of the scriptour sould be rede
 15 'in Inglishe nor na buikis conterfitt thairwpoun sould
 'be wssit in Inglische.' The wicar ansuerit and said,
 'Brother, my parochinaris and congregatioun was so
 'rude and barbarus that they understud na latin, that
 'it was forst to me on my conscience to teiche and
 20 'learne thame the wordis of thair sallwatioun in
 'Inglische, that is to say, the ten commandis quhilk
 'is the law of god quhairby they myght know thair
 'sinns, and repent and forbeir the same in tymes coming;
 'and also the beleif quhair they might know thair faith
 25 'into god and Jessus Christ his sone and the hollie
 'gost, death and resurrectioun and everlasting lyfe throw
 'Jesus Christ. Fforder I teichit thame the dominicall
 'wrisoun quhilk we call the Lordis prayer in thair awin
 'mother tounge to that effect that they might know and
 30 'wnderstand quhom to pray [to]³ and in quhose name
 'they sould pray, quhat they sould desyre or aske in
 'thair prayer and quhat hope they sould haue in obten-
 'ing of the samin.' The accusar ansuerit, 'Arratick,

Fol. 119 a.

¹ "Mister"—*i.e.*, need. See Glossary.

² I adds, "the paternoster in inglis and alsua teichit thame the belief in inglis," &c.

³ I inserts.

'quhy did thou by¹ our actis and constitutionis and
 'the ordour and commandement of our hollie father the
 'pope and all the Catholick kirk.' The wickar ansuerit,
 'werelie brother, I awow² the ordour and commande-
 'ment of our maister and sawieour Jesus Christ and his 5
 'apostill Paull quho schawis his doctrin into the Cor-
 'rintheans in the 14 chapter, sayand, I had leiffar speik
 'fyue wordis to the wnderstanding and ediefecatioun
 'of the pepill nor ten thousand wordis in ane langage
 'quhilk they wnderstand nocht nor is nocht ediefieit 10
 'thairwitht.' The accussar ansuerit and said, 'Fallis
 'Arratick quhair findis thou that.' The wickar ansuerit,
 'Brother, in my book quhilk is heir in my slef.' The
 accussar start to him and pullit the booke out of his
 sleif and held it wpe and schew it to the pepill, sayand, 15
 'Se the Arratick, he hes the booke hudin in his sleif,
 'se lo it is heir that makis all this ple and commer
 'in the hollie kirk and amang the prelattis thairrof.' The
 wickar ansuerit, 'Brother, ye culd say better and ze
 'pleissit bot god forgiue zow that callis our names³ the 20
 'trew scriptour of god to be the booke of arracie'; and
 witht this turnit him to the pepill and said wnto thame,—
 'My deir bretherin and hartlie freindis, beleif nocht this
 'wickit man that callis this booke arracie ffor I assure
 'zow thair is nathing in this buike bot the latter will and 25
 'testament of our maister and sawieour Christ Jesus
 'writin be his foure evangellistis to our leirning and
 'instructioun for our sallwatioun in Christ.' The accussar
 ansuerit, 'Arratick thou can nocht deny bot the new
 'testament in Inglische is contrair to our actis and 30
 'forbidin be the pope and is anewch to burne the thief.'
 Fol. 110 A. Than the consall of the clargie gaif sentance wpoun
 him to be bruntt for the wssing of the samin book, the
 new testament in Inglische. And in lykewyse they con-

¹ "By"—i.e., contrary to.

² I has "follow."

³ "Our names"—overnames—i.e., nicknames.

demnitt Dawid Strattoun because he wald nocht abiure
 and burne his faggat; the quhilk the king desyrit him
 greatlie for to do, and procurit for his lyfe at the bischopis
 handis quho was contentit to gif him the samin, to witt,
 5 his lyfe sa that he wald burne his faggat, quhilk he wald
 nocht consent to do and thairfoir they brunt him. I
 know no cause quhairfoir bot that he discordit witht his
 persone ffor wnpayment of his teindis; and in lyke wayse,
 Mr Normond Galloway was condemnit and brunt, I
 10 knaw no cause quhairfoir bot because he was in the
 eistland¹ and cam hame and mariet ane wyfe contrair to
 our actis, because he was ane preist. Ffor they wald
 thoill no preistis to marrie bot they wald punische and
 burne him to the deid, bot gif he had wssit ten² thowsand
 15 huris he wald nocht haue been brunt.

THE XXIIII CHAPTER.

Hou the king wardit certaine gret men of the border. Certain
 lordis and gentillmen banisst. Hou the king send to den-
 mark for gret hors and meiris. Hou the king send ambassa-
 douris to the duik of Wandoune. Hou the king was boune
 to france and hou he returnit againe.

³This being done the king passit to the Iillis⁴ and
 thair held courttis of iustice and punischit baitht theif
 and tratour according to thair demerittis. And also he
 caussit the great men⁵ to schaw thair haldingis quhair
 20 throw he fand money of the saidis landis in non entrie,
 the quhilk he confiscat and brocht thame to his awin

How the
 king past to
 the yillis.

¹ "Eistland"—*i.e.*, Scandinavia. Cf. "Eistland boards." See Glossary.

² Dalzell has "ane."

³ I places this journey to the Isles after the death of Queen Magdalen, which is right. The true date appears to have been 1539.

⁴ I has "with ane gret navie."

⁵ I has "deniwassellis"—*i.e.*, duniwassals = gentlemen. See Glossary. "To schaw thair haldingis" = to produce their titles. See Notes.

wse and efterward annexit thame to the croune :
 sall heir ; and syne brocht [them]¹ hame [witht] m
 of the great men of yillis captiue witht him, sic as
 clode and Maklane of the Lewis, Makconell, Mak
 Malcumtosche, Johnne Mullzalt, Makky and Mak
 zie,² witht money wtheris I cane not rehearse at
 tyme. Sum of thame he pat in waird and sum in
 court and sum he tuik pledgis for goode rulle in t
 cumming, so he brocht the yillis baitht northt and s
 in goode reull and peace quhair throw he had g
 profite seruice and obedience of the pepill. And
 tyme efterhend and allis lang as he had the heidi
 the contrie in subiection they leiffit in great peace
 rest and had great richis and pollacie in the contrie
 the kingis iustice. The king sieand that he had d
 tonitt the northt cuntrie and the yillis thair of to
 effect and purpois, quhair throw thair was peace
 rest and he had great profite of the samin and
 be the taking of the heidis men of the contrie
 putting of them in waird quhair throw he had g
 loue to the commons because they had peace
 rest in his tyme, the king reioyssit. Quhene he
 brocht the wyld hieland and the yillis to this stabili
 and perfectioun of peace and rest he kaist him also w
 all the ingyne he might to bring the southland and
 bordararis of Scotland to the same stabilietie and
 fection lyke as he had done befoir in the yillis ;
 that effect chargit certaine of the greit men of the So

Fol. 20 a.

¹ I omits words in brackets.

² I has "Makgloyd, Crutok M'gloyd of the Lewis, M'Co
 M'clene, Malcumtosh, Johnne Mudroyd, Makky and M'kein
 Dalzell's reading is corrupt as to these names, the last of which
 makes "Macinlucifer." "Mullzalt" in the text, and "Mudro
 in I, is John of Moydart, who was a Macdonald. The other na
 though misspelt, are sufficiently intelligible.

³ I has "be the kingis guid ordour and gydment and als," &c

⁴ I places the passage in brackets immediately after the Vica
 Dollar's trial.

land and bordaris forsaide to enter in waird in the castell
of Edinburgh, Blaknes and Dumbartane, thair to re-
maine during his plesour; to wit, the laird of Ballcleuch
was wardit in the castell of Edinburgh, the laird of
5 Johnnstoun and Marke Kar wairdit in Dindie, witht
money wther gentillmen of the bordaris. He wairdit
thame because he knew weill they war the breakeris
of peace and nothing was done be the commons bot
be thame and thair avyce and command quhairthrow
10 thair was great reif and heirscheip in the contrie be thir
saidis heidis men alledgeand it to be the commons of
the contrie. Bot fre tyme thai wer taine thame selffis
and put in captiuetie as I haue schawin to zow, thair-
after thair was great peace and rest ane lang tyme
15 quhair throw the king had great proffeit, of the quhilk
he had ten thowsand scheip gangand into Ettrick forrest
all in keiping be ane Androw Bell, quho maid the king
goode compt of thame as thay had gaine in the boundis
of Fyfe.] In this meane tyme thair was certane lordis
20 and gentillmen banischit out of the contrie for certane
crymes of leise-maiestie, to wit, the Earle of Bothwell,
the Maister of Simpill, the laird of Drumlanrick witht
wtheris diuerse.

How the
king chairgit
the great
men to waird
of the bor-
daris.

Certane
lordis and
gentillmen
banist.

Nocht lang efter this the king sieand the realme
25 standand in great peace and tranquillietie, reioyssit
greatlie at the samin, thinkand daylie that all thingis
sould increse mair and mair, to that effect gart send
to Denmerk and bring hame great horse and meiris,
and pat thame in parkis that thair ofspring might be
30 gottin to susteine the weiris in tyme of neid; and
also he send to Flanderis and France and brocht
hame artaillze, pulder and bullatis witht pickis and
harneis and all necessar ordienance ffor weir. And
also he appeirandlie plenischit the contrie witht all
35 kynd of craftismen out of wther countries, sic as
Frenchemen Spanzardis, Dutchemen and Inglischmen

Fol. 120 b.

How the
king send to
Denmerk for
great horse.

quhilk war all cuning craftismen ewerie man f
awin hand and craft as effeiris,—that is to say,
was gunnaris, cuning wryghtis and carweris,² pa
messouns, smythis, harneis makeris, tepestaris, br
staris,³ taillzouris, cuning surugenaris,⁴ pottingaris
all wther kynd of craftismen that might bring his
to pollicie and caussit the said craftismen to a
his pallaceis in all maner of operatioun and nec
according to his order and gaif thame large wagi
pensious thair of zeir lie. This being done, the
send his ambassadouris for marieage,⁵ to wit,
Johnne Cambell of Lundie,⁶ knyght, Schir
Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyoun harrott, quho was
ressawit with the empreour and honourable in
and greatlie rewardit ffor the king of Scottlandis
quhair thair was present into thame tuo fair
wemen quhilk war the empreouris sister douc
quhilk war plessant fair and guide lyk in bewti
fairnes and in all the rest of thair behawieouris.
the quhilk cause the ambassadouris brocht hame
pictouris into the kingis grace of Scotland and pre
the samin into him. How he was content thairw
can not tell, bot the marage proceidit no forther, b
king thairefter send to France certane wther am
douris for marieage of the Duik of Wandoun,⁷ t
the lord Erskin and Schir Dawid Lyndsay of the M
Lyoun harrott,⁸ quho war weill resawit and inter
into France be the Duik of Wandoun and his Du
and also be his douchteris and gat all thingis gran

How the
king send his
ambassa-
douris to the
empreour.

How the
king send
ambassa-
douris to the
Duik of
Wandoun.

¹ Dalzell omits the following description.

² I has "carpentaris."

³ "Broudinstaris" = embroiderers. See Glossary.

⁴ I has "chyrugioneris."

⁵ The date of the embassy appears to have been 1533. See

⁶ B has "Loudoun."

⁷ "Wandoun"—i.e., Vendome.

⁸ B has "the Cardinal," and omits "Lindsay." The date
embassy appears to have been 1534. See Notes.

- them that they desyrit in the king of Scottlandis name concerning his marieage. Bot zeit they had no commissioun to end quhill the king saw the gentillwoman himself, and thairfoir sune efter, the kingis grace seand
- 5 his realme in good rest and peace, he draist him haistalie and bunde to France in the moneth of [August 1535]¹ and inbarkit himself and pullit wpe saillis and saillit thrie dayis and thrie nichtis quhill he was withtin ane dayis journey to France. Bot how it hapnit I can not
- 10 tell, he haistalie returnit bak againe to Scotland, be quhat occatioun I cannot tell. Sum sayis thair was gentillmen and lordis in his companie that desyrit him not to pase to France at that tyme ffor marieage, ffor thai thocht thay had lever had mareit him at hame
- 15 in Scotland witht sic as they faworit. To that effect quhene the king was sleipand, they caussit the skiper of the scheipe to change his curse and come hamewart again to Scotland. Bot quhene the king awakit out of his sleipe and knew that his curse was changit
- 20 quhair he was boun, he was grevouslie offendit at all them that gaif consall thair into and spetiall into the skiper of the schipe quho chaingit his course and turnit againe by² the kingis command; and had [nocht]¹ bene the more solistatioun and means was maid for him, the
- 25 king had gart hang him incontinent. Bot because he had pettie and compassioun on his³ wyfe and bairnes he gave him grace at that tyme, bot he come newer in his fawour againe nor few of thame that caussit him or that gaif him consall to turne sail. The king sieand
- 30 that thair was no remedy bot he behovit to turne in Scotland againe, he gart land him at the narrest pairt of the wast yillis of Scotland, and syne come to Rose of Bute his awin castell quhair he remanit quhill he gat horse and men to convoy him hame to the castell of

Fol. 121 a.

How the king was bound to France.

How the king reteirit.

¹ I inserts.² "By"—*i.e.*, contrary to.³ I has "thair wyffis," &c.

Stirling, quhair he remanit for ane certane space quhill his schipe came about to the firtht and remanit in the Raid of Leytht quhill the king was provydit to pase fordwart againe to France.

THE XXV CHAPTER.

Hou the king assemblit his Counsall. Hou the king was boun to pass to france. Hou the Empreoure fled quhan he hard of the king of Scotland coming. Hou the king passit to parreis to the duik of Wandoune. Hou the duik of Wandounes dochter tuk the king of Scotland be the hand and quhat scho said to him. Quhat pastyme was maid to the king of Scotland.

How the
king assem-
bellit his
counsall.
Fol. 121 b.

The king beand bowne to france againe as I have 5
schowin zow he assemblit his consall schawand to
thame how he was frustrat and put abak from his
wovage and passand to France as ffor said, be ewill
advyssit persouns quhilk at that tyme he wald not ex-
preme, bot he wowit singullarlie gif he had lyfe and 10
dayis¹ he sould recompence them quho was the hin-
deraris of his iournay according to thair labouris and
counsall. Nocht-witht-standing he gart incontient pro-
vyde schipis, men, wictuallis and artaillze and the best
skiperis and marinaris that could be gottin wpoun the 15
cost of Scotland to pase² in the said schipis witht him
againe to France and caussit money of the nobelietie of
Scotland to mak thame redy to pase witht him withtin
ane certane day;³ to wit, the earle of Arrane, the earle
of Argyle, the earle of Huntlie, the earle of Atholl, the 20
lord Maxwell, the lord Fleming, the lord Levingstoun,
the lord Ruthven, the lord Saltoun, the earle of Cassellis,

¹ I has "lyfdayis."

² I has "to Kirkcaldie reid to the said schippes"—*i.e.*, to the roadstead of Kirkcaldy, &c.

³ I inserts "To wit sum to keip the realme in ordour and iustice to his hamecuming and sum to pas with him, to wit," &c.

the earle Marchell, the earle of Murray, the earle of
 Rothes, the maister of Erskin, ffor the lord his father
 was thair beffoir in ambassadrie and the cardinall witht
 him; also thair was money barrouns and gentillmen
 5 past witht the king at this tyme, quhilk I neid nocht
 to rehearse.¹

As sune as the king had prepairit him self and his
 schipis he passit to Pettinvem² and thair inbarkit him-
 self and his nobillis the xx day of the moneth of [Sep-
 10 tember I^m v^c xxxvi]³ syne pullit wpe saillis and passit ford-
 wart to France quhair he aryuit at the new heavin besyde
 Depe the xxvj⁴ day of the moneth forsaide. Alis sone
 as the Frenchemen saw the king of Scotland and his
 navie aprochand neir the land, they beleiffit thay had
 15 bene strangeris or wnfreindis quhilk caussit thame to be
 greatlie effrayit because thair was money wther strangeris
 in his companie quhilk seimett to him to be ane greit
 airme, quhilk [maid]⁵ tham all to be agast in the New
 hevin. Bot fre tyme they saw the reid Lyoun of Scott-
 20 land they knew weill it was the kingis grace thair of thai
 war werie reioyssit of his coming ffor they hard word
 and knew suirlie that he was to come. Thairfor the
 word sprang throw the contrie that the king of Scotland
 was landit in the new hewin witht ane great airme. The
 25 quhilk nowellis past hestallie to the empreouris camp
 quhair it was lyand for the tyme to wit at [Caleis]⁶ to
 the number of iiij^{xx} thowsand feghtand men aganis the
 king of France quhois lutennent was lyand forment him
 in campt of battell in lyke maner to the nimber of iiij^{xx}
 30 thowsand men quho daylie [war]⁸ skarmisching togither;
 quhill at last the nowellis past to the empreour that the

How the
 [king] again
 past in
 France.

Fol. 122 a.

¹ I adds, "bot few of thir past in france for danger of the realme
 and invasioun of enimes bot gat licence to byd still to the kingis
 hamecuming."

² I has "Kirkcaldie."

⁴ I has "vij," but means probably "xxviii."

³ I inserts.

⁵ B inserts.

How the
empreour
sed quhene
he hard tell
of the king
of Scotland.

king of Scotland was landit at the new hevin be
Depe witht ane great airme to the nimer of xx M
and to support the king of France contrair the empr
The empreour heirand thir tydingis tuik sic feir o
king of Scottlandis coming that he tuike wpe his c
and depairtit out of thae boundis and departid han
his awin cuntrie.

How the
king past to
Parise and
out of it to
the Duik of
Wandoun.

This beand done, the king of Scotland landit hi
and his nobillis and thairefter tuik the post to F
quhair he remanit schort quhill, quhill ¹ he passit to
Duke of Wandone to his place quhair he was rema
for the tyme. Bot the king of Scotland wald not s
himself oppinlie at that tyme, but dissaguissit him
had bene ane servand, thinkand he sould be wnk
ether be the Duik or his wyffe [or to] ² the gentillw
quho sould haue ben his wyfe, thinkand that he
spy her fairnes ³ and behawieour and be wnknawin
or of hir father. Zeit nochtwithstanding the fair
tuik suspitioun that the king of Scotland sould l
thair companie, quhairfor scho passit to hir coffer
tuik out his pictour quhilk scho had gottin out of S
land befor be hir moyans and allis sune as scho
to the said pictour scho knew the king incont

How the
Duik of
Wandouns
douchter
tuik the
king be the
hand.

Fol. 122 b.

quhair he stude amangis the rest of his companie,
past pairtlie to him and tuik him be the hand and
' Schir, ze stand ower far assyde, thairfor gif it pleis
' grace ffor zour pastyme or plesour to talk witht n
' my father as ze think goode ffor to put off the tym
' zour plesour.' The king heirand this was a l
eschameit that he had dissagyssit him self to be
knawin and syne was so hastallie knawin be the me
of that gentillvoman. Zeit the kingis grace sieand
he was knawin then oppinlie be thame all, he passi
the Duik of Wandoun and tuik him in his armes
the Duik againe maid him dew reverence as effeirit

¹ "Quhill"—i.e., until.

² I inserts.

³ I has "pulchritu

- ane prince, quha was greatlie reioyssit at the kingis presentis,¹ and so was all the rest of the Duikis companie. And than the king passit to the Dutchis, the Duikis wyffe and imbraceit and kissit hir and so did he to the
- 5 Dutches douchter and to all the rest of the ladyis, and syne excussit him quhy he was so lang wknawin wnto thame, desyrand thair pardone, thairfor he was forgevin and brocht in thair favour. Then thair was nothing bot mirrienes, bancatting and great cheir and lustie com-
- 10 moning betuix the kingis grace and ladyis witht great musick and playing on instrumentis and tryme danceing be the sound of instrumentis² playand melodiouslie witht gallzart dancing in messerie³ and prattie frassis⁴ and pleyis; all war maid into the king of Scottlandis
- 15 plesour, and all wther pastyme as iusting and rynning of great horse, witht all wther plesour that could be devyssit to be had according to ane king. Thair was maid be the Duik of Wandoun ane fair palice royall witht all costlie ornamentis and apperall quhilk was
- 20 according, to decoir the kingis honour, to wit,—the wallis thairof hung witht tapistrie of claith of gould and [fyne] silk, the floure layd ower with fyne silk,⁵ the bed hung witht Frinche claith of gould, and also ane pail of gould sett witht pratious stouns sett abone
- 25 the kingis heid quhene he sat at meit, and the hallis and challmeris was all perfumit witht sueit odouris quhilk was werie costlie and delictabill to the sence of men. Thair was no thing left be the Duik of Wandoun that might be done to the king off Scottlandis honour.

Quhat pastyme was maid to the king of Scotland be the Duik of Wandoun.

¹ I has "presence."

² I here inserts, "That is to say trumpatis schalmes luttis and viols virginallis or pinattis and all vther kynd of instrumentis." "Pinattis"—*i.e.*, "pinalds" or "spinettes." See James Melville's *Diary and Glossary*.

³ I has "maistrie" or "maskrie." Freebairn reads "masks."

⁴ I has "pheirsis" = farces.

⁵ I has "fyn frise"—*i.e.*, freize.

THE XXVI CHAPTER.

Mony talkins gevin betuix the king of Scotland and the wandounes dochter. Hou the king of Scotland passit king of france. Hou the dolphin of france was poyr. Hou the king of Scotland consentit to marie the france dochter. The king of Scotland solemnized.

Fol. 123 a.

Lufe talkins
gevin betuix
the king and
the Duik of
Wandounes
dochter.

This beand done the king of Scotland remanit the space of viij dayis in great ioy and mirrier baith the sydis; and money great talkins gevin taine be the said king of Scotland and the Du Wandounis douchter, to wit,¹ ringis tablattis, dayan rubieis sapheris witht money wther pretious iowell interchangit betuix ether of the said pairtieis, quhi to thair great confort and ioy on baith the sydis. the kingis grace and his consall thocht na thing marieage at that tyme quhill he had spokin witht king of France, considdering that he was in his re he thocht he wald schaw him his mynd and ha consall thairinto or he concludit ony forther in matter.

How the
king of
Scotland
past to the
king of
France.

Thairfor the king tuik porpois to pase hastalie king of France quhair he was for the tyme, and him all humanitie and reverence that he could do the lufe betuix the realmes, that is to say France Scotland in tymes bypast and also presentlie. 7 for the king hastalie tuik the post and bot ane few ber witht him and past quhair the king of France 1 that tyme at his plesour at huntting and halking wther pastymeis, sic as he thocht meit for him, ac panit witht the quens grace his wyfe and money w lustie ladyis, witht his awin dochter; and his e sone, witht money wther lord and barroun of Fra

¹ I inserts "cheinzeis."

was thair witht the king in his companie ffor plesour of
 the huntting and to do the king seruice. Bot quhene
 thay hard tell and saw the king of Scotland come in
 proper persone in thair presentis thai war all greatlie
 5 reioyssit and marwellit mekill of the king of Scottlandis
 comming throw the sie takand sic eventur, considiring
 the broknes¹ of the sieis and the enemes great on
 ewerie syde. Also they marweled of his great deliegence
 taking the post and comming so haistalie in to them,
 10 taking feir of no thing that might happin ffor the tyme.
 Nochtwithtstanding allis sounne as the Dollphin of
 France saw the king of Scotland he rane into him and
 gat him in his armes and willcommit him werie fawor-
 ablie, and schew him that his fater wald be merwellois
 15 blytht and reioyssit of his comming, considering how it
 stude witht him at that tyme. Ffor ane littill befor the
 Duike of Orlience his eldest sone, quho was Dollphin at
 that tyme was pussonit in the chapell² he ane Italiane,
 quhilke maid the king of France to be werie sad and
 20 dolorous; bot the comming of the king of Scotland gaif
 him sic confort that he forgat the melancollie in tymes
 comming as ze sall heir efterwart. Bot the king of
 France was in his challmer takand rest and efternoneis
 sleip, and knew not the king of Scottlandis haistie com-
 25 ming quhairfor the king of Scotland and the Dollphin
 went to the kingis challmer doore and knokit prudlie³
 thair at. The king inquiryt quho it was that knokit so
 fast till inquiryt him fre his rest. The Dollphin ansuerit,
 'it is the king of Scotland come to sie zour grace and to
 30 'gif zow confort.' The king of France heirand thir wordis
 he braid⁴ frome his bede and oppnit the challmer doore
 and ressawit the king of Scotland in his armes, thank-
 and god of his great beniefeitis. Thocht ane⁵ had taine

Fol. 123 b.

How the
 Dollphin of
 France was
 pussonit.

¹ I has "brukilnes."

² I has "cachpull." See Notes.

³ I has "rudlie."

⁴ I has "bownit."

⁵ I has "he" instead of "ane."

and some from him lairlike befor, zeit he gaif him
 charies for the sending of that nobill prince to be his
 some and expand him in lufe and favour so ferventlie
 as he had bene his awin naturall some gotten of his
 body and commandit the Doulphin his soune to wait 5
 wpon him and intertein him as his awin brother and
 sie that name of his servanis that come with him bot
 that thai war treit and weill intertein according to
 thair estait. Bot the king tarieit no langer thair bot
 gart sound his trumpitis and all men to horse, and also 10
 gart get fresche horse to the king of Scotland because
 he raiid hither on postis, and that night the king come to
 ane palace of his awin and remanit thair all night. Bot
 zeit in this meane tyme the king of Scotland did his
 dew reverence into the quen of France and hir ladyis, 15
 and in speiall to the kingis dochter Magdallan, quho
 was rydand in ane charrott because scho was seiklie and
 evell dispossit. scho might nocht ryd on horse. Zeit
 nochtwithstanding all hir seiknes and melodie,¹ fre
 tyme scho saw the king of Scotland and spak witht him 20
 scho became so inamorit witht him and lufft him so
 that scho wald have no man on lyffe bot him aillanerlie,
 quhair of the consail of France and Scotland baith
 lykit nothing thair of ffor they war certiffieit be the
 doctouris medicianaris that no successioun wald come of 25
 hir body be resson of hir lang seiknes and melodie¹ and
 that scho was nocht abill to traveil out of that contrie to
 no wther, and gif scho did scho wald not have lang
 dayis thair into. Zeit nochtwithstanding, the ardant
 luffe that this gentillwoman buire to the king of Scott- 30
 land caussit hir father the king of France to consent
 into hir marieage witht the king of Scotland and to the
 effect desyrit the king of Scotland to the samin quho
 consentit thairto hastelie ffor the luffe that he bure to

Fol. 124 a.

¹ I has "malice," but the word should be malady or "malaise."
 See Glossary.

the king of France. And also he knew thair was great
 profeit freindschip and aly¹ to be gottin at the king of
 Frances hand; and syne the gentillwoman being his
 eldest douchter it was not goode for him to refuse that
 5 honourabill offer of the king of France to haue his
 eldest douchter in marieage witht quhat profeit and
 plesour that he desyrit witht hir. Thir motiues and
 wther ma provockit the king of Scotland se² that he
 consentit to the marieag of Magdallen the kingis eldest
 10 dochter quhill efterwart he come to Paries was triumph-
 antlie solmnizet in that forsaid cietie witht ioy and plesour
 as efter followis, that is to say, the king and consall of
 France on the ane pairt and the king of Scotland and
 the maist pairt of his nobelietie on the wther pairt in
 15 maner forme and effect as efter follows.³

How the
 king of
 Scotland
 consentit to
 marie the
 king of
 France
 douchter.

The king of
 Scotland
 solemnized.

THE XXVII CHAPTER.

The conditioun betuix the king of france and the king of Scot-
 land. Hou the king of Scotland send for certane of the
 lordis and barronis out of Scotland. The king of Scotlandis
 marieage. Hou the king of Scotland desyrid to pas ham
 and quhat provision the king of france maid to pas into
 him.

Now the mariaige beand aggreit in this maner and
 the bandis made, that is to say, the king of Scotland
 sould marie and tak to wyffe in presentis of god and
 in the face of this hollie kirk, Magdallen the king
 20 of Franceis eldest dochter and luffe hir and intreit hir
 according to hir estait and the nobill prince quhom
 scho was comed of, and gif hir sic honourabill stait
 of leving and landis in coniunct fie according to hir
 degrie and estait. And also the band of peace con-

The con-
 ditioun be-
 tuix the king
 of Scotland
 and the king
 of France.

¹ Alliance.

² "Se"—*i.e.*, so.

³ I has "as ze sall here in the chapter following, that is to say."

Fol. 124 b.

How the
king send
for his lordis
and barrouns
out of Scot-
land.

tractit witht France to be renewit againe be thair kingis to indure and stand for ewer lyk as it was contractit be thair predecessouris befor. And for this cause of marieage and wther good caussilufe that the king of France bure to the king of Scotland he sould content and pay to him withtin zeir day heirefter the sowme of ane hunder thowsand crowns of the sone,¹ together witht all wther kynd off all nobis and plesouris and desyris, quhat the king of Scotland wald desyre him witht all. This contract principall heidis heirof was formitt in this maner haue schawin to zou. Heirefter the king of Scotland send for mony of his lordis and barrouns of Scotland to come to him to France to do him honour in solemnizeing of his marieaig and to compeir at Paris at the day appoyntit to the said marieage in thair array ffor the honour of Scotland and as they do him spetiall plesour and seruice. Thir lettres writtin be the king of Scotland at Paris the xvj of the moneth in the zeir of god I^m v^c xx.² Thir letters being sen be the lordis of Scotland baitht sperie and temporall, quho was weill content and reioysed the samin and was content to obey the kingis and thair maister at all poyntis as he had writin, and to do them all redy, quhene he had writtin,³ for to pass him incontenent in thair best array and conform thair estait. The number was that past, sex earls, sex lordis, sex bischopis, xx great barrouns quho maist fameliar witht the king at that tyme. So all depairtit out of Scotland and maid thame to France againe the day appoyntit for the kingis marieage, quhene they come to France, to wit, in Paris qu

¹ Crowns of the Sun. See Notes.

² I gives no day or month, but the year 1526. The date of marriage was 1st January 1537.

³ I has "quhom he had wreittin for."

the king was, they war thankfullie ressawit and hartlie
willcome to the king of France and the consall thairof
and weill intertenit according to thair estaitis; and also
the king of Scotland thair maister was richt reioyssit
5 of the samin seand his nobillis so obedient to do
him honour and seruice to his great plesour and
adwancement.

This being done, inmedeatlie the marieage was
solemnizett at Paries in Noterdames kirk at the houre of
10 ten befor [none] witht the king of France and quen and
thair douchter and consall and all the haill nobilietie
on the ane pairt, the king of Scotland and his consall
and nobilietie on the wther pairt, quhilk was sic ane
great multietud on baitht the sydis that it was cummer
15 and allso tedieous to rehearse. For thair was never
so great solemnitie and triumphe sen in France in ane
day as was then sen the tyme of King Chairllis the
Maine; ffor thair was sic iusting and tornamentis
baitht on horse and on fute and in burght and land
20 and also wpoun the sie in schipis and so mekill artaillze
sett in all pairtis of France baitht on the land and on
the sie and also in castellis and touns and willagies
that no man might heir for the reird of thame. And
also the pairtieis¹ bankcating, deliecat and² costlie
25 triumph and playis and feistis³ witht pleasand sound
of instrumentis of all kynd and also cuning carweris⁴
haueand the art of igramansie to 'cause thingis to appeir
quhilk was⁵ as flieand dragounss in the air schot fyre
at ether heids,⁶ great reveris of watteris rynand throw
30 the toun and schipis⁷ fyghtand thairwpon as it had

The king of
Scotlandis
marieage.

Fol. 125 a.

¹ I has "royatus."

² I has "delicat cleithing."

³ I has "pheirsis."

⁴ I has "carieris." The copyists have missed the right word,
perhaps "conjurers," as "igramansie" is a common mistake for
"negromansy," a corruption of necromancy. See Glossary.

⁵ "Nocht" written and then deleted.

⁶ I has "schuttand fyre at bayth thair endis."

⁷ I has "and men."

bene the bullring stremes of the [sie] witht schutting
 of gouns lyk crakis of thunder; and thir wonderis was
 sen be the nobielietie and common pepill that was
 thair thocht they war maid be men of ingyne ffor the
 outsetting of thair treumph to do the king of Scot- 5
 land and the king of France thair maisteris plesour.
 [Amang many wailleant men of armes of france and
 vther natiounis thair war with the king of scotland
 twa brethir the ane the erle of lennox the vther namit
 lord darnlie his brother quha war nixt vnto the said 10
 royall prince estemit and reput the best of all thame
 that at this trymphe did rin the speir of the quhillk
 quhen the nobillis of scotland hard tell alsweill be wreit
 as be tounge, thay wer all not a littill reioysed sieing
 that the king thair awin prince was so hichlie prayed 15
 and estemit amang so mony nobill princeis and strangeris
 with the saidis twa zoung nobillmen his hienes tendar
 cousingis.]¹ Quhene all this trieumph was done and
 endit a lytill quhill heirefter the king of Scotland desyrit
 to pase hame to his awin contrie witht his quene 20
 Magdalene, the king of Franceis eldest douchter, witht
 the rest of his lordis and nobilietie that was witht him.
 The king of France sieand this that the king of Scott-
 land his sone in law and his douchter Magdallen
 wald depairt hame to thair awin contrie, the king of 25
 France gart incontenent prepair schips and gallayis
 witht wictuallis and artaillze and also skiperis and
 marienaris and captanes witht bandis of men of weir
 to squyre² the king of Scotland his sone and his
 douchter throw the sie that they war saiflie convoyit 30
 and preseruit be thame quhill they come in thair awin
 contrie; and also he gart prepair tua great scheipis
 witht cannons collveringis, myans and doubill falcouns,

¹ The passage in brackets is from I.

² I has "convoy."

singill falcouns and hagbuttis of fund,¹ corsebowis² and half-hagbuttis of found, witht all kynd of wther ordynance witht thair pulder and bullat, and all maner of wapouns ordanitt for weir. Quhene thir schipis war
 5 all preparit and ordainit, as I haue schawin beffoir, Fol. 125 b.
 the king of France presentit thame to the king of Scotland and gaif thaim him to wse as he thocht goode, quhilk remanit lang tyme in Scotland heirefter. Then of thir tuo schipis to witt the ane was callit
 10 the Salamander the wther callit the Morsewer. The king of Scotland had tuo of his awin at that tyme, the on callit the Mariegull³ and the wther the great lyoun quhilk war tuo lustie schipis for weir. Thir foure [schippis and] wther mar⁴ greit schipis of France was
 15 ordanitt to conwoy the king of Scotland and the quen throw the sies.

THE XXVIII CHAPTER.

Quhat propynes the king of france gaue to the king of Scotland and also to his dochter the quein. Hou the king imbarcat and come in Scotland. The death of Magdallen the king of Scotlandis wyf. The death of the duik of wandomes dochter.

This being done, the king of France caussit his maister stabillaris to pase to his cwrie⁵ quhair his great horse was and waill ane dowssane of the best of them
 20 witht all bairding and wther apparell and presentit thame to the king of Scotland. Fforder he gart his maister of airmour to pase quhair his harneis was and gart cheise out money standis of harneise that was dowbill ower gilt and gaif into his sone the king of Scotland.

¹ I inserts "batteris." "Fund" or "farnd" = metal.

² I adds "handbowis and half haggis."

³ I has "Mariwillebie"—*i.e.*, Mary Willoughby.

⁴ "Wroght witht" deleted. ⁵ "Curie"—*i.e.*, the stable court.

Quhat abull-
zementis the
king of
France gaif
his douchter.

In lyke maner quhene this was done he callit on his douchter Magdallen the quen of Scotland and caussit hir to pase to his wardrope witht hir gentillwemen and ladyis, and the maister of the wardrope witht his command, and tak hir quhat staikis¹ hir of claith of gould, welwete, sataine and dameis witht taffatieis and wther silkis to make hir abullzementis as scho pleissit. And also commandit hir to tak quhat hingaris or tapistrie warkis and paillis of gould and sic, as scho pleissit, or ony wther iowellis that he had in his wardrope that scho pleissit; commandit all to be patent to hir, tak quhat scho wald. Syne he gaif hir great giftis of cheinzeis targattis² and tablattis and ringis witht rubeis [and] dyamondis witht sapheiris and ilk kynd of pretious stouns that was or might be gottin ffor gould or silluer, for sic substance was never sen in Scotland as this zoung quen brocht in it, ffor thair was never the lyke in no mans tyme in Scotland.

Fol. 126 a.

How the
king in-
barkat and
come in
Scotland.

All this beand done, the king of Scotland tuik his leif at the king of France and at the quene and at the haill court and nobilietie thair of and so did his quen Magdallen and hir ladyis; and all the rest of his nobilietie tuik thair leif in the samin maner witht great bonallayis³ drinking on ewerie syde. And this⁴ the king of Scotland depairtit out of France and fre the court and king thair of and come to the new hewin besyde Deip and thair remanit ane day or tua quhill the wind was fair; syne inbarkit in his navie and pullit wpe saillis and came stoutlie throw the pace⁵ of Calies and landit on the fyft day at the schoir of Leytth witht all his navie quhillk was to the number of lordis⁶ of frenchemen and

¹ "Staikis" = suits.

² "Targattis" — *i.e.*, tassels. See Glossary.

³ I has "bonalles." Fr. "bon allez," *i.e.*, parting cups. See Glossary.

⁴ "This" — *i.e.*, thus.

⁵ "Pace" — *i.e.*, pass or strait, the Pas de Calais.

⁶ I has "fyefte schippis of."

Scottis and wtheris strangeris that convoyit the king
 throw the sie. Be this the king landit on the schoir of
 Leytht, and so did his quen Magdallen, and quhene
 scho come on Scottis ground scho bowit and inclynnit
 5 hir self to the earth and tuik the mullis¹ thairof and
 kissit,² syne thankit god that he had saiffie brocht hir
 witht hir husband till thair awin contrie giueand him
 laude and gloir thairfor. Syne passit to the Abbay of
 Hallierudhouse to the kingis palice, and thair to remaine
 10 quhill hir treumph of hir entreis was maid, quhill was
 begun to provyd in all pairtis of Scotland, and spetiallie
 in Edinburgh, Leytht, Dindie, Breichin and Monros,³
 Aberdeine, Sanct Johnnstoun, Stirling, Glasgow and
 Air, Lythtgow and Sanctandrois and Cowper of Fife.
 15 Thir worthie and principall touns war commandit to
 mak provisioun and treumph ffor the quenis comming
 and hir ressait. Bot nevertheles, thair great ioy and
 mirrienes and treumph haistalie was all turnit in murning
 and dollour ffor displesour of the quen ffor scho de-
 20 pairtit that same day [xiii dayis]⁴ that scho landit; and
 thairfor all thair great blythnes and ioy of hir comming,
 phraissis⁵ and playis that sould haue bene maid to hir,
 war all turnit in saull messes and deriegies, quhair throw
 thair zeid sic murning throw the contrie and lamenta-
 25 tioun that it was great pettie for to heir; and also the
 kingis prievie and heavie meane that hir husband maid
 for hir was greater nor all the laif.

The death of
 Magdallen
 the king of
 Scotlandis
 wife.

Bot we will lat hir rest witht god and returne againe
 to France to the Duik of Wandouns dochter quho tuik
 30 sic displesour and melancollie for the king of Scotland
 that scho withtin schort quhill tuik seiknes and deit.

[In the zeir of god I^m v^c xxxviiij zeiris and the
 day of .] ⁶

¹ "Mullis"—*i.e.*, mould or earth.

² I inserts "thame."

³ I has "Monros"—*i.e.*, Montrose. A is corrupt.

⁴ I inserts.

⁵ "Phraissis"—*i.e.*, farces.

⁶ This addition in brackets, with the blanks, is from I.

THE XXIX CHAPTER.

Of the deploratioun of quein Magdalenis deith. Hou the king send
the ambassadouris for marieage of the duches of longawyll.
Hou the king passit with ane navie of schippes to the Ylleis
and for quhat purpois. Hou the king of Scotlandis wyf the
duches of Lorenis cum in Scotland. Hou the quein was ressaunt.
Hou the quein wisited the kirkis and colledges of Sanct-
androis.

- I, fol. 83 A. [1 O crwell death to gret is thy puissance
dewoirar of all eirthlie lowing thingis
Adame we may wyt of this mischance ²
In thy default this crwell tyrrane ringnes
and spairis nather empreour nor kingis 5
And now alaice hes reft furth of this land
The flour of france and comfort of Scotland.
- I, fol. 84 A. Ffather adame alaice that thow abusit
Thy frie will being inobedient
Thow cheisit death and lesting lyf refusit 10
Thy successioun alace that may repent
That thow hes maid mankynd so impotent
That it may mak to death no resistance
Exampill of ane quein the flour of france
- O dreidfull dragone with thy dulfull dairt 15
quhilk did nocht spair of femenine the flour
Bot crwellie did peirs hir throw the hairt
and wald nocht gif hir respit for ane hour
To remaine with hir prince and paramor
That scho at lassour nicht have taine licence 20
Scotland on the may cry ane loud vengeance

¹ The poem is from Sir David Lyndsay, who wrote it in 1537. It was first printed in a French edition by Maister Samuel Jascuy at Paris in 1558, afterwards by Purfoot in London, 1566, by Charteris in Edinburgh, 1568, and often since. See Laing's Ed., i. p. 117, and notes, p. 280. It is only in MS. I of Pitscottie.

² *I.e.*, "Adam we may blame for this mischance."

Thow lut Mathusallem leive nyne hundreith zeir
 Thriescoir and nyne. Bot in thy furius raige
 Thow did devoir this zoung princes bot peir
 or scho was compleit sewinteine zeir of age
 5 Gredie gorman ! quhy did thow nocht asswadge
 Thy furius raige contrair that lustie quein
 Till we sum fruit had of hir bodie seine

O dame¹ natur thow did no diligence
 contrair this theiff quhilk all the warld confoundis
 10 Had thow with naturall targeis maid defence
 That brybour had nocht cum in with hir boundis
 And had beine sawit frome sic mortall stowndis
 This mony ane zeir quhair was thy discretioun
 That lut hir pas till we had seine successioun

15 O wenus with thy blind sone cupido
 fy on zow bayth that maid no resistance
 To zour court ze nevyr had sic two
 So leall lowaris without dissimulance
 as James the fyft and Magdalen of france
 20 discending bayth of bluid imperiall
 To quhome in lowe I find no perigall

Ffor as Leander swame out throche the fluid
 To his fair lady Hero mony nichtis
 So did this prince throch bulring stremis vood
 25 with erles barronis squyaris and with knichtis
 contrair Neptune and Eoll and thair michtis
 and left his realme in gret disperance
 To seik his luve the first dochter of france

¹ I reads "adame" here, and in the stanza beginning "O dame fortun." Perhaps the copyist had caught "Adame" in l. 3. But it is a bad mistake. The rest of the poem is well copied, and does not vary materially from Lyndsay.

And scho lyk prudent quein penelope
 full constantlie wald cheing him for na vther
 and for his plesour left hir awin cuntrie
 without regard to father or to mother
 Taikand no cair to sister nor to broder 5
 Bot schortlie tuk hir leive and left thame all
 for lue of him to quhome lue maid hir thrall.

O dame fortoun quhair was thy gret comfort
 Till hir to quhome thow was so favourabill
 Thy slyding giftis till her maid no support 10
 hir hie linage nor riches intellibill
 I sie thy puissance beine so variabill
 quhen hir father the most hie cristnit king
 Till his deir chyld mycht mak no supporting.

The potent prince hir lustie lue and knicht 15
 with his most hardie nobillis of Scotland
 contrair that bailfull brybour had no micht
 Thocht all the men had beine at his command
 Of france flanderis Italie and ingland
 with fyftie thowsand millioun of tresour 20
 Micht nocht prolong that ladyis lyf ane hour.

1, fol. 84 b.

O parreis of all cities principall
 quhilk did resawe our prince with laud and gloir
 Solempnitie throch arkis triumphall
 quhilk day beine dingne to put in memorie 25
 ffor as pompey eftir his wictorie
 Was into rome resawit with gret ioy
 So thou resawit our richt redoutit roy.

Bot at his mariaige maid vpone the morne
 Sic solace and solempnizatioun 30
 was nevir seine afoir sen chryst was borne
 nor to Scotland sic consolatioun
 Thair callit was the confirmatioun
 Of the weill keipit ancient alyance
 maid betuix Scotland and the realme of france 35

I nevir did sie on day moir glorious
 So mony in so rich abuilzementis
 Of silk and gould with stones precious
 Sic bancatting sic sound of instrumentis
 5 with sang and dance and martiall turnamentis.
 Bot lyk ane storme eftir ane plesand morrow
 Schone was our solaice cheingit into sorrow.

O traterous Death quhome non may contramand
 Thow micht haue seine the preparatioun
 10 maid be the thrie estaitis of Scotland
 with gret comfort and consolatioun
 In evirilk citie castell abay and toun
 and how ilk nobill set his hole intent
 To be excellent in abuilzement.

15 Theiff! saw thow nocht the gret preparatiwis
 Of Edinburgh the nobill famous toun
 Thow saw the peopill lauborring for thair lyweis
 To mak trywmphe with trumpat and clarioun
 Sic plesour was nevir into this regioun
 20 As sould haue beine the day of hir entres
 with gret propynes gifin into hir graice.

Thow saw makand richt coistlie scalffaulding
 Depainted weill with gold and assur fyne
 Reddie prepairit for the vpsetting
 25 with fontanes following ¹ watter cleir and wyne
 Disaguysed folkis lyk creatures dewyne
 On ilk scalffauld to play ane sindrie storie
 Bot all in greitting turned now thair glorie.

Thow saw mony and lustie fresch galland
 30 weill ordourit for resawing of thair queine
 Ilk trenchman with bent bow in his hand
 full galzartlie in schort cleithing of greine

¹ Flowing.

The honest burges cled zow sould haue seine
sum in scarlat and sum in claith of grane¹
for to haue met thair lady souerane

Prowestis baillies and lordis of the toun
The senatouris in ordour consequent 5
Cled into silk and purpur blak and browne ;
Syne the gret lordis of the parliament
With mony knichtlie barroun most potent²
in silk and gold in cullouris comfortabill
Bot now alaice all turned vnto sabill 10

1, fol. 85 a. Syne all the lordis of religioun
and princes of the preistis venerabill
full plesandlie in thair processioun
with all the cuning clairkis honourabill
bot thiftuouslie thow tyrane tresonabill 15
All thair gret solaice and solempniteis
Thow turned vnto dulfull deirgeis

Syne nixt in ordour passand throwch the toun
Thow sould haue hard the din of instrumentis
of tabrowne trumpet Schalmes and clairioun 20
with reird redoundand³ throche the elementis
The heraulds with thair awfull westmentis
with maseris vpone ather of thair handis
To rewle the preis with burnest siluir vandis.

Syne last of all in ordour tryvmphall 25
That most illustar princes honourabill
with hir the lustie ladyis of scotland
quhilk sould haue beine ane sicht most delectabill
hir⁴ rayment to reheirs I am nocht abill
Of gold and perle and pretious stonis bricht 30
Twinkling lyk starris into ane frostie nicht.

¹ "Grane." See Glossary.

² "And banrent" is the reading of Lyndsay.

³ "Redoundant."

⁴ "Hir" should be "thir."

Vnder ane peill¹ of gold scho sould haue past
 Be burgesis borne clethit in silkis fyne
 Ane gret maister of howshald at the last
 with him in ordour all the kingis tryne
 5 Quhais ordinance war lang sum to desyne
 On this maner scho passing throwch the toune
 Suld haue resaut mony benisowne.

Off wirgines and of lustie burges wyweis
 quhilk sould haue beine ane sicht celestiall
 10 'Viue la royne' cryand for thair lyweis
 With ane harmonious sound angelicall
 In evirilk corner mirthis musicall
 Bot thow tyrane in quhome is found no graice
 Our alleluya² hes turned in alaice.

15 Thow sould haue hard the ornat oratouris
 makand hir hines solutatioun
 Both of the clergie towne and counsallouris
 with mony notabill narratioun
 Thow sould haue seine hir corronatioun
 20 In the fair abay of the haly ruid
 In presence of ane mirthfull multitwde.

Sic bancatting, sic awfull tornamentis
 on hors and fut that tyme quhilk sould haue beine
 Sic chappell royall with sic instrumentis
 25 and craiftie musick singing frome the splene
 In this cuntrie was nevir hard nor seine
 Bot all this gret solempnitie and game
 Turned thow hes in requiem eternam.

Inconstant world thy freindschip I defy
 30 Sen strenth nor wisdomes riches nor honour
 Wertew nor beawtie non may certifie
 within thy bowndis for to remane ane hour

¹ "Peill"—*i.e.*, pall.

² I reads "melulya," which seems a mistake of the copyist.

Quhat availleth to the king or empreour
 Sen princle puissance may nocht be exemit
 from Death quhois dolour can nocht be expremit.

Sen man in earth hes no plaice permanent
 Bot all man pas to that horribill port 5
 Lat us pray to the lord omnipotent
 That dulfull day to be our gret comfort
 That in his realme we may with him resort
 quhilk frome the hell with his bluid ransonit beine
 with Magdalen vmquhill of Scotland quein. 10

O Death thocht thow the bodie may devoir
 Of evirie man zet hes thow no puissance
 Of thair wertew for to consume the gloir
 As salbe seine on Magdallen of france
 Vmquhill our quein quhome poetis sall avance 15
 And put hir in perpetwall memorie
 So sall hir fame of the haue wictorie.

Thocht thow hes slaine the hevinlie flour of france
 quhilk Impit was into the thristell kein
 quhairin all Scotland saw thair haill plesance 20
 And maid the lyone reioysed frome displein
 Thocht rute be pullit frome the leawis greine
 The smell of it sall in dispyt of the
 Keip evir twa realmes in pace and vnitie.]

¹ Now haue we deplorit heir with circumstance 25
 The death and lyff of this lustie quein
 Beseikand zow to haue remembrance
 The tyme is schort that we haue heir I wein
 And now it is and ay befor hes beine
 That princes dayes induires bot ane dreme 30
 Bot we will returne with god and lat thame alane.

Amen.

¹ The last rather halting stanza is not in Lyndsay's poems as printed, and apparently was added by Pitcottie.

THE XXX CHAPTER.

Schort quhyle heirefter the king of Scotland send his ambassadouris to france for mariage. To wit the lord askyne and david beatoun Cardinall of Scotland Archbishop of Sanctandrois and bischop of Meripois in france and abbot of arbrothock And that with ane Commissioun to the duik of gueis [Guise] and Marie duches of lorens his dochter quilk maraige they dressit heistilie as ze sall heir efterward.

- ¹ Bot quhene the king of Scotland gat word he was heavelie displeissit thairwitht, and withtin schort quhill efteward send his ambassadouris to France againe for marieage, to wit, the lord Erskine and Dawid Bettone
 5 cardinall of Scotland, archebischope of Sanctandrois and bischope of Merapoise ² in France, abott of Arbroth. Thir ambassadouris passit at the kingis command and be the advyse of his consall, and his commissioun, to France ffor marieage of the Duches of Loren,³ quho
 10 was the Duik of Guise douchter; and thair the said ambassadouris, witht adwyse of the king of France and his consall, aggrieit the marieage in all poyntis accord- ing to the king of Scotlandis plesour, syne send him word witht all diliegence that they had endit the mater
 15 and appoyntit the day of marieage, as the king thair maister had gevin thame commissioun, and desyrit of hin to wit quhat his mynd was thairintill and quhat could be proceidit forder in the said matter. The king heiring thir tydingis was werie heartlie content of thair
 20 expeditioun, and gart provyde haistalie ane navie of schipis and the lord Maxwell, ane nobill man admerall

Fol. 126 b.

How the ambassa-
douris past
in France
ffor marige
of the
Duches of
Florens.How the
king send
ane navie to

¹ A here agrees with the versions of Freebairn and Dalzell. I inserts a short note of the king's visit to the Western Isles, which took place at a later date, in 1540.

² Mirepoix in Languedoc.

³ "Florens" in A is a mistake for Loraine. I reads "Loren." See Notes.

France and
for quhat
purpose.

thairof, witht wther lordis and great barrouns, lairdis and
lairdis bretherin to the number of tuo thowsand men, by
the kingis awin houshald quhilk passit in companie witht
the kingis command. And also he gaif lord Maxwell
ane commission to pase to France to Paries and sie the 5
quen marieit and thairefter to ressaue hir in his keiping
that scho remain thair no langer bot come to the new
heavin incontient, and thair inbark and schipe sa sune
as wind and weather may serue. And this the lord Max-
well and his navie and airmie that passit witht him, 10
spede in all dillegence and haistit the kingis commis-
sioun and command as he had gevin him and came
and saw the quen marieit, and thairefter ressawit hir
and brocht hir to the new heavin according to the
kingis command and so suine as winde and weather 15
wald serue, he schipit the quene and syne pullit wpe
saillis and went throw the paice¹ and saillit to Scotland
the neirest way, bot because the cardinall gat not his
will nor no charge in hame bringing of the quen, nor
zeit was thoillit to come in the schipe that scho was in, 20
he was discontentit and in spetiall at the lord Maxwell
the admirall, the quhilk generat displesour efterhend as
ze sall heir.

Fol. 127 a.
How the
king of
Scotlandis
wyfe the
Duches of
Florens
come in
Scotland

Bot the quen landit in Scotland the viij day of Juin
the zeir of god I^m v^c [xxvii]² in ane place callit 25
Fywisnes besyde Ballcome, quhair scho remanit quhill
horse come to hir. Bot the kingis grace was in Sanct-
androis for the tyme witht money of his nobilietie wait-
tand wpoun hir hame comming. Then he sieand scho
was landit in sic ane pairt, he raid fourtht him self to 30
meit hir. Than the kingis grace and the hail lordis
baitht spirituall and temporall, money barrouns, lairdis
and gentillmen quho was convenit at S^t androis ffor the
tyme in thair best array raid and ressawit the quens
grace witht great honouris and mirienes witht great 35

¹ Straits of Calais.

² I. The date should be 1538.

- treumph and blythnes of phrassis and playis maid to
 hir at hir hame comming. And first scho was resawit
 at the New¹ Abbay zeit. Wpoun the eist syde thair was
 maid to hir ane triumphant frais² be Schir Dawid Lynd-
 5 say of the Mont, lyoun harrot, quhilk caussit ane great
 clude come out of the heavins done abone the zeit
 quhair the quene come in, and oppin in two halffis
 instantlie and thair appeirit ane fair lady most lyke ane
 angell havand the keyis of haill Scotland in hir handis
 10 deliuerand thame into the quens grace in signe and
 taikin that all the heartis of Scotland was opnit to
 the resawing of hir grace; witth certane wriesouns and
 exortatiouns maid be the said Schir Dawid Lyndsay into
 the quens grace instructioun quhilk teichit hir to serue
 15 her god, obey hir husband, and keep hir body clene
 according to godis will and commandement. This
 beand done, the quen was resawit into hir palice and
 ludging quhilk was callit the New Innes and was weill
 decoirit againe hir comming, witth all necessaris pertein-
 20 and to ane quen and thair scho ludgit that night, quhill
 on the morne at ten hours scho passit to the abbay kirk
 and thair scho saw money ane lustie lord and barrone
 and gentillmen landit all weill arayit in thair abullze-
 mentis againe hir comming; also the bischopis, abbottis,
 25 pryouris, monkis, freiris and chanounis regular maid great
 solemnitie in the abbay kirk witth mese³ songis and
 playing on the organis. This being done, the king
 resawit the quen in his palice to the denner quhair
 thair was great mirth schallmes draught trumpattis and
 30 weir trumpatis⁴ witth playing and phrassis⁵ efter denner⁶

How the
 quen was
 resawit.

Fol. 127 b.

¹ I has "nather."

² I has "pheirs"—*i.e.*, farce, but we should now say "pageant."

³ I has "messes"—*i.e.*, masses.

⁴ I has "weir"—*i.e.*, war trumpets; A has "win trumpats"—*i.e.*, wind trumpets, but probably "weir" is right. See Notes as to the musical instruments.

⁵ "Phrassis"—*i.e.*, farces. See Notes. ⁶ I has "after none."

How the
quen wes-
sietit the
colledgis of
Sanctan-
drois.

quhill tyme of supper. On the morne the quen passit throw the toune and wisitit all the kirkis and colledgis and the vniversietie withtin the toun, that is to say scho wessit the blak freiris, the grayfreiris, the auld colledge and the new colledge and Sanct Leonardis, the parochie 5 kirk and the Lady kirk of heuche,¹ to wit. Scho was conwoyt be the provest of the toune and honest burgessis thair of.²

THE XXXI CHAPTER.

Hou the queen exaulted and lowit the realme and peopill of Scotland. Hou scho passit syne to Couper of fyfe and to falkland. And syne to Striviling and linlithgow and syne to Edinburgh. Hou the quein was delyuer of ane sone and hou he was baptisit. And hou the quein consawit and buir ane other sone. Ane parliament set. The kingis general revocatiouns.

How the
quen con-
fessit that
scho saw
never so
mekill mirth
in France as
scho saw in
Scotland.

Sa sone as the quein had wisitit the kirkis and colledgis and the peopill and come to hir palice and mett 10 witht the kingis grace, scho confessit to him scho never saw in France nor na wther cuntrie sa mony goode faceis in sa lytill rowm as scho saw that day in Scotland. Ffor scho said it was schawin to hir in France that Scotland was bot ane barbarous contrie destitut and woyde of all³ 15 commoditieis that wssis to be in wther contrieis; bot now scho confessis scho saw the contrair ffor scho saw never so mony fair personagis of men and women and also zoung babes and childer in as scho saw that day in those boundis quhair scho had bene. At thir wordis of 20 the quene the king was greattlie reioyssit and said into hir, 'ffor suth Madame, ze sall sie better or ze gang, will 'god, and or ze pase throw Scotland ze will sie money 'goode lyk men and women witht wther commoditieis 'that wilbe to zour contentment.' Then the king and 25

¹ The kirk on the Heuch outside of the Abbey grounds, or old church of the Culdees.

² The version printed by Dalzell is abbreviated.

³ I has "guid."

- quein remanit in sanctandrois the space of fourtie dayis
 witht great merienes and game and ¹ iusting and ryoting
 at the listis, archorie, huntting and halking, witht singing
 and danceing, menstrelling and playing, witht wther
 5 princle game and pastyme according to king and quein.
 Then heirefter the king depairtit out of Sanctandrois to
 Cowper of Fyfe and dynnit thair and syne passit to falk-
 land and remanit thair in the huntting of the fallow deir
 sex or aught dayis. Syne passit to Stirling and thair was
 10 weill ressavit in the toun and castell witht great merienes
 and pastyme, and thair efter passit to Lythgow to the
 kingis palice and remanit ane day or tuo thair; and
 syne went to Edinburgh quhair thair² the king and the
 quen was weill ressavit witht great treumph in the castell
 15 and toun and in the palice and thair he was honestlie
 and richlie propynit witht the provost and communitie
 of the toun baitht witht spyce and wyne gold and silluer
 and also greit triumph phraissis maid and playis wnto
 the queins grace on the expenssis of the said toun.
 20 [And swa was thair inlykwayis in Dundie the space of
 sex or aught dayis verray magnificentlie treattit be the
 towne quhair the quein maid her entres, at the quhilk
 tyme the Erle of Arroll was mareit with the Erle of
 Lennox eldest sistir for the tyme be adwyce of the
 25 kingis maiestie with gret solempnitie of mariaige the
 archbischope of glasgow and cathnes being present with
 the king. This was done vpone the fyft day of august
 in the zeir of god preceeding. And sa in lyke wyse in
 Dundie and Sanct Johnstoun ewerie ane of thame ac-
 30 cording to thair nobilietie ressavit thair quene and
 maistres as it become thame to do.]³ So it passit ower

How the
 quein passit
 to Couper of
 Fyfe and to
 Falkland,
 and syne to
 Lythgow
 Stirling and
 Edinburgh.

Fol. 128 a.

¹ I has "as."

² "Quhair thair," a common Scots idiom, but we now omit "thair."

³ The passage in brackets is from I. Dalzell prints this in a note from what he calls a "modern version," but the language is not more modern than the text.

How the
quen was
deliuerit of
ane zoun-
sone.

How the
kingis soun-
e was bap-
tiseit.

mekill of this zeir quhilk¹ at last the queins grace con-
sawit and become witht chyld and heirefter quhene hir
tyme come was deliuerit, be godis grace, of ane fair
sone, borne at Sanctandrois in the tent day of the
monetht of in the zeir of god I^m v^e [xxxix]² 5
zeiris; thairefter was honourabillie baptissit witht great
triumph and mirienes as was the wse of the cuntrie at
that tyme and was callit James Stewart Duike of Rossa
and prince of Scotland, [quho] was nurischit and brocht
wp in Sanctandrois the space of ane zeir thairefter, 10
quhill his mother the quens grace consawit againe and
bure ane wther sone at Stirling the zeir of god I^m v^e
[xl zeiris]³ and was nameit Robert Stewart Duike of
Albanie and Earle of Fyfe and Monteith.

I, fol. 86 b.

[Nocht lang eftir this the king set ane parliament at 15
Edinburgh one the thrid day of December in the zeir of
god I^m v^e and xl zeiris⁴ quhairin the king certified and
approved his generall rewocatioun the quhill he maid
in france quhan he come of perfytt aige: To wit at the
toun of Rowen beand of the aige of xxv zeiris and 20
becaus he was than of his awin realme and in france for
the tyme and had nocht his thrie estaitis thair present
with him. Thairfoir aschone as he come to Scotland
he maid his rewocatioun of new and ratified that thing
that he had done thair be instrumentis he maid it mani- 25
fest in plaine parliament and tuk actis thairvpone and
also he tuk the banes of Robert leslie⁵ and foirfaultit
him for certaine crymes of leismaiestieis with mony
vther guid actis and constitutionis he maid in that
parliament.]⁶

30

¹ *I.e.*, "quhill"=until.

² I. The dates of these births should be 22nd May 1540 and April 1541. Both princes died before the end of April 1541. See Notes.

³ The date in brackets is from I.

⁴ The date of this Parliament is right.

⁵ See A.P., ii. pp. 364, 367, 369, 383, 384, 423, and notes.

⁶ The passage in brackets is from I.

THE XXXII CHAPTER.

Hou the king becum insolent. Hou the king of ingland desyred to speik with the king of Scotland. Hou the bischopis buddit the king nocht to pas to ingland. Hou the bischopis and freiris gave up ane bill of delatioun to the king. Hou the bischopis desyred ane temporall judge and hou the king grantit the samyn.

In the zeir following the king tuik purpois to prepar all his castellis and plessant placeis ffor his plesour, thinkand that god of his grace had send him sic successioun that he neidit nocht to cair for na thing bot
 5 his awin plesour and so he became insolent and wnmmyndfull of godis benifeittis that he had bestowit on him bot rather [regairdit]¹ his awin plesour and sencewall lustis in wsin of his [awin body and]² particular effairis fforzetting godis glorie and common weill of
 10 his contrie and goodlie behavieour of his lordis and barrouns; not regarding thair goode and honourabill counsall bot rather tuik respect into ane privat counsall of his familiar servantis and certane kirkmen, as bischopis, abottis, pryouris, chanons, monkis and freiris
 15 quhilk pat him in sic beleif that he might wse his body as he pleissit ffor they sould plead betuix god and his saull;³ quhill⁴ so they abusit this prince that they gart him wnderstand that all his lordis and barrouns, and all wther gentillmen that wsit or red the word of god in
 20 Inglische that they were plaine arratickis and nocht worthie to leif wnder ane christieane king nor to schaw him thair service, bot rather to be brunt and thair landis confiscat and brocht to the kingis propheit.

So this witth thair wngodlie and papisticall consall
 25 they intyssit and abusit this nobill king and caussit him to breik his promise to his onkill the king of

How the king become insolent.

The kirkmens consall to the king.

Fol. 128 b.

¹ I insert.

² I omits the words in brackets.

³ I has "stand for his saull."

⁴ "Quhill"=until.

Ingland, the quhilk promise he had maid maist hon-
 ourabillie be the advyse of his great earleis lordis and
 barrouns and to ratiefie the samin had affixit and
 interchangit his great seall witht Ingland for amittie
 of baitht the saidis realmes ffor wntie and peace and 5
 in tyme comming; and to that effect the king of
 Ingland came to Zork¹ to the king of Scotland in
 the zeir of god I^m v^o ffourtie² zeiris. The quhilk the
 king of Ingland was werie desyrous heiroyf as may be
 sene be his ressonabill offer in his commissioun gevin 10
 these ambassadouris quho present the samin to the
 king of Scotland witht hartlie commendatiounis and
 wther honourabill and princelie propyns quhilk was
 presentit to the king of Scotland be thair ambassa-
 douris, to wit, Lord Williame and ane bischope of 15
 [St Davids].³ Quhilk they did rycht honourabillie de-
 liuer in the king of Inglandis name and was hartlie
 ressawit be the king of Scotland and that be consall
 of his most wyse and honourabill lordis quho thinkand
 the king of Inglandis commissioun and lowelie and 20
 ressonabill desyre,⁴ they thocht it nocht to be denyit
 bot rather to be grantit ffor weillfair of baitht the
 realmes. Ffor the king of Inglandis desyre and com-
 missioun was nothing to derogat the king of Scotlandis
 honour in no pairt bot rather to adwance him in his 25
 hie honouris and substance according to his princelie
 estait; ffor the king of Ingland thinkand he had no
 man so sibe nor so tender to him as the king of
 Scotland his sisteris sone, nor thair was na leifand
 creatour he favored nor luffit so weill except his sone 30
 Edwart quhome he thocht to put in his governance

¹ I has "with gret prowisioun to meit."

² I has "xlj."

³ Freebairn's edition has "St Davids." The Prior of Bisham, elect of St Asaph's, William Barlow, was sent on the embassy with Lord William Howard, but about this time he was translated to St David's. The true date was April 1536. See Notes.

⁴ I has "luwlie desyre to be so ressonnabill."

- because that he was aigit and thocht his dayis wald
 nocht indure lang, thairffor he desyrit effectuouslie
 to speik witht his sister sone the king of Scotland
 that he might mak him Duk of Zork and governour
 5 of Ingland and to put his sone in his handis in keip-
 ing ffor the weillfair, thinkand the king of Scotland
 maist natiue and kyndlie to support and defend his
 sone gif oughit come to him bot good. Ffor this
 nobill prince the king of Ingland had ewer ane sus-
 10 pitoun in his mynd that quhene it pleissit god to
 tak him that sum of the greatest of his lordis wald
 put at his sone Edwart and trubill him in the bruik-
 ing of his autorietie and realme as they did efterwart,
 quhilk is weill knawin to all wther cuntries about.
 15 Thairfoir this nobill king send his hartlie mynd¹ and
 commissioun into the king of Scotland his sister sone
 in this maner as I haue schawin to zow, and for no
 wther cause bot to haue ioynitt both the realmes in
 sick lufe and favour that they sould haue ben abill
 20 to haue defendit against thair enemeis quhene tyme
 occurit. Bot zeit the wngodlie papisticall bischopis
 witht the abbottis monkis and freiris witht all the rest
 of scawelingis² tuike sick feir and dreadour in thair
 heartis beleiffand gif the king of Scotland and the
 25 king of Ingland mett, as thair promise was, that thair
 proffeit and glorie and papisticall kingdom sould go
 doune because the king of Ingland had laitlie refformett
 and cassin doune the abbayis and all the rest of idolatrie
 and had sett fourtht godis word to haue frie passage
 30 throw Ingland that god might be gloriefied and the
 pepill edefieit thairwitht. Thir wickit preistis and
 bischopis ffor said tuk sick suspitioun into thair hearttis
 that gif the tuo kingis mett that it sould become of

How the
 king of Ing-
 land desyrit
 to speik
 witht the
 king of
 Scotland.

Fol. 129 a.

¹ I has "his awin handwreitt and."

² I has "schevelings," the Protestant nickname for tonsured persons.

How the
bisshopis
buddit the
king not to
pase in
Ingland.

Fol. 129 b.

How the
bisshopis
and freiris
gaif wpe ane
bill of dela-
tioun to the
king.

them as become of Ingland, thairfoir caist all the
ingyne and labouris that they might to desollue the
said meitting; and that no effect sould come thairof,
sumtymeis be craft and ingyne, sumtymes be dissait
and fallssit offert mony and great giftis of gould and 5
silluer, sayand to him that he sould nocht want gould
nor silluer sa lang as thair was ony benefice in Scott-
land and to that effect constitut and assignitt to him
of zeirlie rent of thair benefices the sowme of xxx M
pound to be tane wpe in maner of taxatioun be thair 10
collectouris and deliuer zeirlie and frelie to the king
to defend and mantein thair libertie and the poppis
autorietie. Zeit for all this the king was weill myndit
to haue keipit his promise to the king off Ingland
and that be the advyse of his lordis quhome the 1:
preistis persaeand consalland the king in this maner
that they wald not be content thairwitht and wald
haue faine bene revingit of thir lordis and gentillmen
quhome they beleiffit was consallouris of the king to
bring him to meit witht his onkill quhilk they desyrit 20
nocht on novyse to be done because that they war
fleit that thing sould come to pase, quhilk is prac-
tissit now alredy and thairfoir devyssit ane subtell
ingyne aganis thir saidis lordis and gentillmen to put
thame at discorde witht thair natiue prince and king, 2:
in this maner as efter followis, that is to say;—they
delaittit be¹ the grayfreiris and gaif fourtht ane bill to
the kingis grace of the number of xxxvj scoir of earleis,
lordis, barrouns and gentillmen and honest burgessis
and craftismen and thair delatioun ewerie man as his 30
tyttill gevin out be the grayfreiris into the bisshopis
and the bisshopis deliuerit the same into the king,
sayand to him in this maner, 'Schir, neidit² zour
'grace to pase in Ingland ffor ony substance that

¹ I "delaittit be." A has "debaited" wrongly.

² I has "quhat neidis."

- 'king Harrie may gif, we sall cause zow to find
 'aneuche at hame in zour awin cuntrie of Scotland,
 'so that ze¹ do iustice as we sall devyse wpoun thir
 'arratickis² quhilk we haue gevin zow in bill quho
 5 'is great rederaris of the auld and new testament in
 'Ingliche witht sindrie poyntis and delatioun quhilk
 'we sall gif into zow, ffor we sall tak wpoun us and
 'our conscience that we³ may saiffie haue thair landis
 'herietagis possessiouns and movabill goodis haill in
 10 'zour handis be confiscatioun be thair wickit lyffis
 'and rebellieoun aganis the kirk and our hollie father
 'the pope and his autorietie. Thairfor, will ze do
 'us iustice we sall put into zour handis ane hundereth
 'thowsand pundis of zeirlie rent to agment the patro-
 15 'money of zour croune in tymes cumming and to
 'suplie zow and zour weiris aganis our auld enemeis
 'of Ingland or ony wther natioun that will assaill
 'zour grace and we desyre no more of zow bot ze
 'wald gif ws ane temporall iudge quhilk we sall
 20 'desyre,⁴ that sall execut iustice and put to execu-
 'tioun thir wickit arratickis, as we haue schawin, to
 'zour great honour and proffeit and to the plesour
 'of the kirk and to our hollie father the pope quhilk
 'we haue [of the kirk] no doubt bot he will revarde
 25 'zow right honestlie and richlie ffor the mantening
 'of his autorietie.' The king heirand thir wordis
 and fallis intysmentis of thir wickit bischopis aganis
 god and his servantis, the king movit nothing heir-
 witht of the loue that he ought to god and his trew
 30 barrouns bot rether effectit to covitousnes and abus-
 sieouns, ansuerit the bischopis on this maner, sayand,
 'My lordis they wald faine ze had iustice that the
 'hollie kirk might be defendit and the libertie thairof;
 'thairfor name ane man and cheise at zour plesour

How the
Bischopis
desyrit ane
temporall
iudge.

Fol. 130 a.

And how the
king grantit
the samin.

¹ I inserts "will."

³ I has "ze."

² I has "artickilles."

⁴ I has "dewyse."

‘quhome ze think will execut iustice maist scharplie
 ‘and regourslie ffor punisching of these arrattickis, and
 ‘I sall command him and gif him my powar that
 ‘quhome ewer he abiure or delaite as ane arrattick to
 ‘burne him and put him to deid at zour plesouris.’ 5

THE XXXIII CHAPTER.

Hou the bischoppis cheissied Schir James hamiltoun to be thair judge. Hou the king directed Schir James Hamiltoun to pas to the ros of Bute. Hou the king was passand to Falkland and hou James Hammiltoun met him and desyred to speik with him. The kingis ansuer. Hou James Hammiltoun passit to the Chaik-hous and spak with the kingis officiariis.

How the
 bischoppis
 cheissit
 Schir James
 Hammill-
 toun to be
 thair iudge.

Off this ansuer the bischopis was pleissit and cheissit Schir James Hammiltoun the kingis maist familiar servant, ffor they knew him to be of thair awin sect ane bloode thristie man haueand no feir of god nor his awin saull bot rather did fawour the pope and his reliegieoun 1 nor he did christ and his servandis; and thairfor exceptit the office werie thankfullie and was werie reioyssit that the king had commandit him in the autorietie, say-and to his grace that he did 1 never sic ane plesour as to make him iudge criminall to sick wnhappie arrattickis, 1 makand ane wow to his grace that he sould make thame hott ersis ffor his pleasour and the kirkis, beleiffand suirle to gett sum propheit and gains thairffoir. Bot god, of his hie mightie powar and grace stanchit his furie and ire and blody wand 2 contrair his servandis, 2 quhilk he thocht to haue wssit ffor plesour of the preistis, gif god had not stoppit his furie; but the mightie god seand the abussieoun of this king and the evill and furie of his servand Schir James, that beand in the hieest

¹ I inserts "him."

² So also in I and Freebairn's edition. Dalzell omits. "Wand" is perhaps a mistake for "mind."

degrie in familiearietie witht his prince, god turnit the mater sa that by the expectatioun of men he was haist-alie taine and put in dullful presone, and syne efter schamefullie iustiffieit as ze sall heir estirwart.

Fol. 130 b.

- 5 Ffor the said schir James Hammiltoun, lord Euan-
daill and princelie familiar servant into the king than
standand in his hieest degre in court, ffor the king had
directit him in the moneth of Apryle the zeir of god
I^m v^o xlj¹ zeiris to pase to the Yile of Rosa² to luik thair
10 to reforme his castell and palice thair of that he might
remaine thair sum tyme of the zeir at his plesour witht
his court and quen as it pleissit him best, and gart gif
the said Schir James iij^m crowns to fie maissouns to
compleit his wark in the said Rosa of Butte. And on
15 the morne heirefter the king passit out of Edinburgh to
Falkland, and as he was rydand the way thair come ane
to him callit James Hammiltoun, the shereff of Lytht-
gowis sone, desyrand effectiouslie to speik witht his grace
of all and falland on his kneis quhairat the king was
20 effeirrit and askit quhat was his motioun seing that he
was so sune in the morning and seit no man mowand.
Bot the said James ansuerit and said, 'I haue certane
' thingis to schaw zour grace secreitlie for weill of zour
' awin lyfe concerning the weillfair of zour awin body.'
25 The king turnit about and ansuerit the said James and
tuik ane ring of his finger and gaif it to him and said,
' Thow sall pase to the chakerhouse quhair thow sall
' find the Secreter and the Maister of houshold and the-
' sawrar, and schaw thame thy mynd lyk as thow wold
30 ' schow to me, and bide thame heir the as I war
' presentlie witht thame³ and then lat thame do heir-
' efter as they think good.' Witht this the king depairtit

The king
directit
Schir James
Hammill-
toun to pase
to the Roise
of Butte and
to quhat
purpoise.

How the
king passit
to Falkland
and how
James Ham-
miltoun
mett witht
him.

How the
king com-
mandit him
to pase to
the chaker
house.

¹ I has "xliij."

² I has "rois of bute"—*i.e.*, Rothesay, or Bute, the island where Rothesay is. As to Sir James Hamilton, usually called of Finnart, see Notes.

³ I adds "my selff."

towartis the ferry to pase to Fyfe and the said James went to the chakerhouse as he was commandit at the houre of nyne and thair he fand the Secretar, thesawrar, Maister of houshald lyk as the king had schawin to him, and thair presentit the kingis ring in taikin to thame to 5 heir his mynd lyke as the kingis grace had ben thair present. The quhilk lordis accepit the samin and desyrit him to schaw fourtht his mind as he could best. Then the said James schew thame certane poyntis of treassone of Schir James Hammiltoun of Dreffen, 1 quhair¹ he was sindrie tymes bound to slay the king quhene he might sic oppertunitie of tyme and zeit continuit still on the same purpois. Thairfor the saidis lordis heirand this dittie gevin in be the said Schir James his awin natue cousing and freind gaif² noch 1 the more credence.³

How he
passit to the
chaker house
and schew
the treassone.
Fol. 131 a.

THE XXXIV CHAPTER.

Schir James hamiltoun is impresonit. Schir James hamiltoun releasit agane be the king. Sir James hamiltoun heiddit. The oratioune concerning the samyn.

Quhan the kingis officiaris had consulted upon this matter foresaid thay consentit that they wald tak the said Schir James and put him in captiuetie quhill they hard the kingis mynd heirwpoun; and immedeatlie thay 2 passit all thrie and tuik witht them the lyoun herald and past to the said Schir James ludgeing in Edinburgh quhair he was ludgit and tuik him and pat him in the castell of Edinburgh thair to remaine induring the kingis will. Bot quhen the said Schir James knew 2 that he was put in the castell not knawing ony ressonne

How Schir
James Ham-
miltoun was
impresonit.

¹ A curious phrase, meaning "according to which he sundry times was prepared to slay the king."

² B has "gaif it no credence."

³ I has "credidit."

quhairfor, [he] was heavelie commovit at his inputtaris
 and wrait into the kingis grace ane letter declairing to
 him how he was handlit and put in pressone be the
 kingis fameliear serwantis and his awin companeounis,
 5 desyrand the kingis grace that he might be releiffit out
 of the captiuetie to speik witht his grace. Bot quhene
 the king hard of his inputting he was not content
 thairwitht and wrait to the captane of the castell to
 deliuer him at his plesour, schawand him that they
 10 sould haue no thank that was his inputtaris. Bot
 quhene the Secretar, thesawrar and Maister houshold
 hard thir wordis that the king was not contentit witht
 the inputing of the said Schir James in the castell
 they war sair affrayit to mell witht ane great man and
 15 seing the kingis grace was not content thairwitht, think-
 and that sum day the said Schir James wald quitt
 thame [ane]¹ common ffor thair labouris, gif he obtenitt
 the kingis pardone at that tyme, thairfor they passit
 all thrie haistalie to the king quhair he was for the
 20 tyme and schew him ane terrabill ditta gevin in wpoun
 the said Schir James be his awin freindis,—the king
 beand in Falkland in the meane tyme and the ditta
 was concerning the kingis awin body,—and schew gif
 he wald thoill the samin wnpunischit thay trastit that
 25 he sould not liue² lang on lyue. So they pat the king
 in sick ane fray and ewill will at the said Schir James
 that he com sudenlie to Edinburgh and tuik him out
 of the castell and had him to the tolbutth and gaif him
 ane fair syse of lordis and barrouns, and thair he was
 30 convict of sindrie poyntis of tressone, and thairefter
 was heidit and quarterit and his landis annexit to the
 croun. Quhairof the cuntrie marwellit mekill that so
 great a man beand in so hie autorietie witht his prince
 so suddenlie depossit and put doune by the expectatioun
 35 of ony earthlie man, thinkand that it was bot the devyne

Fol. 131 A

How Schir
James Ham-
milltoun was
heidit.

¹ I inserts.² I has "nocht be lang alywe."

The Vrie-
sone.

Fol. 132 a.

punischment of God wpoun the said Schir James, for he was ever ane tirant and blude scheduler and ane conquerer of wther mens herietagis quhither he had richt or nocht; bot last for plesour of the bischopis and kirkmen he tuik in hand to be iudge criminall, and burne all them that war the servandis of god, and red the new testament. Bot we may sie quhen men standis in hieest degre and greatest credit amang men mis-knawand thair god, they ar neirest ane fall as we may sie weill in the booke of god in compariesone of this same historie written in the booke of Ester of Haman and Murdech¹ quhene the said Haman zeid in maist hieest degre witht his maister king Assuarus and could not be content witht his poore bretherin of the Jowis bot he wald purchase and decrie frome his maister the king to put all the forsaid peopill and servantis of god to deid and to confisk thair geir to the kingis proffeit and all this he did for invy of poore Murdichey because he wald not worschip him and flatter him in his autorietie contrair to his conscience thairfor he gart prepar ane gallous for him of fyftie cubittis height to hang him wpoun, quhairon be the mightie provitioun of god and goode prayer of his serwantis he was hangit himself and his goodis, geir and landis was gevin to Murdicai in escheit. Thairfoir it fairit so with Schir James Hammilltoun; god turnit his wraith suddenlie that he bure wpoun his bretherin into himself that he was put doune in this maner as we haue schawin and all the servantis of god was saiffit be his mightie powar baitht frome the king and the kirkmen and the furious rage of this teran. Bot we will lat him rest witht god and returne to our historie.³

The king tuike great suspitioun of his nobillis that

¹ I has "Murdochias"—*i.e.*, Mordecai.

² I has "stuid in his hiest." "Zeid" in text = "gaed"—*i.e.*, went.

³ I inserts here the passage below.

on no wayis he could rest, thinkand that ether ane or
 wther wald desae him and sum tyme of the night he
 had great wisiouns in his bedde. He thocht that Schir
 James Hammilltoun, quhome he had gart iustiefie befor,
 5 that he cam and seand him sleipand pullit ane suord
 out and straik at him and cuttit of his right arme and
 inmedeatlie witht this same suord cutit off his left
 arme.¹

The kingis
 visioun and
 dreames.

THE XXXV CHAPTER.

The kingis grace of ingland cum to Zork to resawe the king of
 Scotland. The king of Scotlandis visiouns and dremes. Hou
 the prince depairted and also the duik of Albanie the kingis
 second sone: hou the quein comforted the king. Hou the
 bordouris was brokin. Ane parliament set at Edinburghe.
 Hou the king maid ane taxatioun throch the haill realme of
 Scotland.

At this tyme the king of Ingland come to Zork and
 10 thair to ressaue the king of Scottland according to his
 promise, bot the bischopis wald not lat the king of
 Scotland keip his promise, so that the king of Ingland
 was displeissid and the great weiris raise wpoun the
 borderis. And in the meane tyme the said Schir James
 15 Hammilltoun sould say into the king of Scottland as
 efter followis: 'Thow hes gart slay me wrangouslie and
 ' uniustlie, ffor I was innocent of the cryme that was layd
 ' to me; thocht I was ane sinner aganis god zeit I faillzett
 ' not to the. Had I bene allis goode ane servant to my
 20 ' god as I was to the,² I had not dieit the deid; bot now
 ' thairfoir thow sall want both thy airmes and remaine
 ' in sorrowfull paine ffor ane quhill and than I will come
 ' and stryk the heid from the that thow may want the

¹ I goes on, "and syne said to him in this maner as efter followis."
 See below in chapter xxxv. line 16.

² Compare the well-known saying of Wolsey when deprived of
 his office by Henry VIII.

'lyte.' With this the king walknit out of his sleip in ane
 great affray and schew the same into his secret servandis
 that was about him for the tyme quho was werie dis-
 pleissit and discontentit heirwitht of the kingis wisoun
 and his impediement in his sleip, thinkand that they 5
 wald haue haistie tydingis; bot on the morne heirefter
 woude come to the kingis grace that the prince was
 hand werie seik and lyke to die. The king heirand thir
 tydingis haistit him fast to Sanctandrois to sie the
 maner, bot or he come the prince was depairtit, quhilk 10
 was werie sorrowfull into him nocht witht standing in-
 medeatlie the post come fourtht off Stirling to the kingis
 grace schawand him that the Duik of Albanie his
 secund sone wald not leif. Than the kingis grace
 haistit him fast to Stirling to sie the maner but sune be¹ 15
 he come thair the Duik of Albanie depairtit, witht great
 murning and lamentatioun maid for thair tuo departingis
 baitht in aught and fourtie houris, quhilk was werie
 sorrowfull into the king and to the quens grace thair
 mother. Bot this lady gaif the king goode confort and 20
 said they war zoung anewch, they might haue mae and
 so scho within schort tyme conssawit and become witht
 child to the kingis great confort and the nobilietie of
 Scotland.

Bot sounne efter this the bordouris of Scotland began 25
 to brak wiht great heirschapis baitht be sie and land.
 The king of Scotland sicand this caist his ingyne to sett
 ane remedy thairto and sett certane bandis of men of
 wea to the bordouris to defend the samin contrair the
 Englishemen. Syne sounne efter this he sett ane parlia- 30
 ment at Ednuburgh to be haldin the tent day of Juin in
 the name of god abone writtin, and thair he maid ane new
 general revocatioun of all thingis that he had done in
 his rege that might hurt the libertie of his croune
 and also appreit and ratifieit all thingis done be him 35

¹ *I.e.*, soon after.

in amplefieing of the libertie of his croune; and in
 spetiall, of the annexatioun of the landis quhilk he had
 annex befor to the patrimoney of the croun, to wit;—
 the landis and lordschipis of the southt Yillis and the
 5 northt Yillis, witht the tuo Kintyiris and thair castellis,
 the landis and lordschipis of the earle of Douglas, the
 landis and lordschipis of the earle of Angus, the landis
 of Jedburgh forrest and the landis and lordschip of
 Bothwell, the landis of Tantallan witht all wther landis
 10 pertening to the said earledome of Angus witht dona-
 tiounis and adonatiounes of benefices and sicklyk the
 landis and lordschip of Glames, and also the landis and
 lordschip of Evindaill¹ witht the castell of Dreffin witht Fol. 133 a.
 all wther landis and possessiouns pertening to Schir
 15 James Hammilltoun quhilk had laitlie forfeitit befor
 and then retiffet² and annexit to the patromoney of the
 croun; and maid ane act thairwpoun that it sould not
 be lesum to his successouris quhatsumewer, king or
 quen, governour nor regent to dispone ony of thir saidis
 20 landis frome the patriemoney of the croun [ether be
 frie gift or reclamatioun or zeit be setting in few ferme or
 ony wther way or efter the airis heirop againe quhilk
 might be hurt]³ to the nixt crownit king, to mell witht
 the saidis landis forsaid and tak thame againe to his pro-
 25 feit and libertie of his croune but ony proces of law, and
 that the occupyaris and laboraris of the samin sould be
 constranit to pay the zeirlie dewtieis and maillis of the
 saidis landis bypast nochtwithtstanding thair pretendit
 tyttill. Efter thir statutis and lawis beand done, the
 30 king tuik ane generall taxatioun throw all the hailt realme
 contenand v^a of the pund land, quhilk sowme contennit
 xxx^m pund Scottis to sustein his men of weir.

How the
 king tuik
 ane taxa-
 tioun.

¹ A has "Annerdaill" wrongly.

² Ratified.

³ I omits the words in brackets and adds here, "in cais it sould
 be lesome to the nixt," &c.

THE XXXVI CHAPTER.

Hou the erle of huntlie was maid luiftennand generall. Hou the erle of huntlie went to the bordouris. Hou the inglismen purpossit to burne Jeduard. Hou the inglismen fled the battell of hadanrig. Hou the king of ingland gaue up treuis with the king of Scotland. Ambassadouris sent to Ingland.

How the
king maid
the earle
Huntlie
Lutennant
generall.

Within this zeir following he maid his sister sone the Earle of Huntlie Lutennant generall wpoun the bordaris and furnischit fourtth witht him ten thowsand men to defend the said bordaris and gaue witht him ane nobill and potent lord nameit Schir Walter Lyndsay 5 knycht of Torfeichin¹ and lord of S. Johnne, who was weill besene and practissit in weiris baitht in Itallie and had fouchin oft tymeis against the Turkis in defence of the Christiane men in companie witht the lord of the Rodis,² and thair he was maid knycht for walliezand 10 actis and thairefter come in Scotland and seruit our king and had great credit witht him as I haue schawin zow befor, quhilk gaif to him the hail credit and governance of his airme thocht he maid his sister sone the Earle of Huntlie lutennent zeit he commandit him to do 15 nothing by³ this nobill mans adwyse and consall, quhome he commandit to haue the wangaird quhen ewer the said earl faught or was assailzeit be thair enemeis of Ingland quhilk was haistalie thairefter as I sall schaw zow, ffor thir tua nobill men past out of Edinburgh⁴ 20 witht ten thousand men as I haue schawin zow the tent day of July the zeir of god I^m v^c xliij zeiris. Bot sune efter the Inglischmen gettand wit of thir forces adwertissit the king of Ingland thairof quho send to thame ane great airme against Bervick, Norhame and 25

Fol. 133 b.

How the
earle of
Huntlie
went to the
borderis.

¹ See Notes as to Sir Walter Lindsay.

² Rhodes.

³ "By" = without.

⁴ I inserts "to the bordouris."

Wark, and skirmischit witht the Scottis the space of ane
moneth bot they had lytill wantage quhill at last they
tuik porpois quyitlie to burne Jedburgh, Kelso, quhair
the lutennent lay and his airme. Bot it was not so
5 quyitlie provyditt bott the lutennent had moyens thair of
be certane spyis that knew the Inglischmenis porpois,
quhilk was to come in the dawning of the day; bot the
Scottis prevenit the tyme and past fourtht at midnight
to the fieldis and watchit straitlie ¹ the Inglischmens in-
10 coming bot in the breaking of the day the watchis come
and schew the lutennent that the Inglische airme was at
hand withtin the space of thrie Scottis myleis witht ten
thowsand men in number arrayit weill in thrie ostis.
The leaderis and governouris was, to wit, the earle of
15 Anguse of Scotland and George Douglas his brother
quo then was banischit in Ingland ffor certane crymes
of leismaiestie; with thame in companie was me lord
Bowis ² and his brother, sone of the Peirssie of Northt-
thumberland, witht schir Ralf Everis, schir Birne Lattin,³
20 schir Johnne Withringtonn, Mr Hewrun ⁴ schereff, schir
Williame his brother witht money wther great captans
and souledeouris quhilk the king of Ingland trustit and
gave credit of his airme. Nochtwithtstanding the luten-
nent of Scotland heiring the tydingis that the Inglische
25 airme was so neir witht sic men governouris to thame
as I haue schawin, tuik na feir heirof bot past manfullie
fordwart as I sall schaw zow heirefter giueand this nobill
and ancient lord of S. Johnne the wangaird ffor to gyde
witht bowis to [wit] ⁵ ane thousand speiris, fyue hunder-
30 eth hagbuttis fyue hundereth bowis, quhilk contennit of
the haill ij^m and the lutennent come efterwart in the
great battell to the number of iiij^m speiris, ij^m bowis
suordis and haberjounes quhilk was to the number of
vj^m; quhilk ⁶ at last the daylyght begane to schyne that

How the
Inglische-
men purpos-
sit to burne
Jedburgh.

¹ I has "starklie." ² Sir Robert Bowes. ³ Bryan Layton.

⁴ Heron.

⁵ I inserts.

⁶ "Quhilk" = "quhill."

Fol. 134 a.

How the
Inglish-
men fled.The battill
of Haddin-
rig.How the
king of Ing-
land gaif
wpe trewis
witht Scott-
land.

ether of the saidis airmeis appeirit in other sightis. And
so the Inglishemen persaiffit the scottis airlie¹ in thair
sight, and they, nocht advertissit thairof, slaikit of thair
courage, tuike porpos immedieatlie to gif bakis and fle.
On the other syde this nobill captane lorde of Sanct 5
Johne persaiffand the samin that the Inglishemen war
not abill to gif battell cryit for horse to gif thame the
skirmische. Witht that the Inglishemen gaif bakis and
flaide quhairon followit this nobill lord witht all his ost
and straik thame doune and slew and tuik money pres- 10
sonaris to the number of xx scoir of gentillmen and ten
scoir slaine in this skirmische and dissait² of Ingliche-
men was fre our redemptioun I^m v^c xliij zeiris in the
moneth of August. Thair was in this battell taine the
lord Bowis³ and his brother, Mr Saithlar,⁴ schir Johnne 15
Witheringtoun, Mr Sailsbie,⁵ Mr Hewrun⁶ and sum of the
Percieis of Norththumberland witht schir Ralf Everis,
schir Birne Lattin⁷ and wther captane of the borderis
quhilk neidis nocht of reherssall at this tyme; and they
that war slaine war bot commons, I neid nocht to re- 20
herse. Bot they newis come haistalie to the king of
Scotland quhilk was werie reioyssit of the samin quhene
he hard tell of sic ane skirmische was betuix his men
and Inglishemen, traistand that he wald haue peace
thairfoir on the borderis be his frequent wictorie. Bot 25
his beleif was for nocht ffor so sune as the king of Ing-
land gat word of thir novellis he was werie heavelie dis-
contentit thairwitht and wowit to god singularlie that he
sould haue ane revenge of the samin; and to that effect
send ane herald in Scotland and gaif wpe trewis witht 30
the king of Scotland quho was his sisteris sone, declair-
and to him be his herald gif he wald nocht keip his

¹ I has "areyit."³ Sir Robert Bowes.⁵ Salisbury in Freebairn's edition, but perhaps Selby. See Notes.⁶ Hieron.² I has "defeit."⁴ Sadler.⁷ Bryan Layton.

promise nor conditioun witht him he sould put sic order
to him as he pat to his fater; declairand to him that
he had the self same wand keipand that dang his fater,
that is to say the Duike of Northtfock levand that strak
5 the feild of Flowdin and slew his fater witht money of
the nobillis of Scotland. The king of Scotland heirand
thir wordis was hevelie commovit at his onkill the king
of Ingland that he sould haue bostit him sa witht the
Duike of Northtfolk quho was his wtter enemye and had
10 done no les to him in Scotland nor he spak; and for
this cause haistalie derectit tuo ambassadouris to Ing-
land to witt,¹ the bischope of Aberdene, [and] ane nobill
knyght callit Schir James Leirmontht of Dairssie and
Maister houshald to the kingis grace. Thir tuo forsaid
15 war derectitt in all possibill deliegence to the king of
Ingland witht sic commissioun and writtingis as the
king and consall of Scotland could devyse at that tyme
to meise² and stanche the king of Inglandis furie, quhill
he come to Scotland at that present. Bot all for nocht.
20 ³Qhene thir ambassadouris come to Ingland to the
kingis maiestie of Ingland thai gat no presentis of the
king bot held tham thair ane lang tyme quhill he had
ane great airme prepairit witht the Duike of Northtfolk
to come in Scotland to the number of l^m men the wail
25 of all Ingland, gifand thame charge and commandment
that they past to Scotland witht all possibill haist and
cause the king of Scotland to keip his promise or then
to gif him battell.

Fol. 134 b.

How the
king of
Scotland
send tuo
ambassa-
douris to
Ingland.¹ I inserts "Mr William Stewart."² "Meise" = mitigate. See Glossary.³ B agrees generally with A, but I differs, and inserts here the story of the secret writing the Scotch king sent to Henry VIII. which the Scots ambassadors found lying open on his council board. This has been given before from A (see page 345), in what seems its proper place.

THE XXXVII CHAPTER.

Ane proclamatioun maid. Hou the lordis convenit ane counsall.
 The reid of phala.¹ Hou the lordis wald nocht gif battell.
 Hou the king was displesit at his lordis.

Ane proclie-
 matioun.

The king of Scotland heirand thir newis and gat no
 ansuer of his ambassadouris incontenent gart mak pro-
 cliematioun throw all Scotland to all maner of man be-
 tuix sextie and sexten baitht sperietuall and temporall,
 burcht and land alswell the out Yillis as ferme land 5
 to compeir at Edinburgh witht xl dayis wictuall on the
 borrow mure and for to pase witht the king quhair he
 pleissit in defence of his realme contrair the Inglishe-
 men quhilk was command haistalie to invaid his realme 10
 and come in Scottis ground the second day of October
 quhilk was thrie dayis of the kingis conventioun of his
 nobillis at Phala quho convenit thair witht the hail
 number of his lordis barrouns gentillmen and frie hal-
 deris and all maner of man betuix sextie and sexten 15
 quhilk gaif thair mustaris and was fund numberit be the
 heraldis fyftie thowsand ² men by the wangaird quhilk was
 the earle of Huntlie for the tyme togither witht the hail
 bordararis of Scotland. Of all was comptit thriescoir
 thowsand in number, quhairof thair was [in stand of
 Fol. 135 a. harneis]³ xx^m in jak and speir, xx^m haberjouns and tua 20
 handit suordis, quhilk was the airmor of the hielandis
 men; and also the artaillze and cannons sex grose
 cullveringis sex battarttis ⁴ sex doubill falcouns and xxx
 feild peaces and xxx cairttis witht poulder and bullat
 and ten cairtis witht pickis and speiris witht all kynd of 25
 ordinance of munnioun quhilk pertennit to ane prince

¹ Fala.³ I omits words in brackets.² I inserts "fechtand."⁴ I has "battaris."

aganis his enemeis. And the second day efter they
 come to Phala, they mairchit fordwart besyde Lawder to
 ane place callit Barlye haugh ¹ a lyttill frome the kirk of
 Lauder and thair came worde and post frome the earle
 5 of Huntlie, the kingis lutennent schawand to him that
 the Duike of Northtfolk was command ower Tueid, and
 send ane message to him desyrand battell of the kingis
 maiestie, or ellis to keipe his promise that he maid to
 the king of England. Of thir novellis the king was
 10 wondrously commovit and caussit the lordis to assem-
 bill togither to ane consall haldin at Lawder kirk, and
 the king schew to thame his mynd to tua of the wyssist
 lordis, ffor he come nocht himself to that conventioun or
 consall, bot drectit his mynd and petitioun as efter
 15 followis ;—that is to say ; he desyrit his lordis that he
 might be revengit wpoun the Duike of Northtfock his
 eneme quho was committ in Scotland to invaide him at
 the king of Englandis command, to witt his haill puissance
 and ordienance aganis him. Wpoun this the lordis
 20 tuike to be advyssit and to gif the kingis grace ane
 ansuer thairwpoun, the lordis falland in disputatioun in
 this maner sayand amang themselffis that he could nocht
 weill pase fordwart at that tyme witht thair honouris and
 saif conscience because of the band was maid betuix the
 25 king of England and the king of Scotland, the quhilk
 band and promise was seallit witht the great seall of
 Scotland and subscriwit witht thair handis. Bot zeit
 they promissit to the king gif the Duik of Norfock come
 fordwart to invaide thair natiue realme they wald defend
 30 it bot they wald nocht pase in England at that tyme.
 This ansuer was send to the king be the haill lordis of
 consall borne and representit ² be the earle of Glen-
 cairne, bot quhene the king hard this ansuer he was
 nawayis contentit thairwitht. Bot in this meane tyme
 35 ane watche come to the king and schew him that the

The raid of
phala.

How the
lordis con-
venit ane
consall.

Fol. 135 b.

¹ I has "the Barlauchauch."

² I has "repetit."

Duik of Northtfock was past bak agane ower the watter of Tueid and was campit on Inglische ground.

How the
lordis wald
not gif
battell.

Of thir nowellis, the king was werie desirous to haue followit him in Ingland and to fight witht him, bot the lordis wald nocht consent on nowayis thairto nor gif 5
thair consall that the king sould come ony forther at that tyme, considderand that the Duike of Northtfock had done no skaith in Scotland at that tyme, nether brunt nor hierieit nor distroyit no¹ toun; thairfor they had the les will to follow in Inglische ground to do him 10
ony skaitht thocht the king was werie ardent thairinto. Then the lordis seand that the kingis mynd could nocht be refranitt from battell and in spetiall frome battell on Inglische ground, they laide thair heidis togither and zeid to consall that they wald nocht fecht at that tyme 15
ffor the king, ffor thair was sum witht thame that consulted and said he was ane better preistis king nor he was thairis, and wssit more of preistis consall nor he did of thairis; thairfor they had no heart to fight witht him in battell bot they wald rether ieoparde thame selffis, gif 20
he wald not be contentit to pase hame, to hang all his seccreit serwandis and consalouris quhilk gaif him sic wickit consall contrarie the weillfair of his realme. This was concludit amangis themselffis, and declairit into the king the sowme of the consall, bot quhene the kingis 25
grace was adwertist and knew weill thair myndis, he maid no longer tarie bot past hastelie witht his houshald and seccreit servandis to Edinburgh. Bot the consall and the haill airme continewit still, quhill on the morne they gat suire word that the Duike of Norfock was 30
returnit hamewart in Ingland, and then the lordis pullit wpe thair paillzeounis and returnit hamewart. Then the king of Scotland grew werie commovit at the lordis because they wald nocht pase into Ingland to fight witht

¹ I has "ony corne." "Toun" in A probably means farm-town. See Glossary.

him aganis the Duik of Norfok quho had slaine his father at Flowdoun, and wowit singularie that he sould gar thame pase in Ingland to fight or ellis flie and schew ¹ thame selffis, that ² Scotland sould not hald him and
 5 them botht, and in his hie rage and furie gart mak ane proclamatioun to all lordis and barrouns, gentillmen and friehalderis to be in redienes withtin xxiiij houris wairning to follow the king quhair he plessit. Bot on the penult day of November the king passit to Pebillis and
 10 maid wairning to all the lordis and gentillmen of Scotland to follow him and meit him at Pebillis and thair to pase witht him quhair he plessit ffor incontenent he passit to Moffeit and syne to the watter of Eske and then send in his lordis and gentillmen in Ingland to
 15 burne and waist the cuntrie, quhilk was werie sair aganis the lordis will and wald on nowayis tak the matter on hand, nor zeit consent that the king sould pase thair him self to use sic regor or malice into his mother brother the king of Ingland.

Fol. 136 a.

How the king displeissit his lordis.

THE XXXVIII CHAPTER.

Hou the king maid olipher sincler luftennand owir his armie. Hou the lordis consentit nocht to fecht under olipher sinclers baner. Hou the scottis reteird. The battell of Sollen mos. Hou mony of the scottis men war taine and slaine. Hou the king passit to Edinburgh and syne to falkland.

20 Quhan the king of Scotland saw that his lordis wald onnawayes pleiss to pass forward nor had no will to serue his appietyte he caussit to make ane proclamatioun in the midis of the airmie and maid Oliepheir Sincklar ane of his fameliar serwandis lufetennent ower the
 25 said airmie and commandit thame straitlie be the heraldis all to obey the said Oliepheir and pase witht

How the king maid Oliepheir Sincklar Luffetennent ower the airmie.

¹ I has "schame."² I has "or."

him quhair he plessit, as they wald do witht the kingis awin body; and the king past ane lyttill himself frome the airmie to ane place callit the castell of Lochmabaine to remaine thair to sie quhat succes come of his inter- pryse, bot the lordis and the nobilietie of Scotland 5 seand the kingis willfull misgovernance toward his awin common weill of Scotland and wald not wse thair consall thairinto bot abusit thame so in the place of the great earleis and lordis [that]¹ sould haue bene luffetennentis and governouris of his airmie² [bot he] 10 dischargit great earleis and lordis quhilk had it befor; [sic as]³ the earle of Huntlie, the lord Maxwell witht wther great men on the borderis, thir lordis sieand this they consultit together and said they wald on nawayis fight wnder Oliepheir Sincklaris banner ffor they knew 15 him nocht ffor no governour nor zeit lwtennent to thame, and concludit haill in ane purpois that they had lever be taine and had to Ingland to the king⁴ nor to bide the kingis furie in Scotland or tyranne wrought on thame be consall of the preistis and courte- 20 ouris. Ffor the preistis as I haue schawin zow befor, abussit the kingis grace sa that they pat great dissention betuix him and thame, and gart him wnderstand that they war all arratickis and redaris of the auld testament and new, and thairfoir was worthie to be 25 brunt and thair landis and goodis confiscat to the kingis profeit. Of this the courteouris was weill contentit and money of thame consentit heirinto because they were the bischopis men and pensionaris thinkand gif sic thingis come fordwart they wald gett sum casuallietie 30 thairby. This⁵ the king was abussit and tint the heartis of all the haill lordis, ffor he gaif them no credit nor

How the
lordis con-
sultit nocht
to fight
under Olie-
pheir Sinck-
laris banner.

Fol. 136 b.

¹ I inserts.

² I has "or battell at this tyme he chused ane of his courteouris to be governour of his army and to be lufftennand and dischairgit."

³ I. A has "because."

⁴ I has "king hary."

⁵ "This"—i.e., thus.

thay hoppit for na goode in his hand and thairffoir they
 tint heartis and had no will to fight nor raise fyre in
 Ingland. Bot the Inglischemen on the wther syde
 sieand so great ane airmie of Scotland command on
 5 thame so haistalie, quhilk was to the number of xv M
 gentillmen by¹ bordararis command in goode array be-
 cause² they wald haue foughin. At this the Inglische-
 men was soir agaist at the comming of the Scottis men
 so hastalie and then but ony maner of wairning, zeit
 10 they convenit thame selffis togither as they might, bot
 thair number was bot small in respect of the Scottismen.
 Bot zeit thay war all bordoraris and could ryde and
 prick weill and had the Scottis men in plunging³ be
 thair pricking and skirmishing, quhill the night com
 15 on thame and they war in sick strait ground quhair
 they knew not the passagis, that they could skantlie
 reteir in order as they sould haue done and they had
 nether horse meit nor mans meit to tarrie that night,
 nor zeit gydis to bring thame throw the passage quhilk
 20 they might haue saiffie ridin. Bot they reteirit wn-
 knawinlie to ane pairt callit the Stage⁴ quhair no pas-
 sage was, and syne to the watter of Eske, and thair
 the sie was in and the watter was foure fadome deip
 quhair the ost come ower; zeit at all thir straittis thay
 25 had no skaitht of Inglischemen bot at last they come
 to ane place callit the Solloun mose, quhair throw nether
 horse nor man might pase and thairin lairit⁵ and mis-
 cheiffit thair horse that force it was to tak tham to
 thair futte, and then the Inglischemen seand the Scottis-
 30 men at that strait thay cryit witht hiedieous schoutis
 and cryis that pat sic ane fray to the Scottis that thair
 was money of thaim taine [be] the Inglischemen and
 had in Ingland. So the ost was dispersit and skaitterit
 abrode and the night was growand mark wpoun thame

How the
Scottis
reteirit.

The battle
of the Sol-
loun mose.

Fol. 137 a.

¹ "By" = besides. ² I has "as." ³ Playing. Freebairn's Ed.

⁴ I has "staig myre." ⁵ "Lairit" = bogged. See Glossary.

How money
of the Scott-
ismen was
taine.

that they knew nocht quhair nor quhidder they war nor
ane Scottis man knew never ane Inglische man be ane
Scottis man and so be this unhappie chance and mis-
governance of the Scottismen thair was money of them
taine and had to Ingland as pressoneris; and spetiall 5
the great lordis and great barrouns and the courteouris
that was thair taine and had to Loundoun to King
Harie, quho was weill intertenit as efter I sall schaw
heir. Bot thair was bot few slaine nether of Inglische
nor of Scottis, bot to the number of xxiiij persouns, 10
viz. nyne Scottismen and fyftene Inglischemen. Thir
nowellis command to the king of Scotland quhair he
was in the castell of Lochmabaine for the tyme schawand
to him how his lordis was taine in Ingland and his
airmie defait, then the king grew wonder sorrowfull and 15
pensiue in his hart sieand no good succes come to him
nether be chance nor fortoun aganis his enemeis. Then
he began to remorde his conscience and thocht the
goverment of his lyfe towartis his god had [been] the
principall cause heirof remembering him self that he 20
had brokin promise to his onkill the king of Ingland
and had also tint the heart of his nobillis throw ewill
consall and fallis flattering of his bischopis and these
prevat consallouris and his courteouris nocht regairding
his wyse lordis consall. He knew weill that thir caussis 25
had the wytte of his misgovernance and schamfull chance
that he had sustenitt at that ioynay, quhairthrow he
tuik sic melancollie and displesour that no confort nor
consallatioun on novayis be no godlie man might sat-
isfie him nor bring him to rest. He passit to Edin- 30
burgh and thair tairit viij dayis witth great dollour and
lamentatioun of the tinsall and schame of his lieges
quhilk was be misfortoun and ewill goverment brocht
to schame and dishonour quhilk pat the kingis grace
in despair that he could never recover his honour againe. 35
This being done the king passit out of Hallieruidhouse

How the
king past to
Edinburgh,
syne to
Falkland.

to Falkland and thair became so hevie and so dolarous
 that he nether eit nor drank that had goode degestioun,
 and so he became so vehement seik that no man had
 hope of his lyffe. Than he send for certane of his Fol. 137 b.
 5 lordis baith sperituall and temporall to haue thair con-
 sall bot or they come he was nearhand strangled to
 death be the extreme melancollie.

THE XXXIX CHAPTER.

Hou the king tuik seiknes and displesure in falkland. Hou word
 come to the king that his wyfe was delywr of ane dochter.
 Hou the Cardinal held ane throch of paper to the king and
 causit him wreit his handwreit thairon. Hou the king de-
 pairtit out of this present lyfe. The oratioun thairon.

Be this the post came out of Lythgow schawing to
 the king goode tydingis that the quene was deliuerit.
 10 The king inquiryt 'wither it was man or woman.' The
 messenger said 'it was ane fair douchter.' The king
 ansuerit and said. 'Adew, fair weill, it come witht ane
 'lase, it will pase witht ane lase,' and so he recom-
 mendit himself to the marcie of Almightie god and
 15 spak ane lyttill then frome that tyme fourtht, bot turnit
 his bak into his lordis and his face into the wall. At
 this tyme Dawid Bettoun cardienall of Scotland stand-
 ing in presentis of the king, seing him begin to faill
 of his strength and naturall speiche held ane through
 20 of papir to his grace and caussit him subscriue the
 samin¹ quhair the cardenall wrait that plessit him for
 his awin particular weill, thinkand to haue autorietie
 and prehemence in the goverment of the countrie
 bot we may knaw heirbe² the kingis legacie was werie
 25 schort, ffor in this maner he depairtit as I sall zow
 tell. He turnit him bak and luikit and beheld all his

How word
 come to the
 king that the
 quene was
 deliuerit of
 ane douch-
 ter.

¹ See Notes.

² Hereby.

The kingis
depairting
out of this
present lyffe.

lordis about him and gaif ane lyttill smyle and lauchter,
syne kissit his hand and offerit the samyn to all his
lordis round about him and thairefter held wpe his
handis to god and zeildit the spreit. This nobill king
depairtit in this maner as I haue schawin to zow, at 5
Falkland in his awin palice the xx day of the moneth
of December in the zeir of god I^m v^e xliij zeiris [and
that verie quyetlie for few was at his depairting except
the cardinall the erle of argyle the erle of rothus the
lord askyne the lord Lyndsay the Doctour Mr Michall 10
Dury schir Dauid Lyndesay of the Mont Lyone herauld
the laird of graunge andro wood of largow Normond
leslie maister of rothus. The rest war bot his awin
secreit serwandis].¹

The wrie-
sonc.

This nobill prince, gif he had ressawit goode consall 15
of wyse and godlie men and spetiallie of his great lordis
and keipit his body frome harlotrie and had left the
evill consall of his papistis bischopis and gredie courte-
ouris, he had ben the most nobillist prince that ever
rang in the realme of Scotland. Ffor he was full of 20
pollacie and honestie in his beginning and did money
goode actis in his realme at biging of castellis and
palices and furnisching the realme with good artaillze
and all wther kynd of wapouns and harneis, pickis and
speiris and all provisioun ffor his realme as accordit 25
for ane king and the common weill of this realme. Bot
fre tyme he was abussit witht papistrie and wald nocht
suffer the worde of god to haue frie passage in his
realme quhairwitht he aught to be instructit and all
princes ffirst in serwing god and nixt in ministring of 30
iustice to his lieges; bot he wald never heir the same
worde because it teichit sinneris to ane amendement
of lyfe and spetiall idolatouris and adullteraris, and the
said king knawand him self to be ane of these he had

Fol. 138 a.

¹ The words in brackets are from I. Two of the persons named, Sir David Lyndsay and Andrew Wood of Largo, are among the authors Pitscottie names in his Preface.

the les will thairof because it accussit his conscience
 gif the word had bene trewlie preichit. Ane wther
 cause thair was, the great profite that the bischopis
 gaif to him to be the popis man and to defend his
 5 autorietie and the kirkmens libertie that he, abussit
 throw covettousnes, consentit to thair wickit and evill
 consall aganis the evangell of Jesus Christ quhilk was
 the principall caus of his ewill succes in his latter dayis.
 Ffor the bischopis and preistis and freiris seand that they
 10 could not haue him better nor be flatterie [they wnder-
 stude]¹ that he might tak his plesour throw all Scott-
 land [and they him cheise any]¹ of quhat gentillwoman
 he pleissit, quhither they war marieit or unmarieit and sa
 to spend his body wpoun thame as he pleissit contrair
 15 the command of God. Ffor they pat him in sic beleif
 that they suld² [mak sic spetiall paperis³ for him that
 god sould nocht be movit witht him] so he wsit thair
 consall and defendit the libertie of hollie kirk. So they
 gart him both wse idolatrie and adullterie, idolatrie in
 20 stopping of Christis evangell,⁴ adullterie in using of
 uther mens wyffis. So they abusit this nobill prince
 that he tint the favour of god and the nobillis of
 his realme, quhairthrow he tuik great displesour and
 melancolie, quhairby he was constranit and stranglit
 25 to the deid in maner as I haue schawin zow befoir.⁵
 Bot we will lat him rest witht god and returne to
 our historie gevand ane generall admonitioun⁶ to all

¹ I omits words in brackets.

² I inserts "nocht imput with him ony sin, so," &c., omitting words in brackets.

³ "Prayeris"?

⁴ I adds, "and atorisene [authorising] the mes and pilgramage with vther vaine superstitioun, adulterie in vsing of vther menis wywis."

⁵ I adds here, "alwayes this prince left meikill riches behynd him bayth of gould and siluir and jowallis, horsis and schippis with mony mowabillis quhilk nevir come to compt to any of his awin as is knawin to the haille nobillitie and leigis of Scotland."

⁶ This general admonition, which is very characteristic of Pit-scottie, is much abbreviated in Dalzell's edition. Freebairn's edition is fuller, but not quite so full as A or I.

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kingis princes and governouris or any that brukis
 autorietie ffor the tyme that they may begin at all-
 mightie god to sett fourtht his glorie into the realme,
 that is to say to gar preich his worde trewlie to the
 pepill and cause ecclesiasticall discipline to be wasit be 5
 the ministeris and bischopis seniouris elderis or deacons
 as offieceris in the kirk of god; and syne gar wessie
 the seik and provyde for the poore, and bring wpe the
 zouth at scollis and sie that the patriemoney of Christis
 kirk be weill payit be the temporall men that hes [it]¹ 10
 in thair handis, and to be spendit on this maner be
 thame that takis it wpe, quhilk is the will of god pro-
 mittit be the mouth of his prophett Malachie in the
 fourt chapter. This being done God first servit and
 his glorie sett fowardt, then wse the civell order con- 15
 forme to ane godlie king, that is to say, to minister
 iustice equallie to great and small, puire and riche and
 revaird thame that dois good and punische them that
 dois ewill and treit and honour the trew lordis of the
 realme quhilk is godlie and honest, and wse thair coun- 20
 sall and in lyke maner punische and correct the gredie
 and covetous lordis and barrouns quho is oppressouris
 of thair nichtbouris and dissobedient baith to god and
 to thair prince. And attour all thingis lat princes and
 gowernouris or quho sum ewer brukis autorietie to keip 25
 his body cleane and puire fre harlotrie and adullterie;
 in so doing, obeying god as I haue spokin I haue no
 doubt bot god sall cause his subiectis to obey him in
 all honest and godlie effairis, according to the honour
 of god and the weillfair of his realme, as I haue schawin 30
 to zow befoir. Thairfor I beseik god of his marcie to
 instruct mantein and Illumnat the heartis of all Chris-
 tiane princes to consider this admonitioun that I haue
 forspokin to thair instructioun. Amen.

¹ I inserts.

¹ ANE DEPLORATIOUN OF KING JAMES
 THE FYFT QUHAT MANER OF
 MAN HE WAS IN HIS DAY-
 IS. AND HOU THE RE-
 ALME WAS GYDD-
 IT IN HIS MENORI-
 TIE AND HOU HE
 BROCHT IT TO
 PACE AND
 REST OR HE
 DEPAIR-
 TED.

O REIDDERIS² mark weill in zour remembrance I, fol. 92 b.
 of this zoung king the miserabilities
 ze may weill knaw the warldis inconstancie
 quhan princeis beine pullit frome thair seattis
 5 contrair the death nicht mak no debaittis
 quhat gret mischeiff into this regioun rang
 quhan this zoung prince could nather speik nor gang.

During his tender zouth and innocence
 quhat stowth quhat reiff quhat murthour and mischeiffe
 10 thair was not ellis bot working of wengeance
 into the court rang sic variance
 deueris reularis maid diuers ordinance
 sum tyme our quein rang in auchtoritie
 sum tyme the prudent duik of albanie.

¹ I inserts the "Deploratioun," which, with variations, is taken from Sir D. Lyndsay's "The Testament and Complaynt of the Papingo," Laing's Ed., i. p. 80, lines 526 *et seq.* The first stanza is somewhat altered.

² Lindsay writes "Now brethren."

Sum tyme the realme was reulit be regentis
 sum tyme Luftennandis leadderis of the law
 than rang thair so mony inobedientis
 that few or nane stud of ane vther aw
 oppressioun did so loud his bewgill blaw 5
 that nane durst ryd bot in the feir of weir
 Johne Vpaland ¹ that tyme did mis his meir.

Quho was moir hie in honour eliwat
 nor was Margret our hie and michtie princeis
 sic power was to hir appropriat 10
 of king and realme scho had the gowernance ²
 Zit come on chainge within schort proces
 that peirle preclair that lustie pleasand quein
 Lang tyme durst nocht into the court be seine.

The Archbischope of Santandros James betowne 15
 chancellor and primat ³ in power pastorall
 clame next the king most hich in this regioun
 the leddar schuik he lap and gat ane fall
 auctoritie nor power spreitwall
 Riches freindschip micht nocht that tyme prevaill 20
 quhan Dame Curia began to steir hir taill.

1, fol. 93 a.

His hie prudence awailed him nocht ane myt
 frome tyme the court buir ⁴ him sic mortall feid
 as presonar they keipit him in dispyt
 and sum tyme wist nocht quhair to hyd his heid 25
 bot dissagwysed lyk Johne the reive he raid
 had nocht beine houp buir him sic companie
 he had beine stranglit be malancholie.

¹ "Uponeland."

² "Scho wes gowerness."

³ "Privat" in MS. I, an evident mistake.

⁴ "Bair."

¹ His prelacie pomp nor paiplic gravitie ²
 His palace royall rich and redius ³
 nor zit the fluid of superfluitie
 of his riches nor travell tedious
 5 frome tyme Dame curia held him odious
 Availled him nocht his prudence most perfound
 The leddar brak and he fell to the ground.

⁴ Than durst no man cum neirhand the king
 Bot the surname of the dochtie Douglas
 10 quhilk so royallie in this regioun did ring
 spendand the kingis caswaletis
 of wardis mariage and benefeis
 for no thing that tyme that fell amang ws
 bot it was taine vp be Archbaldy erle of Angus.

15 Quha ⁵ with his prince was moir familiar
 nor of his grace had more auctoritie
 was he nocht gret warden and chancellor
 Zit quhan he stuid vpon the hiest grie
 tresting no thing but perpetuitie
 20 was suddanlie deposit fra his place
 foirfaltit and flimit he gat na vther grace.

⁶ My deir freindis that hes auctoritie
 Mark weill in zour remembrance
 of princeis courtis the instabilitie
 25 quhilk sum tymes changeis with sic violence
 of thair pretie tyme tak ze experience
 and gyd zow weill ; with wisdom mak debait
 Aganis the pryd that stryvis evir for stait.

¹ Two stanzas of Lyndsay's poem are omitted.

² "His princelie pompe and Papale gravitie."

³ "Radious" = radiant.

⁴ This stanza is much altered.

⁵ "Quho."

⁶ This stanza is entirely different in phraseology, though the sense is much the same as that of Lyndsay.

¹ Set nocht zour houp nor zour felicitie
 in warldlie riches dignitie nor gloir
 nor zit in zour weith nor superfluitie
 remembring ay of thame that past befor
 quha war exaulted hiear meikill moir 5
 nor ze ar now intill auctoritie
 Bot throche treasone war deposit suddainlie.

Sen warldlie honour standis nocht permanent
 Thairfoir schortlie ze sall zow adres
 To serwe zour god and lord omnipotent 10
 his law and will to vtter and expres
 in doing of iustice both to moir and les
 ze doand this followand gooldis command
 god sall zow blis that ze inherit the land.

Heir endis King James the Fyft and beginnis his 15
 dochter Marie Quene of Scotland and quhat
 trubill fell in hir tyme be ewill consall.

¹ The two following stanzas are apparently original; at least
 they are not in Lyndisay's poem.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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